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THE VIKINGS AND THE RISE OF CAPITALISM

ROSALIE AND MURRAY WAX

ABSTRACT

Max Weber asserted that the emancipating and rationalizing effect of Christianity made possible the rise of rational, bourgeois capitalism in Europe. He implied that pre-Christian Europe was folkish and irrational. But the Viking literature reveals a remarkably individualistic and rational people, spiritually kin to Benjamin Franklin. Further investigation should reveal the respective influences in the rise of capitalism of indigenous, northern European ethos and of Mediterranean civilization and ideology.

In analyzing the rise of capitalism, Max Weber was led to a comparative study of civilizations whose depth and breadth have won the admiration of scholars generally. Yet one great bloc of peoples escaped his study—the pagans of northern Europe. True, these peoples did not create a civilization (although Toynbee believes it was a near-miss),¹ but these were the peoples who became Protestants and rational capitalists. There are several evident reasons, practical and theoretical, why Weber slighted them. The practical reason is that little is known about them. During the first millennium these peoples were illiterate; they were engaged in migrations across Europe and the British Isles; and their contacts with Mediterranean civilization were often destructive to the very peoples who might best have recorded their customs. Early in his *General Economic History*² Weber discussed the

political-economic structure of the Teutonic village settlements, and it would seem that this is all the reasonable critic might require.

The theoretical reason why Weber slighted the pagans of northern Europe is more important than the practical one. Whereas in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*³ he set forth a relatively complicated (ideal) typology of social structures, in his argumentation about the rise of rational, bourgeois capitalism he simplified it and made it a dichotomy. On the one hand, there were the civilizations whose economic advance had been arrested by the ties of tradition, kinship, and magic, and, on the other hand, there was European civilization, post-Reformation, in which these ties had been broken by the rationalizing impact of Christianity. Except for Christianity, and prior to its rationalizing triumph, European civilization was—for the purposes of his argument—substantially the same as other civilizations: rationalizing tendencies were restrained by folk ties. To

¹ Arnold Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1934–39), II, 98–100, 427–33.

² Max Weber, *General Economic History* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), chap. i.

³ Max Weber, *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft, Grundriss der Sozialökonomik* (Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1947), Vol. III.

be sure, the European development toward capitalism was facilitated by certain peculiar institutions and circumstances, but it was also hindered by others, equally peculiar; and their net effect, Weber argued, was negligible compared to that of Christianity.

In short, Weber did not investigate the pagan cultures of Europe because, by his reasoning, being folk cultures, they could not possibly have influenced the rise of rational capitalism in any way except negatively. In this paper we will debate Weber's reasoning and present evidence to refute it. But, first, we had best discuss the evidence at the disposal of the scholar, since paucity of evidence is one of the difficulties.

When the Germanic-speaking peoples appear in the historical records of the first millennium, they do so as a group of tribes who not only speak the same or closely related languages but who also appear in other ways to be of the same or similar culture. We cannot be sure of this similarity of culture, but there is no evidence to the contrary, and students of this period generally assume it. Moreover, during the earlier migrations and the Viking Age there was much mingling of different groups, both in peaceful colonization, as in Iceland, and through conquest, as in England, and this intermingling seems to have been particularly true of the coastal and riparian areas of northern Europe and the British Isles. There were other peoples living in some of these areas before the migrations, but they seem to have been either driven into enclaves or absorbed into the common culture.

The Germanic-speaking peoples were early in contact with the civilization of the Mediterranean, and gradually they adopted cultural traits and complexes from that area. About the turn of the first millennium the Scandinavian branch underwent a literary efflorescence, creating new varieties of literature and recording the elaborate oral works which had been composed in previous centuries. From Norway, Sweden, Denmark, and particularly from Iceland, we have a large body of literature of great ethnological interest as well as great literary merit. Much of the *Poetic Edda*, the scaldic poetry, and

some of the Family Sagas were composed in pre-Christian times, probably during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries, and transmitted orally. Certain parts of the *Poetic Edda* may reach back as far as the fifth century, while the Family Sagas, for the most part, relate events occurring in late pagan and early Christian times.

These works were written down during the latter part of the twelfth, the thirteenth, and the first part of the fourteenth centuries by men who were nominally Christians but who had not abandoned certain of the moral attitudes of their pagan ancestors. The Historical Sagas and the formal histories are definitely post-Christian. They vary in quality, but the work of Snorri, at least, is an outstanding product of his age: a scholarly work based on a critical study of the oral tradition and contemporary sources. The Romantic Sagas are latest of all and are most strongly influenced by the literature of medieval Europe.

This literature offers evidence on the nature and spirit of the culture of which it was a product. By and large, it is astonishingly sober, factual, and impartial. From it, we can construct a portrait of a cultural *spirit* (to use Weber's term) which pervades the actions of its dramatis personae. This spirit significantly resembles the spirit of capitalism.

Were it not for the possibility of historical accident, we could rest our case almost entirely upon one book, *Konungs Skuggsjá* (*The King's Mirror*), written about 1247 by an anonymous Norwegian. In a style which reminds us of Benjamin Franklin, he prepared a manual for the instruction of young men.

The man who is to be a trader will have to brave many perils, sometimes at sea and sometimes in heathen lands, but nearly always among alien peoples; and it must be his constant purpose to act discreetly wherever he happens to be. On the sea he must be alert and fearless.

When you are in a market town, or wherever you are, be polite and agreeable; then you will secure the friendship of all good men. Make it a habit to rise early in the morning, and go first and immediately to church wherever it seems

most convenient to hear the canonical hours, and hear all the hours and mass from matins on. Join in the worship, repeating such psalms and prayers as you have learned. When the services are over, go out and look after your business affairs. If you are unacquainted with the traffic of the town, observe carefully how those who are reputed the best and most prominent merchants conduct their business. You must also be careful to examine the wares that you buy before the purchase is finally made to make sure that they are sound and flawless. And whenever you make a purchase, call in a few trusty men to serve as witnesses as to how the bargain was made.

You should keep occupied with your business till breakfast or, if necessity demands it, till midday; after that you should eat your meal. Keep your table well provided and set with a white cloth, clean victuals, and good drinks. Serve enjoyable meals, if you can afford it. After the meal you may either take a nap or stroll about a little while for pastime and to see what other good merchants are employed with, or whether any new wares have come to the borough which you ought to buy. On returning to your lodgings examine your wares, lest they suffer damage after coming into your hands. If they are found to be injured and you are about to dispose of them, do not conceal the flaws from the purchaser; show him what the defects are and make such a bargain as you can; then you cannot be called a deceiver. Also put a good price on your wares, though not too high, and yet very near what you see can be obtained; then you cannot be called a foister.⁴

The remainder of the work is in the same spirit. The author again resembles Franklin in his disposition to give plentiful moral advice and in the character of the morality he advocates. He lauds forethought, prudence, "a rational outlook," and "a temperate mind" and advises young men to observe "carefully the activities of the ant," since he "will derive much profit from them."⁵ Would-be merchants are counseled to avoid undue risk and danger rather than lose all profit through "obstinate contriv-

ing." For, "first of all a man must have a care for his own person; for he can have no further profit, if it fares so ill that he himself goes under."⁶ Sober prudence is applied even to blood revenge, a moral imperative of traditional Germanic culture.

There is no indication whatsoever in this work that mercantile practices are influenced or bound by traditional or supernatural concepts, whether deriving from pagan or Christian sources. Sharp business practices are condemned, not because they are offensive to God or to the kindred, but because they give the practitioner a bad reputation; they are not good business. Economically, the Scandinavian merchant seems to have enjoyed a freedom, and utilized it in a way which would have gladdened the soul of Adam Smith. He appreciated the role of calculable law and advised the young merchant to devote his spare hours to its study.

Finally, there is a hardheaded respect for facts, combined with a boldness in reasoning from them, which is in the best scientific tradition. At a time when European travelers were startling their audiences with tales of fabulous monsters, this author gives a picture of the walrus which is complete, accurate, and unexaggerated.⁷ His description of Greenland and his reasoning as to its connections with other land masses are superb.⁸

The reader may object, first, that this Norwegian is exceptional, not a child of his age and land, or, second, that he is greatly influenced by the rational prophecy of Christianity. As to the first, he is indeed unusual, but he clearly did not write as though he were addressing an audience which was tradition-bound and which regarded him as a dangerous radical. As to the second, scholars of that period, for example, his translator, Lawrence M. Larson, hold that in many respects his moral code is Scandinavian rather than Christian.⁹

⁴ *The King's Mirror* (*Konungs Skuggsjá*), trans. Lawrence Marcellus Larson (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1917), pp. 79-81. For the convenience of readers unfamiliar with Old Scandinavian literature, references are to the translator's title rather than to the Old Icelandic or Old Norse.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 90-92.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 140.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 160.

⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

⁹ Larson states: "On most points [he] preaches the conventional principles of the church with respect to right and wrong conduct, and as a rule his precepts are such as have stood the test of experi-

We turn from *The King's Mirror* to a consideration of earlier and other contemporary literature—the myths and heroic legends, the sagas, and the formal histories—in an effort to discover whether the same spirit permeates them. What follows is not based on an exhaustive review of the literature and is probably not as impartial as were habitually the authors of that literature, but it does demonstrate the widespread and early existence of a spirit which is ethnographically unique, which does not conform to the ideal of a folk spirit, and which significantly resembles the spirit of capitalism. We have here organized our evidence into three classes with the catch-phrase captions: ascetic struggle, free enterprise, and tough-mindedness.

I. ASCETIC STRUGGLE

The sober admonitions toward diligence which appear in *The King's Mirror* are echoed in the gnomic poetry of Norse antiquity. The *Hávamál* ascribes the following exhortation to Ódin:

He must early go forth who fain the blood
Or the goods of another would get;
The wolf that lies idle shall win little meat,
Or the sleeping man success.¹⁰

ence. He emphasizes honesty, fair dealing, careful attention upon worship, and devotion, to the church; he warns his son to shun vice of every sort; he must also avoid gambling and drinking to excess." Larson does not point out, as we shortly intend to do, that these virtues and vices, with the possible exception of careful attention to worship and devotion to the church, are as compatible with the morality of the pagan Northman as of the Christian.

He continues: "In some respects the author's moral code is Scandinavian rather than Christian: in the emphasis that he places upon reputation and the regard in which one is held by one's neighbors he seems to echo the sentiment that runs through Eddic poetry, especially the 'Song of the High One.' [*Hávamál*] . . . The author is also Norse in his emphasis upon moderation in every form of indulgence, on the control of one's passion and in permitting private revenge. His attitude toward this present world is not medieval: we may enjoy the good things of creation, though not to excess" (*ibid.*, p. 50).

¹⁰ *The Poetic Edda*, trans. Henry Adams Bellows (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1923), p. 40.

Even the gods are pictured as working diligently. The *Völuspá* states:

At Ithavoll met the mighty gods,
Shrines and temples they timbered high;
Forges they set, and they smithied ore,
Tongs they wrought, and tools they
fashioned.¹¹

The Icelandic sagas, relating events of late pagan and early Christian times, indicate that early rising and hard work were regarded implicitly as virtues and not beneath the dignity of a chief. When Skallagrim's housecarls grumbled over the ringing smith work which he performed early in the morning, he retorted:

Much betideth that iron-smith
Early to rise, who pennies
Will lay up.¹²

Similarly, Gísli, the outlaw, is obviously admired and respected because he was "handier than almost any other man."¹³

However, the pagan Scandinavian admiration of diligence and manual skill is less important to our argument than is their ascetic attitude toward the control of impulse and passion. In the *Hávamál* Ódin exhorts the listener to refrain from drunkenness, from gluttony, and from unnecessary and unwise speech.

Less good there lies than most men believe
In ale for mortal man;
For the more he drinks the less does man
Of his mind the mastery hold.

The greedy man, if his mind be vague,
Will eat till sick he is;
The vulgar man, when among the wise,
To scorn by his belly is brought.

The babbling tongue, if a bridle it find not,
Oft for itself sings ill.¹⁴

One of the most common themes of the sagas is that of a hotheaded hero restrained in his actions by the prudent wisdom of a

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 5.

¹² *Egils Saga*, trans. T. R. Eddison (London: Cambridge University Press, 1930), p. 60.

¹³ *The Story of Gísli the Outlaw (Gísli saga Súrssonar)*, trans. George Webbe Dasent (Edinburgh: Edmonston & Douglas, 1866), p. 77 *et passim*.

¹⁴ *The Poetic Edda*, pp. 31, 33, 35.

friend or relative. Subsequent events often demonstrate the profit accruing from self-control. Indeed, the sagas indicate that one of the most admired of attributes was the ability to curb a violent impulse and await the moment for the shrewd move that resolved the situation, either by violence, law, or negotiation.

That these values were sometimes successfully translated into action is indicated by the great Viking raids as well as in local Icelandic life. The raids were executed with a craft and skill unmatched in the Europe of that time. They were rationally oriented toward the pursuit of wealth, and battle was offered only as necessary.¹⁵ Before setting out on a raid or expedition the crews appear to have instituted strict voluntary controls and organization, for example, a ban upon strong drink and agreements as to an equal division of booty.¹⁶

But, just as often, these values were honored in the breach. The Norse were great gluttons, got wondrously drunk, and, as Olrik delicately phrases it, they "lacked self-control with regard to women."¹⁷ Under the influence of excitement or drink they forgot the wisdom of word-watching Ódin and made vows which, regardless of their recklessness, had to be fulfilled if the hero were to retain his honor. Every prudent act of self-control related in the sagas can be matched by an incident in which the hero remained deaf to advice, yielded to passion, and committed an act of violence which ultimately led to his doom. Indeed, sometimes the action of the saga will hinge on a hero's long, desperate, and ultimately hope-

less struggle to maintain the peace.

We have here then a picture of a people prone to violent and passionate acts but a people who struggle to curb their impulses, not by a categorical morality, but by appeals to common sense, expediency, and tangible, personal profit or well-being. In the *Hávamál* drunkenness, gluttony, and babbling speech are not seen as evil in themselves; rather, they are foolish because they make a man lose control of his mind, expose him to scorn, or get him into trouble. Similarly, the author of *The King's Mirror* does not see drunkenness as immoral. It should be avoided because a man never knows when he may be called upon to meet an emergency with a clear head.¹⁸ In brief, the wise man avoided the loss of self-control because it rendered him incapable of intelligent action or exposed him to danger or humiliation. This attitude toward "vice" is remarkably similar to that of Benjamin Franklin.

II. FREE ENTERPRISE

Weber discusses the opposition between most magico-religious systems and their rationalization of economic activity. What was the relation between Norse religion and economic activity?

The Northmen had many beliefs which we would classify as superstitions. While the heroic legends exhibit a remarkable lack of supernatural incident they, and the earlier sagas influenced by them,¹⁹ are dominated by a profound fatalism. The less aristocratic literature, on the other hand, depicts supernatural beings as grim and awesome as those of any other culture.

Phillipotts reasons that the profound fatalism of the Northmen was used as a device to affirm that the individual will was free. The characteristic type of heroic story depicts a situation in which, as the sagas put it, "there are two choices, and neither of them is good." The crux of dramatic interest is that the hero, faced with two equally dreadful alternatives, chooses his path of his

¹⁵ Lynn Montross, *War through the Ages* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1944), pp. 98-99.

¹⁶ An example of this shipboard discipline appears in the *Saga of Eric the Red*: Bjarni Grimolfson and his crew are carried into the sea of Greenland, where their ship is attacked by teredos. The men draw lots for places in the ship's boat, which can hold only half the crew. Apparently, all the losers accept their fate without protest with the exception of one young man who taunts Bjarni into giving him the place he had luckily drawn (G. M. Gathorne-Hardy, *The Norse Discoverers of America* [London: Oxford University Press, 1921], pp. 65-66).

¹⁷ Axel Olrik, *Viking Civilization* (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1930), p. 100.

¹⁸ *The King's Mirror*, p. 207.

¹⁹ E.g., *Laxdaela*, *Gísl*.

own free will.²⁰ By his unfaltering resistance to the inevitable, he achieves the ultimate in human dignity.

A less noble but more profitable exploit was grave-robbing, a practice recorded even of Ólaf the Holy.²¹ Of frequent appearance in the later sagas is a tale in which the hero, coveting the treasure and arms buried with a chieftain, enters the tomb and encounters the animated and malignant corpse of the deceased. A splendid battle ensues, and the audacious hero conquers the ghost and gains the treasure as well as considerable renown.²²

The distinguishing and perhaps unique characteristic of these tales, whether they deal with fate or with terrifying ghosts, is that the heroes are not cowed by the powers against which they contend and that they do not employ countermagic. They fight as men, with sword and shield, and sometimes with their bare hands. Regardless of motivation, the mortal who has sufficient courage, physical strength, and shrewdness may overcome even the most awesome supernatural being.²³ Incidents of the use of countermagic do occur, but they are rare. In a minor scene of *Egils Saga* the hero employed runes to cure a young woman made ill by the runes scored by another man. But in actual combat, when he found that his sword blunted against the magically gifted Atli, "then seeth Egil that it will not do as things are. . . . Then Egil let go sword and shield and leapt at Atli and grabbed him with his hands. Then was known the odds of strength, and Atli fell over backwards: but Egil was crawled upon him down there and bit asunder his weasand. Then Atli lost his life."²⁴

The fondness for tales in which the hero

²⁰ Bertha S. Phillpotts, *Edda and Saga* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1931), p. 83. See also Phillpotts, "Wyrd and Providence in Anglo-Saxon Thought," *Essays and Studies by Members of the English Association*, XIII (1928), 7-27.

²¹ Hilda Roderick Ellis, *The Road to Hel* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1943), p. 103.

²² *The Story of Grettir the Strong (Grettla)*, trans. Eiríkr Magnússon and William Morris (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1900), pp. 46-50. See also *Landnámabók*, II, 8; III, 1.

²³ *The Story of Grettir the Strong*, pp. 95-111.

attacked a malignant supernatural being with personal violence rather than with countermagical or religious measures did not disappear with the advent of Christianity. When King Ólaf the Holy was approached by the disguised Ódin, he was at first intrigued by the wily conversationalist. But, when he had guessed the identity of his tempter, he seized a prayer book and "made to throw it at the stranger's head."²⁵

Olrik suggests that the Vikings' peculiar disposition to defy the supernatural powers provided a motive for the daring explorations of the Viking Age. "The compass of the world was multiplied many times . . . and the Viking pursued his horizon, directing his course over the sea, though the keel of his boat might break the back of a mermaid, or ascending to the cave of the Giants in the farthest North, to see whether this adventure were really so dangerous."²⁶ If his interpretation is correct, we have here a peculiar kind of "hostility toward magic," differing markedly from that which Weber saw as succeeding rational prophecy. The existence of supernatural powers is not denied, but, rather than intimidating, they simply add grandeur and drama to the exploits of the brave.

One would guess that a long period of successful risk-taking, such as seems to have occurred during the Viking Age, would be followed by heightened indifference to supernatural power, by skepticism, and by outright godlessness. There is considerable evidence of skepticism just prior to and immediately after the large-scale and formal acceptance of Christianity. Jones asserts: "Many of the Norsemen believed in neither the White Christ nor the Red Thor, but in their own might and main . . . and so could not be brought to defend any creed. . . . In general the Icelanders seem to have been indifferent to religion."²⁷ And he describes

²⁴ *Egils Saga*, pp. 174-75 for runes; p. 158 for Atli. For a similar tale see *Flateyjarbók: Ólafs Saga Tryggvasonar*, chap. liii, quoted in *Egils Saga*, pp. 261-62.

²⁵ Ellis, *op. cit.*, p. 1. ²⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 97.

²⁷ *Four Icelandic Sagas*, trans. Gwyn Jones (New York: American-Scandinavian Foundation, 1935), p. 140.

the Icelandic conversion: "The change was unattended by anything more remarkable than some high words at the Althing (the popular assembly) and a slight volcanic eruption near the Thing-field, because, said the devotee of the old faith, 'The gods are angry at such talk.'" To these pious grumblers, Snorri Godi put the reasonable question: "'At what were the gods angry then, when this lava burned on which we now stand?'" And so "the decision whether the old or new faith should be the official one was left to Thorger the Lawspeaker."²⁸

Thus, at least in Iceland, the Northerners' acceptance of Christianity appears as an unusually coolheaded action, although, according to Kroeber, this manner of religious conversion is not unique.²⁹ Moreover, public acceptance did not guarantee private practice. The bold spirits who had not taken the old gods too seriously did not at first inconvenience themselves with Christian devotions.³⁰

Neither the enduring cultural pattern of gaining wealth and renown by defying su-

²⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 139-40.

²⁹ A. L. Kroeber, *Anthropology* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1948), pp. 403-5.

³⁰ A pertinent example from pre-Christian days was Hrafnakel Freysgodí, who, as his name indicates, set up a temple to Frey with himself as chief official. He lost a lawsuit and with it his power and property; his opponents plundered Hrafnakel's gods and burned down the temple. Hrafnakel then declared, "I think it folly to believe in a god," and lived true to his word. His atheism is no more unusual than his opponents' casual sacrilege (Jones, *Four Icelandic Sagas*, p. 55).

The following anecdote is typical of a strain of hardheaded skepticism which continued to appear centuries after the formal acceptance of Christianity. In the year 1220 two Icelandic chiefs were conversing after a fight against Bishop Gudmund and his men.

"Arnor said to Sighvat, 'It has been a hard bout, kinsman!'"

"'Aye, hard indeed!' says he.

"Arnor said: 'I have been poorly all the summer; but when word came to me from Reekdale that they wanted help, all my aches left me, so that now I am fresh as ever I was in my life.'

"'That is what you might call a miracle,' said Sighvat.

"Arnor answers: 'It is what I would call an occurrence and not a miracle.'" (W. P. Ker, "The Life of Bishop Gudmund Arason," *Saga Book*, V [1906], 86-103).

pernatural powers nor the skepticism just discussed bear any resemblance to the attitudes of Weber's ideal Protestant. And the actual Calvinists, who trembled before the powers of Satan as manifested in witches, and who saw themselves as the instruments of Almighty God, cut a poor figure compared to the Scandinavian heroes who, armed only with their own might and main, defeated fearful demons.

But the important question is whether magical or religious beliefs and interests operated to inhibit or limit economic activity.³¹ We have so far been unable to find a single case in which religion or magic inhibited, limited, or directed a Viking raid, an exploring or colonizing expedition, or the sea trade which accompanied the colonization and which later replaced the raids as a source of economic gain. This is not for lack of data, for the sagas are largely concerned with military and economic exploit. Invariably, success is attributed to skill, courage, self-restraint, and shrewdness, and failure to the lack of the qualities or, sometimes, simply to bad luck.

III. TOUGH-MINDEDNESS

We have borrowed the term "tough-minded" from William James, who set up two ideal types: the tough-minded person, who inclines to empiricism, materialism, pessimism, irreligiousness, fatalism, and skepticism, as contrasted to the tender-minded person, who favors acting on principles and is idealistic, optimistic, religious, and dogmatic.³²

The tough-mindedness of the Northmen is strikingly expressed in the very language and style of the typical sagas. The language "is prosaic to the verge of baldness, the statement of facts so direct and terse as to be almost crude."³³ It is no exaggeration to say that there is no other literature, oral or

³¹ The sagas depict many aspects of daily life but throw little light on the traditions which may or may not have inhibited magical beliefs connected with agriculture and cattle-raising.

³² William James, *Pragmatism* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1916), pp. 12-13.

³³ Gathorne-Hardy, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

written, which puts so much emphasis upon the accurate description of the visible, external life of man. Like Dashiell Hammett, these narrators focus upon man's public interaction; unlike Dostoevski or James Joyce, they avoid the description of his inner life.

Again, the narrators are reluctant to pass any judgment upon the action presented. It must speak for itself; and only occasionally will they assist the reader by describing the public reaction to an unusual act.

It should be emphasized that the sagas are literary rather than accurate historical works. The narrators, however, were so skilled at giving the impression of accuracy that the sagas were long regarded by scholars as unique monuments of painstakingly correct recording, a misconception which has only recently been refuted.³⁴ However, the fact that the sagas are not historically accurate in all details, does not detract from the tough-mindedness of the composers and the audience. Apparently, an excellent story was one that sounded true, and all manner of ingenious stylistic devices were developed to achieve this goal.

This cultural pattern which we have called "tough-mindedness" manifested itself in the Northmen's attitudes toward illness and death. In contradistinction to most primitive and some civilized peoples, who regard illness and death as caused by magic, spirits, or gods, the Norse almost always saw death from illness or old age as a natural phenomenon. The sagas tell of countless cases of individuals who simply sicken or grow old and die. Sometimes, death in battle or in some other dangerous exploit is seen as predestined: one dies when his time is up.

Even more noteworthy is the pagan Scandinavian attitude toward mental illness. Commonly, and plausibly, the individual's symptoms are explained by traumata and not as the consequence of angry spirits or magic. The wife who reacted to the death

of her husband with apathetic depression was not bewitched but shocked. In our modern, tough-minded psychiatric phrase, she must be "made to face reality" and encouraged to release affect. So, when Guðrún sits stony-faced beside the corpse of her husband, her relatives and guests realize that she must be made to weep or she will die. After accounts of their own past woes fail to move her, one woman lifts the shroud from Sigurd and bids her kiss him. Guðrún gazes on his blood-clotted hair, his blinded eyes, and wounded breast and begins to weep and scream.³⁵

In general, eccentrics or individuals whom we would call "psychotic" were tolerated but were not feared or honored as the possessors of supernatural power. The eccentricities of the great scald, Egill Skalla-Grímsson, are narrated in pitiless detail, but it is for his poetic ability, courage, *sang-froid*, and shrewdness that he is admired. Eccentrics or visionaries who accomplish nothing are worth nothing. This attitude, again, stands in sharp contrast to that of many primitive peoples and to that of medieval Europe.

It is probably true that all peoples are interested in the exploration of some area of life. Some groups have devoted themselves to the exploration of erotic sensations; others to mysticism and the spiritual world; still others to the infliction of pain; and some to advancement of science. The Northmen were skeptical and curious about the physical world. When asked why men should be so eager to fare to Greenland, the author of *The King's Mirror* lists as motives fame and the desire for gain and then adds, "Another motive is curiosity, for it is also in man's nature to wish to see and experience the things that he has heard about, and thus

³⁴ See the work of Sigurdur Nordal, summarized by R. G. Thomas, "Studia Islandica," *Modern Language Quarterly*, XI, No. 3 (1950), 281-97, and XI, No. 4 (1950), 391-403. See also Gwyn Jones, "History and Fiction in the Sagas of the Icelanders," *Saga Book*, XIII, No. 5 (1952), 285-306.

³⁵ *The Poetic Edda*, pp. 412-19. Similarly, Snorri relates how King Harald Fairhair kept the corpse of his wife for three years, expecting her to revive. Thorleif the Wise cunningly suggested that he dress his queen in new robes. When the attempt was made, the corpse fell apart, and noxious vermin fled from it. The king then recovered from his delusion (*The Stories of the Kings of Norway* [*Heimskringla*], trans. William Morris and Eiríkr Magnússon [London: Bernard Quaritch, 1893], I, 119-20).

learn whether the facts are as told or not."³⁶ This author reveals indirectly a great deal about Norse skepticism when he expresses his reluctance to describe certain Scandinavian phenomena, lest they seem "fabrications" to non-Norse readers:

Many a man is inclined to be suspicious and think everything fiction that he has not seen with his own eyes; and therefore I do not like to discuss such topics; if my statements are to be called fabrications later on, even though I know them to be true beyond doubt, inasmuch as I have seen some of these things with mine own eyes, and have had daily opportunity to inquire about the others from men whom we know to be trustworthy and who have actually seen and examined them, and therefore know them to be genuine beyond question.³⁷

This aversion to describe anything which appears false or exaggerated appears even in the ancient oral tradition. As Phillpotts remarks: "In these Eddic poems there is plenty of vigorous imagination, but there are no 'faery lands forlorn,' either in the world of gods or in the world of men. Even the magic has a highly practical purpose."³⁸

The reader will doubtless grant that these tough-minded attitudes are either identical or highly consonant with the attitudes necessary for progress in the natural sciences and for the rationally organized exploitation of the world. Their premise is that there is a single, factually true picture of every natural object or human event and that, regardless of moral approval or personal convenience, this picture must be recognized and communicated.

Seen in this historical context, the accomplishments of the later Christianized Icelandic scholars in history, linguistics, and jurisprudence, just as the accomplishment of the author of *The King's Mirror*, are not quite so astonishing. Their spirit of doubt and investigation "knows no parallel elsewhere in the Middle Ages. . . . They aspired to fix the norms that would result in truth." Dubious reports "were handed over to the reader's own judgment with expres-

sions of the writer's skepticism." Contemporary reports as to any event were considered far superior in value to their reflections in later ages.³⁹ Intriguingly, just as the authors of the sagas departed from fact in order to seem more factual, so Snorri, the historian, is led astray by his virtues. "He cannot refrain from making a muddled account intelligible, nor from putting events into a chronological order, and he likes to trace cause and effect. Naturally he is sometimes misled."⁴⁰

Yet, with this sobriety and skepticism, this almost obsessive desire for fact, there went freedom of reasonable conjecture and controlled speculation. The Northmen were not antagonistic to new ideas at least as concerned the physical world, and we have noted their sober acceptance of a new religion. They simply insisted that a thing be classified and judged for what it was—fantasy, conjecture, or fact. Thus, when asked about the dimensions of the earth, this was the careful reply of the author of *The King's Mirror*:

The matter about which you have now inquired I cannot wholly clear up, inasmuch as I have not yet found any one who has knowledge of the entire "home circle" (orb of the earth) and its dimensions and who has explored the whole earth on all its sides, or the nature of the lands and the landmarks located there. If I ever met such a man, one who has seen and examined these things, I should have been able to give you full information about them. But I can at least tell you what those men have conjectured who have formed the most reasonable opinions.⁴¹

We trust that the reader will have granted two propositions about the culture patterns presented above: first, that they occur relatively rarely among the peoples of the world and, second, that taken together they

³⁹ Olrik, *op. cit.*, pp. 193-94. See Phillpotts, *Edda and Saga*, pp. 216-19, and Lawrence Marcellus Larson, "Scientific Knowledge in the North in the Thirteenth Century," *Publications of the Society for the Advancement of Scandinavian Study*, I, No. 4 (1913), 139-46.

⁴⁰ Phillpotts, *Edda and Saga*, p. 228.

⁴¹ *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-47.

³⁶ *Op. cit.*, p. 142.

³⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 101.

³⁸ *Edda and Saga*, p. 146.

comprise a spirit highly congenial, and even perhaps essential, to the rise of capitalism. Still, the granting of these two propositions leaves unresolved several other major problems, and we confess that at present we can do little more than argue about them.

First, how widespread within Norse society was this spirit? The sagas describe prominent people, usually of good family. Yet in his comparative analysis of the rise of capitalism in Europe, Weber emphasized that it was not sufficient for special elites to be liberated from the ties of tradition; the mass of the population, too, must be emancipated. He here had special reference to the great civilizations with rigid caste hierarchies (e.g., China and India), in which different strata existed side by side possessing different and contrary philosophies of life. Needless to say, the structure of Norse society was quite different. There were few ranks, and most of the population were free men. Raiding was a normal occupation for young men; it gave them the opportunity for adventure, wealth, and fame; and it was thus an avenue of social mobility. Some raiding groups were co-operatives in which decisions were arrived at by democratic process. Most of their leaders possessed the necessary capital in the form of a ship; but, given the intimate life on board ship and the equality of risks and rewards (life-chances), it is difficult to see the leader as having an ethic markedly different than his band. Assuming for the moment that religious skepticism originated in the higher social strata, it would be especially likely to spread under conditions of ship life. Lastly, at least in Norway and Iceland and at least in late pre-Christian times, raiding, trading, and farming were not incompatible occupations: the man who engaged in the first customarily also engaged in the second and third.

Second, how widespread was this spirit among the remainder of the Germanic-speaking peoples? The evidence to answer this question directly does not seem to exist. We offer two alternative hypotheses. The spirit might be basic to Scandinavian-

Teutonic culture, changing only very slowly with the centuries. Or it might have been developed in the Scandinavian peoples as a consequence of their special geographical and social relations with the remainder of Europe. On the latter and more modest hypothesis, this spirit would still have been spread with Viking colonizations to much of coastal and northern Europe and to England but might have perished in improper environments. Our unscientific impression is that these cultural patterns still exist in modern Scandinavia, the Netherlands, and England, but not in Germany.

Third, we have done no more than indicate some of the patterns of Norse culture; we have not drawn a balanced portrait which emphasized, equally and impartially, the rational and irrational elements. We have not discussed the powerful kinship system and the code of blood revenge, which kept Norse society in constant turmoil. On the other hand, we have equally not mentioned the Norse attempts to regulate the blood feud by the substitution of monetary payment, their tendency to express many human values in monetary terms, and the decision of controversial cases by formal courts of law.

Finally, and in conclusion, we are left with the following general problem: Over the years the Scandinavian-Teutonic peoples gradually adopted more and more of the cultural traits that had originated in the Mediterranean region. So impressive is this cultural borrowing that it is easy to conceive of post-Medieval civilization as simply a later flowering of classical civilization. On the basis of social theory and of the historical evidence, such a conception would be one-sided. Instead, the problem appears to be one of discovering the elements from each culture that were retained, married to each other, and productive of progeny. In the process of tracing this genealogy, the specific relation of Judeo-Christian prophecy and of the Norse spirit to rational bourgeois capitalism will become clear.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

A JEWISH PEER GROUP

MURRAY B. SEIDLER AND MEL JEROME RAVITZ

ABSTRACT

The influence which adolescent peer groups exert over their members may either support the values of the parents or challenge them. The greater the peer group's integration and cohesion, the more will it usurp the role of the family in the socialization process. In courtship and marriage, social and political beliefs and behavior, and occupational selection the peer group studied has markedly influenced the behavior of its members.

The authors are original and continuing members of a peer group of Jewish boys formed during adolescence. This fact, perhaps, impairs the objectivity of their analysis. On the other hand, it may provide a certain insight which an outsider cannot achieve.

The group began seventeen years ago, when the members were in junior high school. They were ten boys all but one pupils in the same junior and senior high schools. In fact, half of them attended the same elementary school. The number ten is arbitrary, as some boys have belonged peripherally and some others who consider themselves group members are in reality only friends of members. For geographical reasons, some others seem to be sometimes in, sometimes out, but ten comprise the group's core.

The three schools are all large city schools in Detroit. The elementary school had a population of approximately two thousand, while the junior high school and high school each had approximately three thousand students. All are located on a single plot of land in a neighborhood predominantly middle-class and Jewish. The friendships among the group members generally began in school.

The members were all born in the United States. Both parents of all but two group members were born in Europe, for the most part, in Russia or Poland. Most of the fathers are small businessmen. One is a lawyer. In general, the families have enjoyed a comfortable but not lavish standard of living. None can, by any stretch of the imagination, be considered among the elite Jewish

families of Detroit; not even the wealthiest belongs to either of the two exclusive local Jewish country clubs. Several of the parents belong to synagogues, but only very few are religious, and some are definitely not interested in religion and religious activities. The commonest of Jewish traits in their homes were Jewish food and an occasional Jewish phrase, often used because the children would not understand.

During adolescence the members' behavior was typical in many ways of American teen-age behavior. Almost all the boys, for example, "dated" extensively. It was more often than not double or multiple dating. There were also innumerable parties, dances, wiener roasts, athletic contests, etc. Most of the boys were very active in organizations in the high school.

In one important respect, however, this group may be considered not typical of American teen-agers: the very deep and live interest they manifested in public affairs. Though the fascinating topics of sex and athletics were not excluded from their conversations, social and economic issues interested them profoundly. One problem, of course, loomed above all others: whether or not the United States should become involved in World War II. All but two were interventionists. These—one a socialist, the other a self-styled anarchist—eventually registered as conscientious objectors.

Grist for their discussions also included race relations, socialism, freedom, and religion—despite the fact that not a single member, not even those whose parents were the most devout, exhibited any real interest in religious worship, then or since. A few at-

tended the synagogue during the Jewish high holidays, but that was because of parental pressure.

As at once a social club, an athletic club, a discussion club, and a friendship club, the group differed little from a variety of similar age groups in the same area and probably elsewhere as well. "The general fact is that children, especially boys after about their twelfth year," Charles Horton Cooley observed, "live in fellowships in which their sympathy, ambition, and honor often are engaged even more than they are in the family."¹ However, a distinctive feature of this group is its longevity, which happily permits an analysis of group influences over a considerable time span.

On the manifest level, then, this particular group was not extraordinary. But latently it functioned as a strong surrogate for the family. It was clearly a primary group, and as such it was a crucial agent of socialization.²

Not all adolescent groups may be truly said to be primary groups. Not all of them are sufficiently integrated to have so strong a hold over their members. Indeed, the following hypothesis is offered here for subsequent testing: The greater the integration and cohesion of the peer group, the greater the extent to which it will usurp the role of the family in socialization.

In general, during the high-school years the "we feeling" was very strong. As it was the current ruling student group of the school, holding virtually all the important class offices, membership in it was highly prized and jealously guarded.

¹ *Social Organization* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1911), p. 23.

² According to Cooley, "a primary group is characterized by intimate face-to-face association and co-operation. . . . The result of intimate association, psychologically, is a certain fusion of individualities in a common life and purpose of the group. Perhaps the simplest way of describing this wholeness is by saying that it is 'we'; it involves the sort of sympathy and mutual identification for which 'we' is the natural expression" (*ibid.*, pp. 24-25).

The cohesiveness of the group expressed itself in numerous daily telephone calls, in the letters written when on vacation, in vacations spent together, and in the inevitable congregating at one another's homes after school, in the evenings, and on week ends.

Beginning with a high-school "revolt," the group came generally to be spoken of as "the boys" both by themselves and by others. Whether it was the outsiders (parents) perhaps who first gave them the name or whether the members themselves, becoming aware of their unity, began to use the name, no one can say. It is not unlikely, however, that the second possibility followed after the first.

Further proof of extremely high integration, even in the face of a basic crisis, may be seen in the following behavior. "The boys," with two exceptions, were members of the first high-school class to graduate after Pearl Harbor. All but the two who had earlier declared themselves pacifists were inducted into the armed services about a year after graduation. This meant an interruption of college. The boys in service, however, all gave moral support to their two pacifist friends and, furthermore, offered written testimony to the Selective Service authorities as to the sincerity of the latters' convictions. The conscientious objectors were in no way rejected. They all wrote to one another and on leave resumed the intimacy, and old times and the future were discussed with the old feelings of genuine unity.

At the time of writing, the average age of "the boys" is thirty-one. Nine of the ten are married, yet the unity persists: the group has been expanded to include the wives. Of course, this is not to suggest that the group has not been affected by the marriages; it has. But the basic feeling of togetherness still exists. Most of the social activities of the married members, for example, continue to be among "the boys." Moreover, an annual New Year's Eve party at one of the homes has become a tradition. To this gathering come even the peripheral members and those who consider them-

selves members, as to the annual gathering of the clan to reaffirm fealty.

Thus, this clique seems to have survived at least three threats: graduation from high school, World War II and its ensuing dispersion, and, finally, marriage. Scrutiny of the behavior of "the boys" and their parents should reveal how the group controlled its members' behavior in three main areas of life: courtship and marriage, social and political beliefs and behavior, and occupational selection.

To be sure, the clique did not do all the socializing of "the boys" while they were members. Each family certainly contributed much to the son's personality, enabling him to become and remain a member. Though the families must be held primarily accountable for the characteristics of their sons, paradoxically, once the group originated and developed, it reduced family influence. "The boys" were in one another's company constantly. Sometimes they resented staying at home to greet their family's guests or rebelled at going out with the family, because it prevented them from being together. The families recognized the effect of the group on the lives of their sons. Several parents occasionally blamed the group for their sons' objectionable behavior, the immediate effect of which, of course, was that "the boys" defended their friends. Sometimes they denied the rather obvious fact that the group had any hold on them at all. In any event, the group's hold on "the boys" probably was noticed earlier by the parents than by the "independent and individualistic" young adolescents.

So strongly integrated a primary group curtailed its members with outsiders. Each member was involved in a most satisfying network of relationships and therefore did not seek more than marginal contact with others. Only one new member joined after "the boys" graduated. In short, their outlook was markedly ethnocentric. Symptomatic of their ethnocentrism was the defensiveness of "the boys." They would argue that other groups and other people offered very little of interest; that others were in-

terested in dances, football, parties, and the like, to the exclusion of the important matters of the mind that occupied *their* group.

Limiting contacts with outsiders proved not to be a permanent or serious problem. When a member had to leave for school or the army, he was apparently not at all socially handicapped. The members seemed to make friends with more than average ease, and, though usually these new relationships were not so deep and intimate, some close attachments were established with outsiders—a tendency that appears increasingly prominent. In a way, this moving-out into the world and making outside contacts may be likened to the moving-out of the family by the adolescent and his growing sense of independence and security beyond the confines of family life. With respect to these boys, the clique functioned as a substitute for the family and even retarded the development of the members' outside or foreign relationships. The full consequences of acquiring new friends have yet to be seen.

During their high-school days "the boys" dated Jewish girls (they were the great majority at the school) almost exclusively. After graduation, however, they made almost as many social arrangements with non-Jewish as with Jewish girls, which is unusual behavior in young Jewish Americans. Not that other Jewish boys did not date non-Jewish girls; they did, but, as other in-group males with out-group females, it was to exploit them sexually. What was unusual was that the non-Jewish girls they dated were treated as they treated their Jewish girls. These were not clandestine relationships; non-Jewish girls were openly escorted to group parties and were received with cordiality and warmth. They were even introduced to parents. In later years eight of the ten members were to have at least one intense emotional relationship with a non-Jewish girl, in which marriage was a real possibility.

Even more startling is the incidence of outmarriage among "the boys." Of the nine

already married, three are married to non-Jews. And, when peripheral group members are counted, there are two more. It is also important to point out again that eight of the ten seriously considered exogamy. Moreover, judging from the dating of the still unmarried member, there is a reasonable likelihood that he, too, may marry outside the religion of his parents. Such behavior is clearly proscribed by Jewish folkways and mores.

The statistics concerning the intermarriage of Jews in the United States are neither clear nor definite. But there is no evidence to indicate that the rate of intermarriage is greater than 5 per cent. Of the larger groups in the American community, only Negroes exceed Jews in endogamy.³ It should be noted, however, that more Jewish men than women intermarry.⁴ Even so, the rate of intermarriage for this Jewish clique is extraordinarily high. None of their parents intermarried or even contemplated doing so, and in each family the prospect of intermarriage was met with objections. But the integration of "the boys" was strong enough to enable them to defy the mores of their ethnic group.

While hard to substantiate conclusively, it seems clear that certain individuals altered their social outlook, consciously or unconsciously, toward more nonconformity (from the community viewpoint) in order to gain greater acceptance from the clique. One member, for instance, upon first joining the group, argued that Negroes were inferior to whites. It was not long before he became a champion of racial equality, even though his parents still think as he did earlier.

When the second World War ended, "the boys" returned to college. Their social, political, and economic philosophies had become more markedly nonconformist. Sev-

eral had seen very difficult military service; one had been killed. Another vowed he would never fight in a war again. All had deeply resented every aspect of military life, especially its authoritarianism. Most were considerably disillusioned by the disparity between the declared aims of the war and its results, as they interpreted them. Five voted Socialist in 1948, when they had their first opportunity to vote in a presidential election. One refrained from voting on anarchist principles. All became much more interested in social reform in general. They were especially concerned with bettering the lot of minorities in the United States. Emphatically they rejected every form of racism, including Jewish prejudice toward non-Jews. As a group, with one exception, they were either hostile or indifferent to Zionism.

In contrast, several of the parents were decidedly friendly toward the Zionist movement, nine of the ten parents were staunch Roosevelt Democrats, and several harbored at least a perpetual suspicion of Negroes. Moreover, the siblings of the members, on the whole, followed their parents, with, of course, some "next-generation" modification and liberalization.

The wives of "the boys," in general, adopted their husbands' friends and eased away from their former friends. The clique was so strong that in effect it pulled in all intimate associates of its members and left them little time for other relationships. Moreover, of course, "the boys" were more committed to their clique than were their wives, who were involved in the groups in which they had previously participated.

For some members the group may have been influential in reinforcing at least the choice of occupation. In moving all the group members into the professions, it may have been significantly influential. Six of the ten are now physicians, of whom four have decided upon psychiatry as a specialty and at least one other had considered it seriously at one time. Of the others, two are university social science teachers, one is a lawyer, and, finally, one is totally commit-

³ Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy, "Single or Triple Melting Pot? Intermarriage Trends in New Haven," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1944), 331-39.

⁴ M. C. Elmer, *The Sociology of the Family* (Boston: Ginn & Co., 1945), p. 195.

ted to the idea of becoming a writer. Only one ever gave any thought to the idea of going into business, yet that is an occupation very common among boys of their particular background. But their clique generally condemned business ethics. Further, the physicians among them are highly critical of the status quo in medicine and favor either compulsory health insurance or the outright socialization of medicine. Both the university instructors are members of the American Federation of Teachers.

Inasmuch as medicine ranked very high among Jewish parents as a suitable occupation for their sons, the clique can hardly claim exclusive credit for turning the latter's attention to a medical career. Each of "the boys" would doubtless have been encouraged by his family at least to consider medicine seriously. Three, for example, had brothers who were doctors. The clique reinforced the interest in that profession. Also, their preponderant interest in psychiatry—a branch of medicine viewed with some suspicion even by many doctors—is, very probably, another manifestation of the group's patterned nonconformity: that the four physicians decided to become psychiatrists is surely more than a chance happening. One of the other two decided *not* to specialize in psychiatry only after he had been away from the group for a year while studying in another city. It is likely, too, that the common professional background of "the boys" has helped the group to endure.

To turn to the main hypothesis of this paper, that the clique was so strongly integrated that it became a primary group for its members and took over that role from the respective families—how else can we explain for the group the high incidence of outmarriage, of nonconformist ideas, of professionals—physicians, psychiatrists, and social scientists? There is nothing unusual about the values and beliefs of the parents of these young men which would account for the direction of their ideas and

behavior, with one exception. One boy's parents were lifelong socialists, and his attitudes were derived at least in part from his family. However, they were probably strongly supported by the group values. Some seeds of interest in social issues probably stemmed from this source, especially as the group frequently met at this boy's home. The attitudes of the parents were for the most part commonplace, ranging from hearty opposition to reluctant acceptance of intermarriage, from agreement to the more usual disagreement in matters political, social, and economic. There was little parental opposition to the occupational selections; in fact, virtually all the parents were pleased. In keeping with the American promise, the children had surpassed their parents in professional achievement.

James Bossard says: "Each peer group has a culture which is distinctly its own." He goes on to say that peer groups may be considered as primary groups which have a fundamental impact upon the personalities of their members. Moreover, he maintains, as did Cooley, that they can exert, exceeding that of their families, a degree of control over their members.⁵ More recently, David Riesman theorized about the influence of the peer group, particularly upon what he calls "other-directed" children.⁶ Many of the data from the study of "the boys" support Riesman's propositions.

The intense solidarity of the group and its long duration fostered a situation which was extremely favorable to the members' internalization of its culture. Even granting differentials in internalization, it can be safely assumed that all the personalities of "the boys" were fundamentally affected by the group culture.

WAYNE UNIVERSITY

⁵ *The Sociology of Child Development* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 508, 504, 516, 519.

⁶ *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

THE REDUCTION OF STRAIN IN A MARGINAL SOCIAL ROLE

WALTER I. WARDWELL

ABSTRACT

Structural sources of strain in the role of the chiropractor tend to validate Leonard Cottrell's propositions concerning role adjustment. But analysis of strain in a role is incomplete unless strain reduction is also considered, since the latter comprises part of the situation which produces strain. For example, the chiropractors' ideology of an oppressed minority legitimizes their present social position, explains why they are not fully accepted as doctors, and defines their future goals.

The purpose of this paper is to contribute to the development of role theory through application of Leonard Cottrell's propositions concerning role adjustment to an empirical case—that of the chiropractor.¹ The following seem for Cottrell to be the most important factors contributing to role adjustment: (1) the degree of clarity with which the role is defined: specifically, the proportion of social situations for which there are explicit definitions of action agreed upon by all relevant parties; (2) the compatibility of alternate role behaviors required of a person in a given status position; and (3) satisfactory attainment of the goals highly valued in the subcultural group. He also states that "the amount of tension, anxiety, and frustration generated by the attempt to discover and play a given role is an index of the individual's adjustment to such a role." However, it is not enough merely to isolate sources of strain. Other elements in the situation are patterns of strain reduction. Although Cottrell explicitly mentions that role adjustment varies with "the accessibility of substitute gratifications," he does not pursue this notion further or mention any other patterns of strain reduction. But analysis of them is as essential as analysis of the sources of strain.

Deficiency in any of the three aspects of role adjustment which Cottrell enumerates exemplifies what Talcott Parsons in his lectures has called "socially structured strain." "Social structure" consists of culturally defined behavior patterns appropriate to vari-

ous status positions which may be viewed as its "parts."² When the definition of role behavior is vague or inconsistent (Cottrell's first and second points), the social structure is impaired and roles are subject to strain. Socially structured strain also appears in situations where the goals defined as appropriate for a role cannot be attained (Cottrell's third point). Although the reasons for nonattainment of goals may be idiosyncratic to the individual or otherwise "accidental," consistent nonattainment of goals by incumbents of a role probably results from ambiguity in the definition of the role, for "rights" to remuneration³ should be considered part of the definition of a role. Since this is so, Cottrell's third factor in role adjustment, (c) above, may be regarded as a corollary or special case of the first (a).

Strain in a social role produces tension, anxiety, or frustration. The *role* concept is the link between the sciences of sociology and psychology, and the development of role theory is a necessary preliminary to their eventual integration into a unified body of theory. Not all strain-reduction patterns are "reactions" to frustration, but those that are should be explicable in psychodynamic terms. The following are the principal types of psychological reaction to tension and frustration: (1) aggression (the

² The above represents the static view. From the point of view of dynamic process the terms corresponding to *status* and *social structure* are *role* and *social system*. The various roles and role complexes are interdependent "parts" of the social system which through their interaction maintain the system as a going concern.

³ Cf. Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), pp. 70 ff.

¹ "The Adjustment of the Individual to His Age and Sex Roles," *American Sociological Review*, VII (1942), 617-20.

best-known statement of this is Dollard's "frustration-aggression" hypothesis;⁴ (2) *regression* to earlier, that is, infantile or more primitive, modes of behavior; (3) *withdrawal*, either physical or symbolic, from the frustrating situation (physical withdrawal is often, however, no more feasible than is a forthright effort to remove the source of frustration); and (4) *accommodative behavior*, either overt or entirely mental: substitute goals may be adopted or the same goals may be sought by substitute means; cognitive reorganization may facilitate adjustment to the existing situation or may justify the adoption of other means to the original goals, a kind of rationalization.

There is a continuous feedback to the source of strain which is an important phase of the interactive process. A vicious circle often results in which cause and effect cannot be determined but which nevertheless exhibits a certain directionality—in which, as it were, the horse and his cart are running side by side.

STRAIN IN THE ROLE OF THE CHIROPRACTOR

To make these propositions more meaningful through empirical application, the role of the chiropractor in contemporary American society seems peculiarly well adapted. It is a social role that is marginal to the well-institutionalized role of the doctor. On the one hand, chiropractors practice their healing art as doctors, while, on the other, they are officially condemned by the American Medical Association as imposters in the doctor's role. The public is confused, although its evaluation of them is in general less harsh than that of organized medicine. The chiropractor's role is marginal to that of the physician in at least the following five respects: (1) amount of technical competence; (2) breadth of scope of practice; (3) legal status; (4) income; and (5) prestige.⁵ The role's marginality derives from the fact that chiropractors claim to be doctors of a special kind and are so regarded by many people

but that society at large does not accord them this status.

As Cottrell implies, lack of clarity in the definition of the role hampers adjustment, producing strain. In addition to ambiguity in the definition of the role of any doctor, the chiropractor's role is ambiguous for several other reasons. There is vast ignorance on the part of patients and potential patients as to what chiropractors do, and, more important, chiropractors themselves disagree on the question of what chiropractic treatment should be. The "straights" limit themselves to spinal manipulation alone, sometimes "adjusting" only upper cervical vertebrae, while the "mixers" also use heat, light, air, water, exercise, diet regulation, and electric modalities in their treatment. State laws differ as widely in the scope of practice they permit. In most states chiropractors are limited to spinal manipulation and simple hygienic measures, while in others they may perform minor surgery, practice obstetrics, and sign death certificates. In four states, Massachusetts, New York, Mississippi, and Louisiana, they are not licensed at all but are prosecuted (they would say "persecuted") for practicing medicine without a license. The law is usually haphazardly enforced, however, with the result that the chiropractors in those states practice more or less openly. In certain other states many chiropractors depart from the exact provisions of the law. It is no wonder that, "the public, where it has any knowledge at all of it, has a confused opinion of chiropractic."

Interviews with chiropractors in a state where they are not licensed reveal this tension and frustration:

We in ——— are martyrs to chiropractic. . . . My brother left the state because he

⁵ For further discussion of the concept of marginality of a social role and a descriptive summary of the contemporary role of the chiropractor see the writer's "A Marginal Professional Role: The Chiropractor," *Social Forces*, XXX (1952), 339-48. For additional details consult the writer's doctoral dissertation, "Social Strain and Social Adjustment in the Marginal Role of the Chiropractor" (Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1951).

⁴ John Dollard, *Frustration and Aggression* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1939).

couldn't take it any longer—not knowing whether the next person who came into his office was going to be the one to testify against him in court. . . . The worst thing about being a chiropractor is that you have to practice behind locked doors.⁶

I am thinking of giving up practice and getting an agency of some kind. It would be better than the uncertainty of practicing as it is now, which is like having an ax hanging over your head all the time.

Cottrell's second proposition focuses on the incompatibility of alternate role behaviors required of one in a given status. Lee, for example, has distinguished three aspects of the role of the physician: (1) the scientist-warrior on the frontiers of knowledge; (2) the gentle technician-savior of the sick; and (3) the retailer of medical knowledge, a scarce commodity which has been obtained by labor, sacrifice, and cash.⁷ While these roles are often combined in specific persons, there are elements of incompatibility in them, particularly in the last two: between motivation in the humanitarian-altruistic and in the economic-egocentric roles ("collectivity-orientation" versus "self-orientation" in Parsons' terminology).⁸ Parsons has shown that there is no necessary conflict for physicians between long-range self-interest and short-run collectivity-orientation in their dealing with individual patients in a well-integrated social situation.⁹ However, since our society is not perfectly integrated, there may well exist conflict between the two. Oswald Hall has found that physicians excluded from the inner fraternity of the medical profession follow individualistic careers. These are set apart from other types "by the keen competition for patients and fees and by the conception of a medical

practice as a commercial venture in which success is measured by income and number of patients."¹⁰ The social situation of the chiropractor is certainly not well integrated. It is not surprising that, although most chiropractors appear to have well internalized the doctor's obligations pertaining to helping the sick, others follow the role of business entrepreneur in their day-to-day orientation toward patients. Hence we get such extreme statements as the following:

I try to be a businessman as well as a professional man. I am interested in getting my fee. If a man gets a treatment and doesn't have the money to pay for it, I tell him I expect to be paid for my work. If he gets a second treatment and doesn't have money to pay for it, I tell him in no uncertain terms that I don't do business that way. . . . I don't solicit or encourage charity cases.

On the third prerequisite of adjustment, the attainment of highly valued goals, chiropractors are disadvantaged in comparison with physicians. Their incomes are lower than those of physicians on the average, but that troubles them less than their failure to achieve recognition as competent doctors of a respected healing art. Patients come to them "when they have exhausted medical science and their money," one chiropractor lamented. Even in states where they are licensed, chiropractors normally do not share the use of tax-supported medical facilities such as hospitals and laboratories. Official AMA publications continue to call chiropractic "quackery," chiropractors "charlatans," and chiropractic patients "psychos," "hypochondriacs," or "dupes." (The chiropractic patient is thereby also cast in a marginal social role.) Chiropractic must therefore be "sold" to new patients, and this is a nuisance. Even convinced patients may have to be persuaded to try chiropractic for ailments other than those pertaining to muscles and joints or those for which they have previously been helped by a chiropractor. All this lowers the chiropractor's estimation of himself.

¹⁰ "Types of Medical Careers," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (1949), 249.

⁶ All quotations, unless otherwise indicated, are from interviews with chiropractors in Massachusetts.

⁷ Paraphrased from Alfred M. Lee, "The Social Dynamics of the Physician's Status," *Psychiatry*, VII (1944), 372.

⁸ *Op. cit.*, pp. 60-61.

⁹ Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure" and "The Motivation of Economic Activities," in *Essays in Sociological Theory* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), chaps. viii and ix.

In states without licensing legislation this lack of recognition is impressed on the chiropractor even more strongly. Especially do chiropractors resent having their motives impugned:

It's not right that we're treated as criminals. The legislators should take that into consideration no matter what they think about chiropractic. We're doing good work helping people who are sick. We are not hiding out. We go before the legislature each year to try to get a license. If we stayed in hiding, it would be different.

It isn't fair for the government to provide a jury trial for Communists and not for me. I am an American if there ever was one. My ancestors helped settle the state of Iowa.

PATTERNS OF STRAIN REDUCTION

Strain-reducing patterns in chiropractors' behavior include several types of aggressive behavior, active efforts to remove the source of strain, physical withdrawal, and indications of what may be called "symbolic withdrawal." We find deviant patterns which enable chiropractors to attain money and power by means that are considered unethical or illegal, and we find rationalizations of this behavior. Cognitive accommodation takes the form of a well-developed ideology explaining the chiropractors' unfortunate social position and their unhappy relationship to the medical profession. This we call the "ideology of an oppressed minority." And we find a chiropractic "philosophy" which defines the therapeutic situation in such a way as to reduce the amount of tension involved in it and to explain why failures occur as well as cures. Let us examine these strain-reducing patterns.

Realistic patterns.—Realistic reactions to the strain of practicing in states without a licensing law include the following: (1) uniting for mutual aid, both informally and in associations which provide insurance protection and experienced defense counsel; (2) practicing under the guise of physiotherapists or masseurs; (3) restricting practice to "safe" illnesses and trusted patients; (4) participation in civic and fraternal activities in order to gain community accept-

ance; and (5) attempting to obtain a favorable licensing law by engaging in campaigns to educate the public, organizing patients into laymen's units for the purpose of exerting pressure on legislators, and forming friendships with politically important people.

Chiropractors attribute their failure to obtain favorable legislation almost completely to the opposition of medical interests. They believe that their lack of success is due principally to medicine's superior financial resources. Nevertheless, legislative campaigns are important episodes for them. Although the united front barely conceals the internal friction and contention that make of organized chiropractic a divided house, in general these campaigns are waged enthusiastically. There is always hope that "this time" the bill will pass. The money is contributed. Time and effort are devoted to attending meetings, contacting legislators, and encouraging patients to lend their support. The issue is talked up on all sides, debated publicly within legislative walls, and occasionally reported in the newspapers. Even if a law is not obtained, certain advantages have accrued: chiropractic has presented its case, obtained publicity, and perhaps won new friends. In any event, chiropractors have themselves been actively doing something to enhance their interests. Such behavior provides psychological satisfactions even if it does not succeed in accomplishing its stated purpose. Hence it performs the function of reducing strain in the chiropractic role.

Aggressive patterns.—Aggression may be expressed in overt behavior or verbally. It may be directed at the source of frustration or at a substitute target. The substitute target may bear a symbolic relationship to the source of frustration, or it may simply serve as a convenient scapegoat on which to displace aggression. If no scapegoat is available aggression may be directed toward the members of one's own group (symbolically an intropunitive¹¹ response). We are con-

¹¹ Saul Rosenzweig, "An Outline of Frustration Theory," in J. Hunt (ed.), *Personality and the Behavior Disorders* (New York: Ronald Press, 1944), chap. xi, p. 383.

cerned not with aggression directed toward the chiropractor but with how he handles his own aggression. Most of it is verbal and directed primarily against organized medicine, which is conceived to be the main source of frustration. Secondly aggression is directed against legislators who enact and political authorities who enforce the laws unfavorable to chiropractic, both of which are viewed as tools of a powerful medical monopoly. For example:

I want to talk to you on the American Mendicants' Association—otherwise known as the medical octopus, the medical trust, and this phraseology is not merely a convenient term used to express our disgust and contempt for a certain small body of political medical men who control a much larger body of sincere scientific medical men—it is in truth all that we call it, a trust using constrictive methods. First organized as an educational and protective association, it has spread its tentacles out over the entire country like a vampire. It controls the surroundings of your birth, milk supply, water supply, food supply, the sanitation in your house. . . . The A.M.A. controls the time you are born and the time you die. They help both. . . . There is no trust like it in existence. Of late years it has degenerated into a vast political machine, the biggest dam to medical progress the world has ever seen. It condemns every method, every procedure, every theory, idea or help to humanity that does not originate within and financially help to fill the pockets of its own ranks.¹²

Mixers frequently show more hostility toward straights, whom they view as obstacles to scientific progress, than they do toward physicians. The straights often reciprocate, for they regard mixers as having deserted the straight-and-narrow path of chiropractic by going part way over to medicine. The straights tend to repress their feelings of inferiority to physicians and emphasize the differences between chiropractic and medicine. Since mixers represent the real continuity between the two therapies, they are a symbolically appropriate, as well as more convenient and vulnerable, target for ag-

¹² B.J. Palmer, *The Tyranny of Therapeutic Transgressions, or an Exposé of an Invisible Government* (Davenport, Iowa: Universal Chiropractors Association, 1916), pp. 42-43.

gression displaced from medicine.

A chiropractor can also express his aggressive urges against patients not only verbally but overtly, that is, through giving them vigorous "adjustments." We are not referring here to possible sadism but to the simple fact that patients are available and suitable objects for the displacement of hostility.

Withdrawal patterns.—Professional mortality has always been a problem to the chiropractors. Many practitioners have abandoned their profession completely, while others have practiced only part time. A pattern of symbolic withdrawal would be to limit one's practice to a narrow ("safe") range of illnesses, not as a realistic adjustment to the hazards of practice, but as a defensive reaction to anxiety.

Patterns involving deviant means to cultural goals.—We have already referred to the commercial aspect of the doctor's role as an alternative in a badly integrated social situation. It can serve to reduce strain only if it leads to attainment of some of the goals highly valued in the culture. Among the commercial alternatives of the chiropractor's role are such practices as secret remedies (selling new techniques for a fee), fee-splitting, soliciting patients, and advertising. Of course these are the very evils that beset the medical profession, but they are probably more frequent among chiropractors. It is reported:

One enterprising Los Angeles chiropractor has the front of a large house covered with a series of neon legends in letters at least eighteen inches high. These signs flash on and off in sequence and read, "FEAR," "WORRY," "NERVOUSNESS," "NEUROSIS,"—Dr. ———.¹³

There is little doubt that some chiropractors take unfair advantage of their patients (as do some physicians) by means that are unethical or illegal, such as exaggerating illnesses, promising cures, giving excessive treatment, and overcharging. Such behavior

¹³ Malcolm H. Bissell, Jr., "A Preliminary Investigation of Chiropractic in California" (unpublished paper, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1950). This is an extreme case, as are all those cited in this section, but such cases often best illustrate general trends.

is of course a cause as well as a result of the chiropractor's marginal role. As a matter of fact, these patterns are good examples of the interdependence between socially structured strain and patterns of reaction to it.

The following excerpts illustrate deviant behavior patterns:

My brother never liked practicing in ———. He took over the practice of a man who was an alarmist. He [the alarmist] would tell people they had cancer when they didn't, just as with some M.D.'s every cold is pneumonia; then he would cure them of it.

I once helped out ——— while he went on vacation. When he got back, he told me that I would never get rich at chiropractic because I tend to minimize the patient's condition instead of playing it up. He said: "They come to you because they are sick or they think they are sick. Don't tell them they are not as bad as they thought. Tell them they're *twice* as bad as they thought." He said he would demonstrate on a patient who was waiting to see him. The patient was a new one whom I had gotten over a sacroiliac in four treatments. I had scheduled the fifth appointment after ———'s return so that the patient could meet his regular chiropractor. ——— examined him and said: "You're just beginning to get well!" He sold him fifty dollars' worth of X-rays and talked him into taking some more treatments.

Rationalization of deviant patterns.—It is not difficult for a chiropractor to justify practicing in spite of laws requiring possession of a medical or "limited medical" license. The arguments used are simple: chiropractors have a new type of healing art which the medical monopoly wants to keep from the public in order to prevent financial loss to themselves; until chiropractors obtain sufficient public support to get the laws changed, they are justified in technically violating them; they are bringing relief and health to the suffering sick, many of whom medicine has failed to help. The following statements clearly show these attitudes:

I believe that if we keep our conscience clear then we can feel all right even if the legal authorities say we are not. Anything honest and legitimate is OK. What is a license anyway? It just lets you perform legally.

Decency is an innate quality, while respectability is what is conferred upon us by society.

... The A.M.A. made osteopathy respectable and osteopathy died. Beware of respectability! ... If we are decent, society will eventually confer respectability.¹⁴

More interesting from our point of view are the rationalizations by which chiropractors justify unprofessional and unethical patterns of behavior. Voluminous advertising is regarded as essential to make the new healing art known and to answer the accusations of organized medicine. Solicitation is believed necessary in order to wean patients away from their childhood indoctrination, reinforced by constant "propaganda," that they should see a *medical* doctor when ill. If grandiose claims and impossible promises are made for chiropractic, these, they argue, are warranted by the "miraculous" cures that chiropractic sometimes achieves and the strong possibility that it might help almost any illness. It should be tried anyway. "It is not true to say 'We did everything possible' unless chiropractic was included" is a sentiment often met with in chiropractic literature. And if they sometimes exploit patients financially, this is considered no different from what medical doctors frequently do. To give adjustments to a hypochondriac is considered no more reprehensible than to prescribe pink pills and, they reason, is far better than unnecessary surgery. The greater the amount of mental conflict, the more necessary does rationalization become. The rationalizations here discussed are especially effective because they are patterned, that is, available and used by others subject to the same structured strain.

Accommodative patterns involving cognitive reorganization.—Chiropractors have what we call an ideology of an oppressed minority. However, there are two other cognitive patterns which serve to reduce role tension.

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First, there is chiropractic "philosophy"—principles of therapy together with the reasons therefor. Although these are regarded as having been scientifically verified, most chiropractors accept them on faith and use facts only to substantiate them as best they

¹⁴ James G. Greggerson, *Seven Essays* (pamphlet) (n.p., n.d.) p. 21.

can.¹⁵ These "first principles" structure the therapeutic situation for the chiropractor in an important way. The philosophy postulates a causal relationship between normal nerve functioning and health. Therapy is effected by locating interferences with nerve functioning, principally vertebral impingements, and correcting them, usually by manipulation. If tissue change has not gone too far, the patient will regain health; otherwise not. Surgical intervention is only necessary when tissue degeneration has taken place. The cause of sickness is thus given by the philosophy, and so is the technique for its removal. If the patient is not restored to health even when the chiropractor acts in accordance with the philosophy, this poses another problem to be "handled" cognitively. How is it accomplished? One explanation has just been noted—tissue degeneration may have progressed so far as to make a cure impossible. Another is that the spinal "subluxation" may have existed so long as to make correction well-nigh impossible. But even in other cases of failure chiropractic philosophy is not questioned:

The principle of chiropractic is unlimited, but chiropractors cannot always apply it adequately.

Chiropractic philosophy is perfect. It is beautiful, almost like a religion. The innate intelligence in each person is like a part of God. The only difficulty is that chiropractic philosophy is not always properly applied.

Thus in any given case human frailty rather than inadequacy of the principle itself accounts for failure to effect a cure.

If the chiropractic principle is so sacred that it can never be questioned, then this is cultism, not science. Yet it serves the function of decreasing role tension. It structures the therapeutic situation by eliminating doubt, for it supplies all the answers. It thus gives the practitioner confidence in situations whose outcome, in the nature of the

case, is uncertain. If a cure does not result, it is not the principle but the chiropractor who is at fault, and he should strive to apply the principle better next time. While this "philosophy" should not be considered primarily a reaction to a strain in the chiropractor's role, it performs the function of reducing strain. (It may be noted in passing that, from another point of view, the cultist aspects of chiropractic *produce* strain.)

The second cognitive pattern which reduces strain is related to the first: it is that chiropractic is separate and distinct from medicine. In fact, the two are sometimes thought of as complete opposites of each other. Chiropractic uses "natural healing methods" while medicine injects drugs, poisons, and foreign substances into the body and excises organs and tissues which should better be left in the body. "I believe medicine and chiropractic are incompatible—diametrically opposed to one another. One of them will kill the other off, but I don't know which one." If chiropractic is a science separate and distinct from medicine, a number of legal and psychological advantages result. First, there can then be no reason to expect chiropractors to study the same subjects as physicians or to be able to pass the same type of licensing examination; there should be a separate set of laws regulating the practice of chiropractic just as there are for dentistry and optometry. Second, chiropractors need not feel inferior to physicians if they are members of distinct healing arts. This attitude allows the chiropractor to express his feelings of personal inadequacy by way of condemnation of medical science and the medical profession for its inability to cure the sick. Instead of having to admit that he is inferior in training and social standing to the physician, he can define his situation as follows: "I am not an inferior kind of medical doctor. I am a practitioner as different from the physician as day is from night. My training is fully adequate for the type of healing I engage in. It is true that my legal and social standing is not so high as it should be, but that is something we chiropractors must strive to rectify. We need legislative and educational campaigns to bring about

¹⁵ But there is scientific support for much that chiropractors do, and some medical research supports chiropractic's principles. Cf. references in the writer's "A Marginal Professional Role: The Chiropractor," *op. cit.*, p. 341, and his doctoral dissertation, *op. cit.*, pp. 120-25.

the recognition that chiropractic so richly deserves." In this structuring of attitudes the belief that chiropractic and medicine are opposite in nature plays a key part.

The chiropractic ideology of an oppressed minority may be stated as follows: Although this is nominally a free country, chiropractors do not have real freedom, inasmuch as their constitutional rights to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness are being thwarted by a powerful medical monopoly; the AMA and the "drug trusts" care only for their own financial well-being and not for the health of the citizenry; medical doctors prefer to treat symptoms with drugs and opiates or remove diseased tissue by surgery rather than allow chiropractors to remove the *cause* of disease; since the medical monopoly fears that its profits will be cut if chiropractic and natural healing methods become generally available, it raises every possible obstacle to the chiropractors' efforts; it does not hesitate to bribe legislators in order to gain its ends; it enforces a censorship on magazines, newspapers, and radio programs through its power to withhold pharmaceutical advertising; while it keeps people ignorant of chiropractic, it bombards them with free advertising in the form of news releases glorifying medical achievements and the latest wonder drug.

Chiropractors in general believe that the main reason they are persecuted is that their competition threatens the prestige and vested interests of the medical profession. The latter, they reason, is insincere in its protestation that it acts on behalf of the public welfare, since most chiropractic cures have been effected on previous medical failures. They accuse medical leaders of arguing in two directions at the same time: insisting that chiropractic has no scientific validity whatsoever, while at the same time protesting that they have no objection to anyone's practicing chiropractic providing he has first passed the regular medical examination. Thus, when the doctors say that chiropractors could practice under medical prescription, that shows that they either recognize some benefit to chiropractic therapy or that they are scheming thereby to prevent chiro-

practors from gaining access to patients. Individual physicians are said often to approve of chiropractors and to co-operate with them in aiding the sick, but to be impotent in the face of organized medicine and the drug trusts. Finally, at the same time that medicine pretends to regard chiropractic as pure quackery, it is incorporating into itself chiropractic principles and techniques, though under such new designations as "physical medicine" and "physiatry," and is "discovering" vertebral impingements and manipulative techniques that have been known to chiropractors for a long time.

This ideology enters into the definition of the chiropractor's situation in the following ways:

1. It accounts for the failure of chiropractic to gain scientific acceptance as a system of therapeutics. The blame is attributed to medically biased research workers. The fact that some physicians have adopted chiropractic and others expound theories nearly identical to it has convinced many chiropractors that it is only the influence of organized medicine and the drug interests that prevents the scientific truth of chiropractic from becoming more generally accepted. Consequently, the chiropractic principle need not be called into question even though scientists in general have not accepted it.

2. It accounts for the present sociolegal status of chiropractors, that is, for the fact that they are not fully accepted as doctors under the law or by society at large. Again the "medical monopoly" is blamed for their plight. And there is just enough basis in fact for the belief that a medical monopoly exists and that organized medicine is principally responsible for the legal restrictions on chiropractors to permit the ideology to function in this way. In the first place, it is organized medicine that actively opposes chiropractic legislation and prods law-enforcement officials to see that the enacted statutes are obeyed. In the second place, organized medicine has accepted co-operative working agreements with related professions (e.g., dentistry, podiatry, optometry) only when these have accepted a limited status subordinate to medicine. Professions which refuse

to accept the status of "limited medicine" (osteopathy, chiropractic, naturopathy) are still officially regarded as cults and are excluded from participation in medical activities and installations.¹⁶ In the third place, the medical profession has been restrictive in accepting candidates for training and rather reactionary in its general social orientation:

The medical profession has promoted or permitted itself to be a party to the promotion of intergroup, interracial, and interreligious tensions by setting up quota systems in medical schools, by barring certain races and religions from representation among the employees or even patients of many hospitals, and by being a party to that crowning and unscientific indignity to the American Negro, the Jim-Crowed blood bank and plasma supply.¹⁷

In the fourth place, drug and pharmaceutical concerns appear to have had some influence on AMA policy.¹⁸ And, in the fifth place, a partial censorship of news unfavorable to medical and drug interests apparently exists.¹⁹ But, true or not, chiropractors firmly believe in a "medical monopoly" and blame it for the present social and legal status of chiropractic.

3. It includes a moral justification of the chiropractors' cause. Chiropractors maintain that it is right that they should continue to practice in spite of the legal and social restrictions simply because chiropractic is the "natural" way of gaining and retaining health and because it eliminates the "cause" of disease. It is also right because it has produced cures in cases where medicine has failed and because it helps suffering humanity without regard for the latter's ability to pay. In contrast, the medical profession's sins of omission and commission and

its violations of professional ethics are magnified. This serves to excuse the chiropractors' own failings and to emphasize their moral righteousness.

Medical men, despite their far-flung claims of interest in public health, actually are motivated by the fact that the chiropractic practitioner is taking away patients from them; and taking away patients *means taking away fees*. This economic factor is behind the desire to destroy the science.²⁰

Sometimes the chiropractor's rationalization seems to be as simple as this: "I am making a living at chiropractic. That must mean that my patients are satisfied. Therefore I am doing some good for them and hence am morally justified in continuing to practice." There is nothing more reassuring to a doctor than to see his patients get well. Whether it was his doing or not, he ordinarily is given, and takes, credit for the cure. But, whatever their reasoning, most chiropractors, even in states where they are not licensed, feel that they are engaged in a perfectly legitimate undertaking.

4. It defines the situation for future action. It even becomes at times militant and has produced such slogans as "Go to jail for chiropractic!" It is significant that the ideology focuses the chiropractor's attention on the politicolegal sphere rather than on the theory and practice of chiropractic itself, thus projecting the source of difficulty outside the profession. Consequently, the primary effort need not be directed toward self-improvement. The main goal becomes the correction of legal iniquities either by a campaign of public education or by some other program to obtain favorable legislation.

5. It justifies almost any means of combatting medicolegal "oppression." The reasoning is that, when one is being kicked, it is all right to kick back; dirty fighting invites reprisal, and since the medical monopoly resorts to censorship and political deals, chiropractic must do the same if it is to survive.

²⁰ *ABC of Establishing Chiropractic* (pamphlet) (New York: American Bureau of Chiropractic, 1929), p. 9.

¹⁶ Cf. "Associating with Osteopaths" (editorial), *Medical Economics*, February, 1941, p. 39.

¹⁷ Lee, *op. cit.*, p. 376.

¹⁸ Cf. James Rorty, *American Medicine Mobilizes* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1939), *passim*.

¹⁹ Cf. George Seldes, *Freedom of the Press* (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1935), chap. iii, "Bad Medicine"; and Annie Hale, *These Cults* (New York: National Health Foundation, 1926), pp. 193-99.

These, then, are the ways in which the conception of himself as a member of an oppressed minority structures environment for the chiropractor. Holding this set of ideas about his situation greatly facilitates the chiropractor's adjustment to his role. It answers for him, on a small scale, of course, some of life's basic problems: What *is* my relationship to other people? What should be my relationship to the world? How can I account for the discrepancy between what *is* and what *ought* to be? (This is parallel to the problem of evil in theology, for the chiropractor the evil principle being monopolistic medicine.) What goals should a person in my position strive for? And what are the ways by which these goals can be achieved? Throughout, the question of the legitimacy of the chiropractor's role is at stake. Everyone needs a system of ideas that will provide answers to life's basic problems. The cognitive aspect of religion does this for the most important problems of meaning. Similarly, in a more limited way, an ideology does the same

thing for participants in a "social movement." The chiropractic "cause" is in many respects a kind of social movement uniting chiropractors and patients working toward reform. American society has seen many social movements, though none just like chiropractic. Each typically has an ideology which performs functions similar to those of the chiropractic ideology—namely, structuring the environment as an action-determinant. This of course is what is meant by the phrase "defining the situation for action." The chiropractic ideology is an accommodative pattern, facilitating adaptation to the chiropractor's role. It is true that this part of the definition of the chiropractor's situation for action partly constitutes his role and may even exert some effect on the objective situation in which chiropractors act, but the ideology as a whole certainly also provides a pattern of adjustment for the chiropractor.

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

ADULT TALK ABOUT NEWSPAPER COMICS

LEO BOGART

ABSTRACT

Casual conversation in the impersonal Great Society is described by Simmel as a substitute for intimate sociability. The mass media appear to provide a convenient source of universally familiar conversational materials. For 121 male tabloid readers in a tenement neighborhood in New York City, conversation is a sociable pastime, in which comic-strip characters and events are discussed in primarily literal terms as part of a chain of trivial small talk. The comics provide metaphors for banter and occasional pretexts for veiled fantasy.

How and why do the newspaper comic strips figure in the talk of men in a low-income urban neighborhood? How do they bear upon the relations between one man and another? These are the questions this report seeks to answer.

As usually described, urban secular industrialized society has brought about increasingly impersonal human relations, specialized, and segmentalized. The significant others in an individual's life change as he picks up and drops the roles of neighbor, worker, churchgoer, club member.

It seems logical to assume that, to the extent that people have only limited and segmental knowledge of one another, it may be hard to find common interests to talk about, apart from the interests which brought them together in the first place. Thus there may be great need for "universal" topics of talk. Moreover, interpersonal relationships which lack intimacy call for superficial conversation on subjects remote from the real concerns of the speakers. Georg Simmel has described "talk for the sake of talking":

In purely sociable conversation, the topic is merely the indispensable medium through which the lively exchange of speech itself unfolds its attractions. . . . For conversation to remain satisfied with mere form it cannot allow any content to become significant in its own right. . . . [Talk] thus is the fulfillment of a relation that wants to be nothing but relation—in which, that is, what usually is the mere form of interaction becomes its self-sufficient content. Hence, even the telling of stories, jokes, and anecdotes, though often only a pastime if not

a testimonial of intellectual poverty, can show all the subtle tact that reflects the elements of sociability. It keeps the conversation away from individual intimacy and from all purely personal elements that cannot be adapted to sociable requirements. . . .¹

The mass media provide a natural source of such conversational material. They are by nature impersonal, there being no direct interaction between artist and audience. Their heroes, symbols, and themes are part of a common universe of discourse. They are familiar to all; their meanings are clear and stereotyped. They interest people without threatening them. Since they belong to the world of imagination, they are not obviously value-laden. Nonetheless, they are close enough to unconscious fantasies to permit identification and to create interest. Thus the newspaper comic strips, and the press generally, with television, radio, the popular magazines, and the motion pictures all provide grist for the mill of conversation in America today.

Intensive interviews were conducted in the summer of 1949 with 121 male readers of two New York newspapers, the *News* and the *Mirror*. All were residents of Lenox Hill, a low-income tenement neighborhood ethnically mixed, on Manhattan's upper East

¹ *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, trans. Kurt H. Wolff (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), pp. 52-53. Another translation of Simmel's essay, "Die Soziologie der Geselligkeit," that by Everett C. Hughes, appears in "The Sociology of Sociability," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (November, 1949), 254-61. The paragraph referred to here is translated on p. 259.

Side.² Virtually all those interviewed were wage-earners in industry or service trades, divided about evenly among skilled, semi-skilled, and unskilled workers. Only two had more than a high-school education. Twenty-six per cent were foreign-born, in approximately equal proportions in Great Britain and Ireland, Germany and Austria, Czechoslovakia, and Italy and eastern Europe. These were not the most avid comic-readers who might have been interviewed; earlier research shows reading to be highest in the middle-income range.

The conclusions drawn from so small and particular a sample are not intended as generalizations. They are reported here simply to indicate the place of the comics in the conversation of American workers.

The comics are as universally familiar as the daily newspaper. Unlike much else in the paper, they are fairly noncontroversial. They are read by four of every five urban adults in America.³ Eighty-five per cent of those interviewed read them; 60 say that they have "talked about the things happening in the comic strips."

Significantly more of the high-school educated respondents (71 per cent) report discussing the comics than those with less education (53 per cent).⁴ Many studies of public opinion have shown that persons of superior education are most likely to discuss politics and current events. But the comics are popular symbols. One might well have

expected to find the poorly educated *more* likely to talk about the comics because they presumably have fewer things to talk of. But the data show that to engage in discussion has less to do with a particular subject than with a generalized confidence or articulateness, which education helps to provide. The better-educated are better oriented to the mass media; they absorb more of their content, even the trivia.⁵

Discussion of the comics among middle-class persons may well be largely confined to the family circle. However, on Lenox Hill, conversation about the comics occurs typically among adult males—at work, in the tavern, at the street corner: "down by the garage"; "when we're on our way to work"; "in the shop"; "with my friends"; "barroom talk"; and "with a bunch of fellows on the corner."

Interest in the comics is no greater among fathers than among childless men. Only a few mention conversations with children or other members of the family:

[Restaurant headwaiter, age thirty-nine]: Yes, if there are some nice little jokes, I tell them to my daughter; she's about eight years old. She's started to follow them by herself now. When I get home, I read it to the daughter, and she gets interested now and always asks, "What's next?" or I have to go on and explain it to her.

The paucity of other shared experience in the family probably characterizes their social milieu.

The comics are usually discussed in terms of their literal content—the characters and the things they say or do. Though perhaps the least "realistic" of popular literature, their characters are invariably referred to as though they had an independent existence.

Any "serious" conversation about the comics would have to consider them as a form of art. Yet comments on the technique

² The method of the research is described at greater length in the writer's doctoral dissertation, "The Comic Strips and Their Adult Readers" (University of Chicago, 1950). The characteristics of the random sample selected for interviewing accord well with census data on the population characteristics of the census tracts in which the selected area falls. The neighborhood was chosen for its social homogeneity to secure the highest possible concentration of tabloid readers. The tabloid *News* and *Mirror*, with New York's largest circulations, are specially analyzed in another portion of the same study.

³ *America Reads the Comics* (New York: Puck, the Comic Weekly, n.d.).

⁴ This difference could occur by chance with a probability between .01 and .001 by the chi-square test ($T = .38$).

⁵ On this point see also O. N. Larsen and R. J. Hill, "Mass Media and Interpersonal Communication," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 426-33, and Leo Bogart, "The Spread of News on a Local Event," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XIV (1950), 769-72.

of the strips are rare. There is little place for discussion of style or artistic virtuosity which a middle-class audience might hold on the subject of movies, the theater, or literature:

[Policeman, age thirty-one]: I don't recall discussing any of the comic strips with the exception of "Prince Valiant" in the *Journal*. Most people remark on the way that strip is drawn—very authentic in detail; very nice drawing.

[Ice-cream distributor, age twenty-seven]: A lot of people would come up to me and ask me whether I read this cartoon this morning. "Smokey Stover"—the cartoonist behind it is a genius for putting together phrases. Fellows used to comment about it.

The comics are not supposed to be taken seriously, and the respondent is a little defensive when questioned about them; phrases like "just trying to get a laugh" or "of course we all laugh at it" show how unimportant he considers them.

[Construction laborer, age thirty-one]: Yeah, with a bunch of fellows on the corner. I'd say, "Dick Tracy is in another scrape; I wonder how he'll get out of it." Of course we all laugh at it. And a guy will say, "Bet you half a dollar he gets out of it." Bunch of kids down at the café there.

The individual who takes the comics at face value, exhibiting a strong and genuine interest, is regarded as a deviant:

[Elevator operator, age thirty-seven]: Yes, Mother and myself and son get together talking about it. Just casually, of course; we don't go biting our fingernails about it. I've got one friend who actually bites his nails worrying how Dick Tracy is going to come out.

[Truck-driver, age twenty-six]: Last night a guy comes up and wonders how Li'l Abner was doing. The guys were talking all about it afterward, wondering whether the guy is nuts to wonder about how Li'l Abner is making out. He was really interested, and the boys had to tell him just what it was all about.

Actually, 36 per cent of those interviewed report that, on occasions when they have missed the paper, they have gone to some

trouble to find out what had been happening in their favorite comic strips. But apparently such inquiries must be discreet and indirect. For it is an unusual person who admits reading the comics in order to use them as a conversation piece.

[Janitor, age fifty, mentions two comics which he reads regularly]: The other things I just read in case of conversation. When someone talks about them, you'll know about them. [Does that happen often?] Oh, yeah, quite regularly. Almost everybody reads the comics. Somebody says, "Did you read this, and did you read that?" and you can have a conversation for two hours after that on the funnies.

More often, the men take a more casual view of the habit. For example:

[Grocery clerk, age twenty-two]: Occasionally, we might discuss some funny article that might have happened. Very seldom, though. Just trying to get a laugh out of someone else that might have missed it. Just passing time talking, when there's nothing much to say.

Having something to talk about may make for companionship among people who are thrown together yet who share only a few common interests and associations. Moreover, among men working at jobs which are monotonous and repetitious, innocuous banter about the comics may fill empty moments.

[Mechanic, age forty]: Yes, we talk about how it would come out and how you think it's going to happen. If we have nothing else to do, we're standing around talking; we get into a conversation about it. Usually when we're on our way to work. It's in the Sunday paper now how they're going to break in the Sheriff [in "Mickey Finn"]. We just happened to discuss now how he's going to make out.

[Railroad baggageman, age thirty-five]: The fellows in work start talking about "Dick Tracy," and they imagine what's going to happen next. They like to kid around. In the meantime it makes work pleasanter and easier. We always did like that in work.

Such talk may be a reaching-out for fellowship, or the subject may be brought up to provoke response in another human being,

to win his approval and friendship by making him laugh:

[Truck-driver, age twenty-two]: If a new character is introduced, if he's funny, if he's awkward, if he's portrayed good, you might mention it to somebody just for the effect of a laugh.

The comics are, in fact, an ideal subject for "kidding": their familiar protagonists are convenient targets of wit and irony in casual conversation. They offer ready-made satirical imagery, readily applicable to real people and problems.

[Machinist, age twenty-one]: We'd be talking about something, and then we would refer to it, like trying to make it the same way. Like seeing the way a fellow fell, a guy would say, "Just like in that comic strip."

[Laborer, age twenty-two]: I have often referred to ["The Flop Family"] when something happens in the strip that's like something that happens in the house, in the average family.

A broad distinction can be drawn between comic strips which are intended to be funny and which, like "Blondie," deal with the events of domestic life and those devoted to dramatic adventure. The latter may be either "realistic" and plausible, like "Terry and the Pirates," or clearly fantastic, like "Superman."

Comic-strip characters, particularly in the domestic and fantastic strips, are often stereotyped caricatures of personality which arouse laughter insofar as their actions parallel actual events. In this respect, the humor is as described by Henri Bergson: the perception of incongruity between the living and the "mechanical."⁶ To compare a policeman to Dick Tracy is to reduce him from a flesh-and-blood individual to a flat-paper image which is thrown into the trash-bin each night.

[Bus-driver, age thirty-nine]: Well, down on the job if some of the other fellows talk about it, we talk about what happened. About a couple of weeks ago during lunchtime some guy was talking about what some guy on the street said. He got a ticket from a patrol car on

One Hundred and Twenty-fifth Street, and he thought that was like what Dick Tracy would do. That thing was brought up.

[Ice-cream distributor, age twenty-seven]: There's a lot of things in comics that pertain to real life, and a guy says, "That's just like my wife or my mother-in-law."

As suggested by the last quotation, a bantering analogy between a comic-strip character and a real individual may mask aggression. But, even where the reference is direct, the victim is not expected to take offense:

[Plumber, age thirty-seven]: Sometimes, to a friend. Like something happens, like a new character comes up in "Dick Tracy"; you see a guy who looks like that new character, and you give him a name. A guy that's short and round you call him "Pear Shape," first thing you know.

[Piano repairman, age twenty-two]: At times, barroom talk. When Dick Tracy had that character Mumbles, whenever someone had a mistake in speech, we'd call him "Mumbles"; or sometimes somebody might start talking like Li'l Abner.

In the last example the process is reversed; the young man who starts "talking like Li'l Abner" is momentarily assuming his identity in the same way as the small boy who flaps his arms and shouts, "I'm Superman!" Indeed, the comic-strip hero may be talked about as a model to be emulated, for the comics are setting norms for behavior and aspirations in the same way that motion pictures, television, or magazines do.

[Chauffeur, age thirty]: Sometimes with my friends it would be like the phrase of the day: "Go out and do like 'Gasoline Alley'; get a loan like he did, or start a business like he did."

Here the irony, if any, lies in the bitter contrast between the respondent and his successful hero.

Fantasies involving the comic-strip characters are often not openly admitted in conversation, yet, in talk itself, fantasy secures expression in disguised form. Identification with the characters is apparently not clear enough, and the emotions their adventures

⁶ *Laughter* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1924).

arouse not strong enough, to produce substantial reverie.⁷ From the evidence it seems impossible to conclude that the comics are talked about *because* of the fantasies they arouse. We might, however, say that, *once* conversation turns to this subject, repressed or latent fantasies come into play.

Disguised identification is apparent in discussion about "What will happen next?"—as the following instances suggest:

[Bus-driver, age forty-two]: Someone would bring it up, like "What happened to Skeeziks this morning?" "Did Nina Clock have her baby yet?" "Did Papa or Mama Clock take their vacation like they did a couple of weeks ago?"

[Truck-driver, age thirty-two]: Once in a while, when it's interesting, at work you ask the boys, "What are you following up? Is it interesting? How did he make out on it? What's going to be in the next day's issue? Is he going to get fired, the guy [a character in 'Gasoline Alley']?" Stuff like that.

⁷ This point is documented in my dissertation.

But fantasy about how things will turn out is not necessarily a direct projection of one's own problems and motivations. Adventure and suspense, even in the cartoon narrative, may be in a vivid and attractive contrast to the uneventful lives of the readers. There, too, it may be socially more acceptable to talk about how Dick Tracy will get out of a trap than to confide one's personal concerns to street-corner acquaintances. Be that as it may, the popular literature of our time may be said to provide an array of collective images which, like the heroes and legends of other places and times, can be introduced into conversation to provide analogies for the events of daily life and to serve as vehicles for fantasy.

The subjects of conversation of urban workers are, of course, by no means typical, nor are its patterns or circumstances. The observations made here about the newspaper comics are not necessarily applicable to other popular media (for instance, motion pictures) which represent a more realistic and intense experience for the audience.

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES IN A LARGE CITY¹

GODFREY HOCHBAUM, JOHN G. DARLEY, E. D. MONACHESI, AND CHARLES BIRD

ABSTRACT

In an urban sample a matrix of intercorrelations is established among income, occupation, education, house type, and dwelling area which is in contrast to the matrix presented by Warner for a nonurban community. In view of the significantly lower level of intercorrelations of socioeconomic variables in the urban sample, questions are raised concerning methods, findings, and assumptions in the study of stratification when based on indexes of status characteristics.

The past decade has witnessed a spate of studies grouped under the general category of "social stratification." In his excellent critical review Pfautz lists 333 American bibliographic items since 1945 alone.² With Duncan, he has criticized the reports of Warner and his colleagues on the grounds of technical deficiencies and inadequate or uninformed conceptual formulations.³ The technical journals in psychology also include many studies bearing upon the general problem of class membership or status as one of several independent variables related in some degree to such behavior as attitudes, school performance, disease syndromes, and test performance.

As the more critical writers in sociology and psychology have pointed out, the

rampantly empirical studies in the field do not clearly indicate whether stratification is used to describe inequalities in power, in prestige, or in the individual's chances to reach certain levels in society's hierarchical structure. Furthermore, the typical lifestyles described for various strata are not supported by evidence of clear cleavages between strata. Conversely, the evidence for class-linked or class-determined behavior is somewhat less than compelling. At one point Pfautz says: "There are, apparently, no recent attempts to map the social class structure of metropolitan centers of over 100,000. . . . Studies of small towns and rural hamlets, obviously because they are easier to make, are the commonest."⁴ Yet it is largely from such studies that many of the present overgeneralizations are derived regarding class structure as a barrier to close social intercourse and as a powerful determinant of educational and occupational opportunity.

In the course of designing a series of studies related to community behavior, we became interested in the possible use of socioeconomic measures as determinants of status in an urban setting. This led to a partial replication of the Warner system⁵ in a metropolitan area—Minneapolis. No attempt was made to establish classes by use of the "evaluated participation" methods of Warner, since these methods are prohibitively costly and of dubious meth-

¹ This is one of a series of studies conducted in the Laboratory for Research in Social Relations, University of Minnesota, under grant from the Graduate School; the College of Science, Literature, and the Arts; and the Carnegie Corporation.

The excellent co-operation afforded our research team by the staff of the Minneapolis Credit Exchange, Inc., is gratefully acknowledged. Upon appropriate guaranties of trustworthiness and the establishment of a reasonable schedule of investigation and interview costs, the staff of the Exchange provided major assistance in data-collecting and in interpreting credit data. Tables comparing the sample with the Minneapolis population, eliminated to save space, are available at the Laboratory in Social Relations, University of Minnesota.

² H. W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII, No. 4 (January, 1953), 391-418.

³ H. W. Pfautz and O. D. Duncan, "A Critical Evaluation of Warner's Work in Community Stratification," *American Sociological Review*, XVI, No. 2 (April, 1950), 205-15.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 400.

⁵ W. L. Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status* (Chicago: Science Research Associates, 1949).

odological soundness. However, a replication of the "Index of Status Characteristics" (ISC) could be accomplished and may serve to refute some unwarranted interpretations of Warner's work.

THE STUDY SAMPLE

According to a 1948 census estimate of the local chamber of commerce, Minneapolis in 1948 had a population of 559,877. From the 1948 city directory's alphabetical listing a sample was constructed of every 260th name of male individuals, or the first

TABLE 1
SEQUENCE OF SAMPLING FOR MINNEAPOLIS STUDY

1. Total number of male names originally selected from 1948 city directory..	1,316
a) Refusal to co-operate.....	19
b) Deceased or moved from city	190
c) Could not be located.....	77
d) Miscellaneous losses.....	62
Total losses.....	348
2. Net size of original city directory sample.....	968
3. Replacements from directory.....	171
4. Total interviewed by phone or in person.....	1,139
a) Interview data not usable.....	23
5. Final size of sample.....	1,116

male individual name thereafter, if that were a company or a woman. Since the city directory is not a perfect sampling device, the resultant sample and its inevitable replacements were checked against preliminary findings for Minneapolis from the 1950 census on the variables of age, income, and occupation.

Table 1 shows how the sample was constructed. The 1,116 cases chosen from the city directory, and adjusted by replacements from the same source, show a disproportionate concentration in the upper-age brackets; a heavier concentration in the middle-income brackets, with fewer low- and high-income respondents, both for total family income and respondent's income only; and a heavier representation in the upper occupational ranges, as these are

classified in the *Dictionary of Occupational Titles*. The attendant chi-square and *p* values indicate that all these discrepancies between the study sample and the census sample are significant. Thus the results of this study cannot be generalized to describe the pattern of socioeconomic interrelationships of the city; the intercorrelations of the study sample will not be the "true" intercorrelations for the city population. Within these limits, however, we may compare the intercorrelations with those reported by Warner to derive some inferences regarding the patterning of socioeconomic variables in large and small communities. Both the Warner sample and the present sample show bias in the direction of favoring the upper socioeconomic ranges.

SOURCES OF DATA

To signalize the behavior of persons at different socioeconomic levels, a criterion variable was needed. Personal credit standing was selected as a presumably meaningful and valid index of "responsibility" in the community. One might hypothesize that individuals of high- and low-credit standing, when matched for socioeconomic factors, represent extreme instances of behavior which might be related to other life-styles and other domains of community affairs. One might also assume that credit standing would vary directly and significantly with a variety of indexes of socioeconomic status.

The co-operation of the local retail credit bureau (the Minneapolis Credit Exchange, Inc.) was obtained in clearing their credit files on the cases in the study sample and using their experienced telephone interviewers to collect socioeconomic data on the sample. The survey was carried out during 1950, and data were sought on each individual in the sample defining his socioeconomic status in 1950 and in 1940. When cases could not be reached by the telephone staff of the Exchange or where certain variables could not be assessed by telephone—as in the case of house type and area type in the Warner scheme—the Laboratory sent out its own assistants to collect the infor-

mation by personal interview or by paired but independent ratings in the field.

At this point some features of credit ratings as a criterion of community behavior became clear: Credit ratings as obtained are *not* correlated with occupation or education; within any single socioeconomic index, insufficient numbers of poor credit risks could be located to serve as a sample for further study. Minneapolis turned out to be a "good credit" town. Table 2 will illustrate some negative findings from the use of this criterion. It needs a brief interpretation.

Retail establishments holding membership in the Minneapolis Credit Exchange and reporting their credit experiences describe accounts as "prompt," "medium," and "slow"; in addition, a variety of special notations report reposessions, excessive exchange, and similar behavior. The simplest derived index of credit standing is as follows: $(3p + 2m + s)/(p + m + s)$, wherein the denominator represents the total number of the individual's accounts and the numerator weights these accounts for degrees of promptness. For use on Hollerith cards, we established a seven-step code in which punch 7 represented the "strong" credit, that is, prompt payment. Thus, for our over-all sample, Table 2 indicates that, in 1950, 82 per cent were in the top class and that there had been a substantial increase from 1940 to 1950, a decade of marked wartime prosperity, in the percentage of the sample establishing credit ratings.

Further analysis revealed that the number of accounts per person increased from 1.8 in 1940 to 3.3 in 1950. Of 534 cases showing credit ratings both in 1940 and in 1950, 89 per cent were scored 7 at both dates. Credit behavior thus was stable and consistent. When average credit ratings were calculated for the sample cases falling in the Warner seven-step occupational type index, all average credit indexes exceeded a value of 6.2. Using Warner's occupational rating scale, which presumably takes into account hierarchical factors within his type scale, biserial r for cases having a credit index of 7 versus all cases having indexes from 1

through 6 is only .15 ($N = 827$), and again the average credit index for each of the seven occupational ratings exceeded 6.2. Granting the sampling restrictions and reductions introduced when "credit behavior" is postulated as a criterion, our excursion along this unproductive bypath may be of some slight interest. The most obvious of these restrictions involve the number and kind of retail establishments holding mem-

TABLE 2

FREQUENCY OF CREDIT RATINGS IN 1940 AND IN 1950, SCALED ACCORDING TO PROMPTNESS OF PAYMENTS*

HOLLERITH CODE VALUE OF CREDIT RATINGS	NUMBER IN SAMPLE		PERCENTAGE IN SAMPLE	
	1940	1950	1940	1950
7 (excellent).....	399	761	69.6	81.7
6.....	43	65	7.5	7.0
5.....	25	30	4.4	3.2
4.....	49	38	8.6	4.1
3.....	5	6	0.8	0.6
2.....	13	5	2.3	0.5
1.....	39	27	6.8	2.9
Total.....	573	932	100.0	100.0
Number with ratings.....	573	932	51.3	83.5
Number without ratings.....	453	184	48.7	16.5
Total sample..	1,116	1,116	100.0	100.0

* See text for scaling procedure.

bership in a credit bureau, the accuracy and consistency of their reporting, and the volume of debtor behavior based on cash transactions as it may be related to socioeconomic variables.

INDEPENDENT SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

Disregarding for the moment the technical and statistical deficiencies of Warner's "handbook," the high intercorrelations of his ISC variables reflect implicitly his model of a community as a network of community controls interacting to determine status. If the intercorrelations are truly of the magnitude he reports, the network is

extremely tight, and the inescapable temporal development of the variables becomes causal (i.e., the pattern of an earlier generation is first established, and then in turn it fixes that family unit for all time not only as to prestige but to life-chances and power in the community in question). This situation is exemplified in Hollingshead's report.⁶ If, however, communities of varying sizes *do not* show such a tight (i.e., highly correlated) pattern of socioeconomic variables, one must then postulate a system of status

rating. Values for the first three of these were derived from the telephone and field interviewing cited earlier; to secure values for the last two, assistants were trained in the field in the use of the two relevant Warner scales and sent out to the addresses of all cases in the sample to make the two ratings. (We used "amount of income" where Warner also included "source of income.")

Table 3 compares Warner's intercorrelations from "Jonesville" with those obtained

TABLE 3
COMPARISON OF MINNEAPOLIS AND "JONESVILLE": CORRELATION
OF SELECTED SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES

Variable	Subject's Income	Occupational Rating*	House Type	Dwelling Area
Education				
Minneapolis.....	.32 (1,070)	.65 (964)	.32 (1,048)	.32 (1,039)
"Jonesville"†.....	.59	.77	.70	.65
Subject's income				
Minneapolis.....		.50 (970)	.35 (1,029)	.26 (1,029)
"Jonesville".....		.87	.81	.81
Occupational rating				
Minneapolis.....			.45 (919)	.45 (919)
"Jonesville".....			.71	.70
House type				
Minneapolis.....				.73 (1,052)
"Jonesville".....				.74

* W. L. Warner *et al.*, *Social Class in America: A Manual of Procedure for the Measurement of Social Status* (Chicago, 1949), pp. 136-38.

† For "Jonesville" data see *ibid.*, Table 13, p. 172.

determinants beyond those accounted for by socioeconomic factors and related in a way as yet unknown to the socioeconomic factors. Stated another way, we assume that a dependent variable or criterion exists which operationally defines status in some one of its dimensions. Independent variables which show significantly different patterns of intercorrelations on two or more samples will also show significantly different relations, then, to this criterion in the two or more samples.

In the present study it was possible to score our sample on five of Warner's six independent variables: education, income, occupational rating, house type, and area

in Minneapolis. The *N*'s for the Minneapolis sample are included in parentheses near the obtained correlation. The Minneapolis correlations are consistently and significantly lower than the values reported by Warner, except in the relation between house-type and dwelling-area rating, which would probably be high in any community. Even the relative ranking by magnitude of correlation is not closely related in two samples; rank-ordering the two sets of correlations yields a rho value of only .27 (for eight degrees of freedom, rho must be .63 to reach the 5 per cent level of significance).

The correlations for the Minneapolis study sample in Table 3 are of course significantly different from zero values, the expectancy on any hypothesis of no rela-

⁶ A. B. Hollingshead, *Elmtown's Youth* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1949).

tionship among such variables. But their size more nearly fits a community model of less rigid patterns of control and interrelationship, in which other and undetermined factors would have to be found to account for any hierarchical arrangement that might be postulated. Certainly the weighting of these variables in an urban community into a single measure of status would impose tremendous problems of cut-off points and overlapping in the establishing of a small number of distinct social classes in the community.

The assumption of lower correlations between socioeconomic variables in urban

come can be found with no change in house type, dwelling area, education, or occupational rating—particularly in periods of wartime prosperity. The magnitude of the contribution made by any one of the characteristics of status is certainly not constant throughout the individual's life. Furthermore, in the city there may be greater latitude in a single status measure relative to an individual's actual status.

Our data permit study of these possibilities. Table 4 shows the relation among the socioeconomic variables within subsamples of occupational types, according to Warner's definition of types. Table 5 shows simi-

TABLE 4
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES FOR SELECTED SUBSAMPLES
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONAL TYPES

Occupational Types	No.	Education vs. Income	Education vs. Occupational Rating	Education vs. House Type	Income vs. Occupational Rating	Income vs. House Type	Occupational Rating vs. House Type
Professionals, etc.....	99	.20	.68*	.39	.34	.23	.43
Businessmen†.....	45	.19	.01	.01	.44	.42	.46*
Clerks, sales, etc.....	220	.16	.41	.18	.30	.29	.33
Craftsmen, manual, etc.....	340	.17	.22	.06	.39	.18	.26
Service, labor.....	159	.23	.32	.20	.22	.14	.16

* All correlations except those marked with an asterisk are significantly lower than those reported by Warner *et al.*, *op. cit.*, Table 13, p. 172.

† Proprietors and managers excluded, since information was not available for occupational ratings based on value of their business enterprises.

communities leads to some speculation. For example, one's position on a particular variable may be time-linked; education may still be under way in the age range twenty to thirty for men in professional occupations, and incomes of young professional men may be low on the scale as they begin their careers. Similarly, one's position may be time-linked in another way to produce variance in the indexes in urban settings: an increase in income may precede by some time the acquisition of a home appropriate to it. Thus, the more independent variance the community permits in any single measure of status, the less likely will be high correlations between the measures taken in pairs. Rapid increases in in-

TABLE 5
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES FOR SELECTED SUBSAMPLES CLASSIFIED
ACCORDING TO INCOME CATEGORIES

Subject's Annual Gross Income	No.	Education vs. Occupational Rating	Education vs. House Type	Occupational Rating vs. House Type
\$2,000 or less. . .	20	.83	.69	.67
\$2,001-\$4,000. .	460	.51	.22	.29
\$4,001-\$6,000. .	300	.58	.25	.42
\$6,001-\$10,000. .	78	.67	.29*	.51
\$10,001 or more.	23	.86	.40†	.57

* Not significant at 5 per cent level.

† Significant at 5 per cent level; all other correlations significant at 1 per cent level.

lar relations within income subsamples. When controlled in this manner, the patterns of socioeconomic relationships show real variation, some of which arises from restricted ranges within a subsample on a particular pair of variables, some of which probably reflects curvilinearity, and some of which is related to the time-linked factors mentioned.

MOBILITY ANALYSIS

Our data also permit some consideration of a few operational definitions of social mobility. A cross-sectional analysis of the intercorrelations of socioeconomic variables within specified age intervals appears in

their intercorrelations tend to be greatest.

By comparing the occupational status of the sample in 1950 and in 1940, some idea of occupational stability is gained. Table 7 shows these data, using both the occupational type and the occupational rating scale set up by Warner. To take account of age, the cases are grouped in Table 7 by four intervals of age in 1950. For all age intervals occupational ratings and types over the decade appear quite stable; once the individual establishes his occupational status, as defined in these two scales, his occupational identification remains relatively stable.

The decade under consideration was one of increasing living costs and incomes. Thus

TABLE 6
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SOCIOECONOMIC VARIABLES FOR SELECTED
SUBSAMPLES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE

Age Level	No.	Education vs. Income	Education vs. Occu- pational Rating	Education vs. House Type	Income vs. Occupa- tional Rating	Income vs. House Type	Occupa- tional Rating vs. House Type
21-30.....	130	(.16)*	.45	.22†	.18†	(.001)*	.44
31-40.....	210	.24	.68	.34	.45	.21	.42
41-50.....	230	.36	.62	.42	.49	.39	.55
51-60.....	210	.47	.75	.42	.57	.37	.51
61 and above...	105	.37	.69	.30	.52	.34	.39

* Coefficients in parentheses not significant on the 5 per cent level.

† Significant at 5 per cent level; all other values significant at the 1 per cent level.

Table 6. With the exception of the correlations between house type and occupational ratings, Table 6 shows a general pattern of increasing correlations between the variables as age increases up to the range fifty-one to sixty. At and above the age of sixty-one, the correlations drop somewhat, as the variety of factors associated with retirement supervene. It is to be remembered also that our sample overrepresents the older ages. Within the limits of a cross-sectional approach, these correlations bear out the assumption of the importance of time as it relates to an individual's position on any one of the socioeconomic scales; with increasing age, stability on various socioeconomic indexes tends to increase, and

TABLE 7
CORRELATIONS OF 1940 AND 1950 OCCUPATIONAL
RATING SCORES AND OCCUPATIONAL TYPE
SCORES FOR SAME INDIVIDUALS, CLASSIFIED
BY THEIR AGES IN 1950

AGE IN 1950	r BETWEEN 1940 AND 1950 FOR:	
	Occupa- tional Rating	Occupa- tional Type
35 years or younger.....	.72	.67
35-45 years.....	.83	.71
45-55 years.....	.91	.85
55 years or over.....	.96	.96

it is interesting to study income changes in relation to the evidence just presented on occupational stability. Table 8 gives the re-

TABLE 8
RESPONDENTS' COMPARISON OF 1950 INCOME
WITH 1940 INCOME

Income in 1950 in Comparison with Income in 1940	No.	Per Cent
Less.....	89	10.0
About the same.....	160	17.9
Slightly more.....	210	23.5
About twice as much.....	332	37.1
About three times as much.....	76	8.5
More than three times as much.....	27	3.0
Total.....	894	100.0

spondents' own estimates of 1950 income in relation to that of 1940. Approximately 28 per cent of the responding group say their income is the same or somewhat less in 1950 than in 1940. Another 23 per cent report slightly higher 1950 incomes. The remaining

49 per cent report incomes that had doubled or more in the ten years. It seems possible for the socioeconomic variable of income to show substantial changes, without at the same time having concomitant changes in other status variables, as, for example, the variable of occupational status (Table 7). Census figures for 1950 indicate that the median income in Minneapolis in 1950 was approximately 265 per cent of the 1940 income; but it must be remembered in this census comparison that 1950 figures cover total income and 1940 figures represent wage and salary income only.

A final aspect of mobility concerns the occupational status of our respondents in 1950 and the occupational status of their fathers, as they reported it. Using Warner's occupational type scale, Table 9 relates son's type to father's type. Since our sample contained no agricultural workers, the bottom row is blank, but it is also evident that 191 cases in our sample came from homes in which the father was a farmer; in these cases movement to the city distributed the sons in

TABLE 9
COMPARISON OF 1950 OCCUPATIONAL TYPES OF RESPONDENTS AND
REPORTED OCCUPATIONAL TYPES OF THEIR FATHERS

SUBJECT'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE (1950)	FATHER'S OCCUPATIONAL TYPE*							
	No.	Professionals, Semiprofessionals	Proprietors, Managers	Businessmen	Clerks and Kindred	Manual Workers	Protective and Service Workers	Farmers
Professionals, semiprofessionals.....	71	13 (18.4)	6 (8.5)	3 (4.2)	9 (12.7)	15 (21.1)	10 (14.1)	15 (21.0)
Proprietors, managers.....	43	3 (7.0)	10 (23.3)	0 (0.0)	2 (4.7)	15 (34.9)	6 (13.8)	7 (16.3)
Businessmen.....	36	3 (8.3)	4 (11.1)	1 (2.8)	3 (8.3)	15 (41.6)	5 (13.9)	5 (13.9)
Clerks and kindred.....	162	11 (6.8)	12 (7.4)	6 (3.7)	27 (16.7)	46 (28.4)	32 (19.8)	28 (17.3)
Manual workers.....	272	9 (3.3)	5 (1.8)	4 (1.5)	15 (5.5)	93 (34.2)	42 (15.4)	104 (38.2)
Protective and service workers	131	4 (3.1)	11 (8.4)	1 (0.8)	7 (5.3)	55 (42.0)	21 (16.0)	32 (24.4)
Farmers.....	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total.....	715	43	48	15	63	239	116	191

* Numbers in parentheses show percentage of respondents in each occupational type whose fathers were in the occupational type stated.

a wide range of occupations. From similar tabulations of occupational ratings of son versus father (not tabled here), we were able to establish a correlation of .35 between this status measure applied to the family representatives of the two generations. Table 9 shows also that the sons' occupational types move both above and below those of their fathers. In all, using the Warner rating scale rather than his type scale, about 26 per cent of the sons have a lower, 30 per cent have the same, and the remaining 44 per cent have a higher occupational rating than their fathers.

SUMMARY

Five of the six socioeconomic variables discussed by Warner in his derivation of an "Index of Status Characteristics" were used to assess the status of a large but not entirely representative male sample of the city of Minneapolis. In all but one of the intercorrelations, the Minneapolis sample shows significantly lower Pearsonian values than were found by Warner in a smaller community. Time relationships are such that

score or position on a particular socioeconomic index is found to be functionally related to a person's age or to the particular period of the study. The data also show a good deal of consistency of occupational status throughout ten years in the lives of the respondents, a marked pattern of increased income over the same decade, and a relatively low but significant relationship between occupational status of fathers and of sons.

CONCLUSIONS

While the data reported here were reached as by-products in the planning of other community studies, they hold some merit in their own right as they relate to the extensive literature on "social stratification." It seems clear that the members of a large urban community cannot be assigned to strata or cannot be classified in operational definitions of status solely by the use of some derived scale of weighted socioeconomic variables such as those so generally proposed by Warner and his colleagues.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA

PREDICTING ELECTION TURNOUT: A TEST OF A BEHAVIOR HYPOTHESIS¹

THOMAS C. MCCORMICK AND J. RICHARD WAHL

ABSTRACT

The goal is to devise an objective statistical test of a generating hypothesis—in this case, a latent decision to vote in an election. The hypothesis is used to generate a set of predictive items and to arrange them in the rank order of relevance. Factor analysis provides a first test of the a priori ranking in terms of the factor loadings of the first component. A second test of the a priori ranking is provided by the observed power of the items to predict voting turnout. These rankings are statistically summarized by coefficients of rank correlation, and, in the example used here, the significance tests sustain the generating hypothesis.

In spite of the criticism² that enumerative³ pollsters, for example, Gallup and Roper, neglected psychological theory in the design of their questionnaires, their heavy reliance on statement of intent clearly shows that unformulated assumptions of a social-psychological nature are implicit in their work. Such a model particularly relates to the practical problem of forecasting subsequent voting behavior from questionnaires. On the other hand, *post hoc* models of the analytic pollsters, such as Lazarsfeld⁴ and Suchman,⁵ contain interesting explanatory concepts but have not been proved useful either in devising new and more effective predictive items or in assessing the relative predictive power of extant items. Finally,

the sheer empiricists have competitively tested a wide variety of single items or “hunches” in isolation and in batteries, with slight practical results. The *post hoc* item batteries, such as Mungo Miller’s,⁶ have not been tried in a true predictive climate; hence, they have not yet been shown to be more reliable or more accurate than single items. “Will you vote?” and “For whom will you vote?” continue to be the most trusted predictive items in the enumerative forecasters’ tool kit.⁷ These circumstances warrant an attempt, like the present, to construct specific hypotheses which may be tested competitively in the hope of eventually leading to better predictive devices.

The first step, no doubt, is to formulate in social-psychological terms the most successful implicit empirical model now in practical use. For example, we may start with what appears as intent to the enumerative pollsters and call it the outcome of the “decision-making” process. During the interview the responses of an informant are assumed to describe latent⁸ decisions. Therefore, a

¹ This paper reports one of several studies supported by grants from the Research Committee of the University of Wisconsin and made on an affiliate arrangement with the National Opinion Research Center of Chicago. It was accepted by the *Journal* some months before Thomas McCormick’s death, but publication was deferred because another article by him had been run within the year.

² F. Mosteller *et al.*, *The Pre-election Polls of 1948* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 60 [New York, 1949]).

³ Enumerative pollsters answer the question “How many?” Analytic pollsters answer the question “Why?” See W. Edwards Deming, “On the Distinction between Enumerative and Analytic Surveys,” *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLVIII (June, 1953), 244–55.

⁴ Paul F. Lazarsfeld, Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet, *The People’s Choice* (New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce, 1944).

⁵ E. A. Suchman, “Socio-psychological Factors Affecting Predictions of Elections,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVI (Fall, 1952), 436–38.

⁶ “The Waukegan Study of Voter Turnout Prediction,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVI (Fall, 1952), 387–90.

⁷ George Gallup, “The Future Direction of Polling,” *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (Summer, 1953), 202–3 and 207.

⁸ Samuel A. Stouffer *et al.*, *The American Soldier: Measurement and Prediction* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1950), IV, 363–64. “Latent” is adapted for use in this paper to signify only “information obtained by using additional assumptions, and/or making inferences from the original data.”

positive reply to the question "Will you vote?" presumes an intervening decision with a sufficient causal nexus to subsequent behavior (e.g., turning out or not turning out to vote). Next, we list the relevant items that decision-making suggests. Here, new and untried items might emerge as well as items already frequently considered. Concerning the decision to vote, the thirteen items listed below have all been previously considered in voting studies but obviously are not all equally relevant to the hypothesis. These items may be arranged in rank order of their *presumed* adequacy to express the latent decision, excluding all other considerations insofar as possible. Every item is assumed to have some connection with the latent construct, and the directness as well as kind of connection should be carefully considered in the ranking process.

The thirteen items and their ranking as inferred from directness of connection with the latent decision to vote are: (1) statement of intent to vote or not to vote in a given election (No. 2a in the questionnaire below); (2) strength of feeling about voting (No. 2b); (3) registration or absence of registration to vote; (4) number of unfavorable attitudes toward politics (No. 5); (5) number of general (nonvoting) political participations (No. 3); (6) number of correct answers on campaign information quiz (No. 4); (7) main source of political campaign information (No. 1); (8) political party identification (No. 6); (9) years of residence in city (No. 7b); (10) education (No. 7d); (11) sex (No. 7c[iii]); (12) church membership (No. 7a[iii]); and (13) religious preference (No. 7a[iii]).

Our reasoning in ranking the items as we did should be further explained. Note that the connection between each item and the latent decision can be by any one of a number of ways in which terms can be associated.⁹ Because *statement of intent to vote*, made

as close as possible to the day of the election, involves only symbolization of the latent decision, it was ranked first as most directly connected. But at least five weaknesses in the reasoning, some of them overlapping, should be pointed out: (1) the respondent may misrepresent his real decision; (2) he may not have reached a decision; (3) the firmness of his decision may vary; (4) he may change his decision; and (5) he may be kept from carrying it out by conditions beyond his control. For the reason that it represents the effect of the latent decision on the emotions, secondarily translated into symbols, *strength of feeling* seems to be free of (2), (3), and (4) above; yet it seems less direct than statement of intent. *Registration*, apparently still less directly connected with the latent decision, indicates whether the respondent was sufficiently motivated to take the steps legally prerequisite to voting. *Number of unfavorable political attitudes* and *number of general (nonvoting) political participations* seem to be related to the latent decision to vote as a whole is to a part, as a single element in the political belief-complex or participation-complex. *Number of correct answers on campaign information quiz* seems connected with the latent decision by the catalytic effect of the latter on the remembering of campaign data. Below these, each succeeding item is believed to be only remotely connected with the latent decision to vote in a given election.¹⁰

To recapitulate, we chose a generating hypothesis, decision-making, the usefulness of which for predicting turnout we wished to test. We tried to judge the directness of the connection between the latent decision and each of the commonly used questionnaire items. All these connections are complex and indirect. We assumed that the more indirect the connection, the less related the item would be to the hypothesis. Our judgments

⁹ For a detailed discussion of such possible relations see C. K. Ogden and I. A. Richards, *The Meaning of Meaning* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1945), pp. 117-20.

¹⁰ It is barely possible that some hypothetical construct other than decision-making might lead to much the same list of items and rankings. If so, however, this would imply that the two constructs represented the same psychological process, couched in different terms.

relative to the nature of the connections were largely subjective.

To expand our theoretical point of view somewhat further, we regarded voting behavior as the result of *various* possible sets of conditions, each sufficient in itself to produce voting. If any essential condition in a particular set were absent or interfered with, then voting would not occur. Since the conditions could not be known in entirety, the best course is to specify as well as possible the presumed conditions and then to observe their interrelationships and predictive power. If a respondent voted, it must be assumed that the conditions to which he was subjected were sufficient; and, if he did not vote, that they were not sufficient. We could then only say that, if a respondent fell in a specified category, the best estimate that the set of conditions would be sufficient to end in his voting is the observed percentage of respondents in the same category who had previously voted. This is the essential idea of the familiar experience (actuarial) table, reinterpreted as causes.

Manifestly the ranking of the items becomes more uncertain for the items less directly related to the hypothesis. The next step in our evaluative procedure therefore should be a factor analysis to show the relative loadings of our several items on the first component, defined as our latent decision hypothesis. When this is done, we shall finally then turn to the empirical test of the power of the same items to predict actual voting turnout. The development of these steps will follow in detail.

The presidential election of 1952 in Madison, Wisconsin, was a convenient opportunity to test the ranking of the thirteen items. The subjects were 182 adults drawn in an area probability sample from the population of Madison during October, 1952. They were distributed over the several ecological areas and were random except for not-at-homes and refusals, who constituted 28 per cent of the initial sample. The sample size is adequate for the simple breakdowns. Statistical tests of significance indicate that it is highly improbable that the major results reported

below would have been different for a larger sample, which was not practicable in the present study.

The instrument was the questionnaire reproduced at the end of this paper. By means of personal interviews at the respondents' homes, selected students of sociology at the University of Wisconsin administered the questionnaire. After the election in November, for each respondent the *actual* participation (voting) in the election and the existence and date of registration were determined from official records at the city hall.¹¹

In applying factor analysis to the hypothesized ranking of the thirteen predictive items on the questionnaire, Lawley's maximum likelihood method of estimating factor loadings is appropriate.¹² To avoid unnecessary computations in the factor analysis, a preliminary reduction in the number of predictive items is reasonable. In the hypothesized ranking, only three of the bottom seven items were observed to have significant interrelationships with the first six items. These items were *education*, *sex*, and *years of residence in city*. Neither *sex* nor *years of residence in city* manifested more than two significant interrelationships with the first six predictive items. Hence, these two items, along with the items without significant intercorrelations, were omitted from further consideration in the factor analysis. On the other hand, since *education* was significantly interrelated to four out of the top-

¹¹ J. R. Wahl, "Investigation of a Forecasting Technique Based on the Latent Set To Vote" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1954), pp. 98-123.

¹² The advantages of Lawley's method are, in the first place, that it uses the largest amount of available information in the data to give estimates nearer the true values, on the average, than other methods and, in the second place, that it can test whether the first component accounts for all the data in the residual matrix. Disadvantages are that the method requires first approximations to the factor loadings and that the calculations become very laborious as the number of predictive items increases (see Godfrey H. Thomson, *The Factorial Analysis of Human Ability* [Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1948], pp. 321-26).

most six predictive items, including *statement of intent to vote*, it was retained.¹³

Table 1 shows the tetrachoric intercorrelations for the battery of seven topmost predictive items. The items are in their hypothesized ranking. In order to obtain prelimi-

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS OF SEVEN
PREDICTIVE ITEMS

Predictive Items	1	2	3	4	5	6	10
1..	1.00	.67	.76	.35	.49	.21	.48
2..	.67	1.00	.53	.31	.22	.51	.35
3..	.76	.53	1.00	.12	.26	.24	.08
4..	.35	.31	.12	1.00	.20	.40	.08
5..	.49	.22	.26	.20	1.00	.36	.48
6..	.21	.51	.24	.40	.36	1.00	.50
10..	.48	.35	.08	.08	.48	.50	1.00

Item 1: Statement of intent to vote

Item 2: Strength of feeling about voting

Item 3: Registration

Item 4: Number of unfavorable political attitudes

Item 5: Number of general (nonvoting) political participations

Item 6: Number of correct answers on campaign information quiz

Item 10: Education

TABLE 2
COMPARISON OF FACTOR LOADINGS OF
SEVEN PREDICTIVE ITEMS WITH THE
HYPOTHESIZED RANKING

Predictive Item	Loading in Factor I	Specific Variance	Ranking of Loadings
1.....	.88	.23	1
2.....	.75	.44	2
3.....	.71	.50	3
4.....	.38	.86	7
5.....	.51	.74	4
6.....	.45	.80	6
10.....	.50	.75	5

Item 1: Statement of intent to vote

Item 2: Strength of feeling about voting

Item 3: Registration

Item 4: Number of unfavorable political attitudes

Item 5: Number of general (nonvoting) political participations

Item 6: Number of correct answers on campaign information quiz

Item 10: Education

¹³ Paul Horst *et al.*, *The Prediction of Personal Adjustment* (Social Science Research Council Bull. 48 [New York, 1941]), pp. 64-68.

nary factor loadings, which are required by Lawley's method, the centroid method¹⁴ was used to obtain first approximations. Lawley's method is iterative and was stopped at the third approximation. Table 2 shows the results. Of foremost interest here is the comparison between the ranking of the factor loadings with the hypothesized ranking. The null hypothesis is that there is no relationship between the two rankings. But the coefficient of rank correlation, Kendall's tau, is .62, which, for seven items, is significant at the 5 per cent level.¹⁵ Therefore, the null hypothesis can be rejected, and the conclusion is that a relationship exists between the hypothesized ranking and the magnitudes of the factor loadings. The implication is that the informants have tended to perceive relationships in agreement with the hypothesis of the investigators. The first three predictive items of the hypothesized ranking are in perfect concordance with the factor loadings. Thus, as expected, *statement of intent to vote* carries the heaviest factor loading, followed by *strength of feeling* and *registration* in that order. The most significant change in rank occurs in *number of unfavorable political attitudes*, which dropped from fourth place in the hypothesized ranking to seventh place in the factor loading of the first factor. More affected by the first factor are *number of general (nonvoting) political participations*, *education*, and *number of correct answers on campaign information quiz*. However, the first factor explains only 20-25 per cent of the variation in each of the last three items, in considerable contrast to *statement of intent to vote*, in which 77 per cent of the variation was explained by the factor.

In a "single-factor" analysis the unexplained variance is usually, of course, larger than in a multiple-factor analysis. Accordingly, a question arises as to whether the first factor can account for all the variation

¹⁴ Thomson, *op. cit.*, chap. ii.

¹⁵ Kendall's tau, for the purposes of this study, seems to have a more rigorous test for significance than Spearman's rho (see Maurice G. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods* [London: Charles Griffin & Co., Ltd., 1948], p. 46).

among the items. Lawley's maximum likelihood method of factor analysis admits of a test to decide whether the assumed factor can be considered sufficient to account for the data. The null hypothesis is that the variance in the matrix of residuals can be explained by chance. As might be expected, the residuals of the first factor far exceed

column 4 and accompanying footnotes. The coefficient of rank correlation, or tau, between the hypothesized and the observed rankings is .58, a value which would be expected to occur by chance less than one time in a hundred. This significant correlation is confirmatory evidence for the usefulness of the latent decision to vote as a hypothesis

TABLE 3
PREDICTIVE POWER OF THIRTEEN VARIABLES RELATED TO TURNOUT

Variables in Hypothesized Ranking of Predictive Power (1)	<i>W</i> , or Index of Predictive Power (2)	Variables in Empirical Ranking of Predictive Power (3)	Chi Square (df) (4)
Statement of intent to vote....	.71	2	34.9** (1)
Strength of feeling.....	.26	3	12.3** (1)
Registration.....	.98	1	154.3** (1)
Number of unfavorable attitudes toward politics..	.10	6	3.374 (1)
General (nonvoting) political participations.....	.18	4	5.846 (2)
Number of correct answers on campaign information quiz.....	.16	5	6.361* (2)
Main source of political information.....	.03	10.5	.304 (2)
Party identification.....	.01	12	.005 (2)
Years of residence in city.....	.04	9	.362 (1)
Education.....	.06	8	.626 (2)
Sex.....	-.03	10.5	.359 (1)
Church membership.....	.00	13	.000 (1)
Religious preference.....	.08	7	1.348 (1)

** Significant, $p > .001$.

* Significant, $p > .05$.

the 5 per cent criterion of significance; hence, the null hypothesis is rejected, and the conclusion points to the existence of additional factors affecting the intercorrelations. Inasmuch as the high-ranking items here would be expected to have little relevance to our hypothesis, the factor analysis can be interpreted as supporting the relative importance that we assign the items in the a priori ranking. This indicates that several of the items, as their rank increases, depart considerably from our hypothesis.

To test the actual predictive power of the items in comparison with the hypothesized ranking, Table 3 was set up. In column 1 are the predictive items, in their hypothesized ranking. The index of predictive power, W , for each variable is given in column 2.¹⁶ The rank order of the W values appears in column 3. The size of the chi square associated with each variable, the degrees of freedom, and the level of significance will be found in

for predicting subsequent voting behavior. Almost all the correlation measured by tau

¹⁶ The measure of predictive power, W , is a generalization of McCormick's K' , described in Thomas C. McCormick, "Toward Causal Analysis in the Prediction of Attributes," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (February, 1952), 35-44. The formula for W is

$$\left(\sum_1^r p_{\max} - \sum_1^r p_{\min} \right) / r,$$

where p_{\max} is the maximum column-proportion in any row, p_{\min} is the minimum column-proportion in any row, and r is the number of rows. The column-proportions in any column must add to 1. For example, the following 2×3 table relates the number of correct answers on the campaign information quiz to actual turnout in the election:

ACTUAL TURNOUT	NUMBER OF CORRECT ANSWERS		
	0-6	7-8	9-10
Yes.....	59(.78)	44(.80)	48(.94)
No.....	17(.22)	11(.20)	3(.06)
Total.....	76(1.00)	55(1.00)	51(1.00)

Then, $W = [(.94 + .22) - (.78 + .06)]/2 = .16$.

comes from the first six items in the hierarchy. The factor of *registration* proved to be the most effective predictor, *statement of intent to vote*, second, and *strength of feeling*

ther evidence of the stability of this ranking.¹⁷

TABLE 4

REGISTRATION RELATED TO ACTUAL TURNOUT

ACTUAL TURN- OUT	REGISTRATION		Not Reg- istered in Madison	TOTAL
	Before the Primary in Sept., 1952	After the Primary in Sept., 1952		
Yes.....	134	17	0	151
No.....	3	0	28	31
Total.	137	17	28	182

TABLE 5

INTENT TO VOTE RELATED
TO ACTUAL TURNOUT

ACTUAL TURNOUT	Yes	INTENT TO VOTE		Total
		No	Don't Know	
Yes.....	148	2	1	151
No.....	21	10	0	31
Total..	169	12	1	182

TABLE 6

REGISTRATION AND INTENT TO VOTE RELATED TO ACTUAL TURNOUT

REGISTRATION:		BEFORE THE PRIMARY IN SEPT., 1952			AFTER THE PRIMARY IN SEPT., 1952			NOT REGISTERED			TOTAL
		Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	Yes	No	Don't Know	
INTENT TO VOTE:	Yes.....	131	2	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	151
	No.....	2	1	0	0	0	0	19	9	0	31
	Total.....	133	3	1	17	0	0	19	9	0	182
ACTUAL TURNOUT	Yes.....	131	2	1	17	0	0	0	0	0	151
	No.....	2	1	0	0	0	0	19	9	0	31
	Total.....	133	3	1	17	0	0	19	9	0	182

about voting, third. Thus, the three items put at the head of the list on supposedly a priori grounds remained there after the empirical test, although the order among them was changed. *Strength of feeling* showed a value of *W* far below that of either of the other two; hence, for predictive purposes, it is of but slight utility. Only one of the other ten items, *number of correct answers on campaign information quiz*, showed a statistically significant relationship with turnout; but, like *strength of feeling*, it manifested little predictive power. Miller's study gives some fur-

ther evidence of the stability of this ranking.¹⁷

Item	Index of Predictive Power
Registration.....	.72
Intent to vote.....	.58
Interest.....	.14

where *interest* is here taken as roughly equivalent to our *strength of feeling* about voting. Interestingly enough, Miller's study also confirms the slight negative correlation between *sex* and *actual turnout*.¹⁸

Tables 4 and 5 show the distribution of our two salient variables with actual turnout, as they appeared in Madison. Table 6 shows the combined ability of the two rubrics *registration* and *statement of intent to vote* to capture the sufficient causes of voting. The probabilities of voting given in Tables 4, 5, and 6 cannot, of course, be expected to hold even for other Madison samples at the same election. However, according to the accompanying tests of statis-

tical significance, the odds are decisive that *registration* and *statement of intent to vote* would continue to be the most effective of the thirteen predictors of turnout in further samples of the Madison electorate in the presidential election of 1952.

¹⁷ Miller, *op. cit.*, "Registration," p. 393; "Intent to vote," p. 386; "Interest," p. 396. *W* was computed for the data described therein.

¹⁸ "The frequent finding in earlier studies that women tend to be non-voters was not verified; in the precinct as a whole women voters slightly outnumbered the men" (*ibid.*, p. 394).

In Table 7, which shows the relation between *registration* and turnout, the distribution for the entire population of Madison in this election is available for comparative purposes. The *W* of Table 7 is .84, higher than in Miller's study and lower than in our Madison sample study. Comparison with Table 4 is difficult because of lack of information about the population turnout for new registrants. After the September primary, and before the November presidential election, 5,189 Madison residents filled in registration cards for the first time in the city—about 9.60 per cent of the total registration in November.

TABLE 7

REGISTRATION RELATED TO ACTUAL TURNOUT OF THE POPULATION

Actual Turnout	Registered	Not Registered	Total
Yes....	45,476 (84.14%)	0*	45,476
No....	8,574†	12,065	20,639
Total	54,050	12,065	66,115‡

* Nonregistered voters cannot vote.

† From the city hall in Madison, Wisconsin.

‡ Total population twenty-one years of age and over, from the 1950 census. This frequency, of course, has changed, but it would only affect the frequency of nonregistered nonvoters; that is, the cell frequency 12,065 is open to some doubt on account of population growth.

A sizable increment of new registrants, to be expected before any important election, raises another hazard in election forecasting. Freeman's advice, that pollsters should consider only the registered voters in their samples when making predictions,¹⁹ is impossible to adhere to rigorously if the respondents register after the interview yet before the election. In the present study new registrants made up about 11 per cent of the sample: 17 new registrants out of the 154 in the total number of registered voters in the sample. Why these people registered to vote brings up a completely separate motivational and predictive problem treated neither here nor elsewhere. In view of their perfect turnout, these new registrants should be of special interest; but they were not found to

differ significantly in age, years of residence in city, strength of feeling about voting, or otherwise from the rest of the sample.

Further surveys are needed to establish whether *registration* is a more successful predictor of turnout than *statement of intent to vote* in other cities throughout the country, and for other presidential elections. Table 8 summarizes the turnout predictions using the three salient items in our hierarchy, sep-

TABLE 8
TURNOUT PREDICTIONS

Predictive Item	No. of Voters Predicted	No. of Predicted Voters Who Did Vote	Per Cent of Predicted Voters Who Did Vote
Very strong feeling.....	148	127	85.8
Intent to vote.....	169	148	87.5
Registration.....	137	134	97.8
Registration and Intent to vote.....	133	131	98.5
Registration and Intent and Very strong feeling..	115	113	98.3

TABLE 9

DIVISION OF VOTE FOR PRESIDENT AND
FOR UNITED STATES SENATOR

	DIRECTION OF VOTE (PER CENT)			
	President		United States Senator	
	Eisen- hower	Steven- son	Mc- Carthy	Fair- child
Total city.....	51.7	48.3	38.0	62.0
Total sample (N: 165)...	55.2	44.8	37.3	62.7
Registration only (N: 125).....	56.0	44.0	37.7	62.3
Registration and Intent (N: 122).....	55.7	44.3	37.3	62.7
Registration and Intent and Very strong feel- ing (N: 115).....	53.0	47.0	37.7	62.3

arately and combined, in Madison. The progressive improvement in successful prediction is apparent. Only in combining *strength of feeling* with *registration* and *intent to vote* was there a slight loss of accuracy. We might conclude from this table that actual registration and a positive intent to vote proved best able to capture the latent causal conditions.

The practical importance of a precise estimate of turnout is, of course, to improve the estimate of the direction of vote. Hence, a final question arises as to how well the sample predicted the direction of vote for the Madison population in the election. Table 9 shows the breakdown of the vote for

¹⁹ Howard E. Freeman, "A Note on the Prediction of Who Votes," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVII (Summer, 1953), 288-92.

QUESTIONNAIRE

1. Where do you yourself get most of your information about candidates and issues? Wife or husband (spouse); Friends or acquaintances; Contact with local party leaders; Political leaders other than candidates; Newspapers (.....); Magazine articles; Radio (.....); Political speeches heard in person; Other (.....).
2. a) Do you plan to vote on November 4? Yes; No; Don't know.
b) How strongly do you feel about voting? Very strongly; Fairly strongly; Don't care.
3. Have you ever written or wired a legislator, member of Congress, or other public official, expressing your views? Yes; No; Don't know.
How about signing nomination papers? Yes; No; Don't know.
How about helping at elections or doing other political or party work? Yes; No; Don't know.
How about signing a petition involving some public issue? Yes; No; Don't know.
4. To which party does Eisenhower belong? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
For what office is Sparkman a candidate? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
Who is the Democratic candidate for governor of Wisconsin? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
Which presidential candidate does Senator Taft support? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
Which of the presidential candidates was president of Columbia University? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
What political office did Fairchild hold when he became candidate for United States senator? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
What is Eisenhower's home state? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
Which candidate has received a public indorsement from the president of the AF of L? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
Is Stevenson a veteran? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
In the entire country, what is the political-party stand of most of the newspapers? Correct; Wrong; Don't know.
5. Regardless of whether or not they vote, some people have expressed the following views about themselves as voters. With reference to you yourself, would you agree or disagree with the following statements:
I am usually not interested enough in politics to think much about voting. Agree; Disagree; Don't know or no opinion.
I generally don't know enough about candidates and issues to feel sure that I am not voting blindly. Agree; Disagree; No opinion.
Because my vote is only one in millions of votes, it makes little difference whether I vote or not. Agree; Disagree; No opinion.
I feel that there is little to choose between, in the honesty of political candidates, regardless of what party they belong to. Agree; Disagree; No opinion.
I am satisfied with the political situation, and don't bother myself much about voting. Agree; Disagree; No opinion.
6. Just in general, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?
7. a) (i) Are you a member of a church? Yes; No.
(ii) Which denomination?
b) How long, or how many years, have you lived in Madison?
c) (i) What is your age?
(ii) Sex: Male; Female.
d) How far did you go in school? SGS; GS; SHS; HS; SC; C.

President and for United States senator, both in the sample and in Madison as a whole. For the presidential forecast, no improvement is experienced when the non-registered and the persons not intending to vote are separated out, until strength of feeling is taken into account. The forecasts for United States senator for the total sample and the various subsamples are too close to give more than random changes from the population percentages.

In this paper we have set forth a design for testing a generating hypothesis of a certain type of social behavior, namely, voting turnout. The design includes an a priori ranking of predictive items relevant to the hypothesis, a factor analysis of the same, and an analysis of the relative predictive power of the items. Our interpretation of the results of the preliminary survey of voting behavior is that the latent decision to vote may be usefully taken as a hypothesis for predicting voting turnout. But at least two qualifications should be made. First, there is a possibility that our a priori ranking of thirteen items was not derived wholly from the generating hypothesis but was affected by our acquaintance with previous research findings. Second, if other hypotheses were similarly tested, one or more might be found to give an even higher correlation with the

same thirteen items or might lead to other more effective items. This suggests that the sizes of the rank correlation coefficients between the a priori and the observed rankings, if established within narrow confidence limits,²⁰ may be used as measures of the relative value of different generating hypotheses as devices for deducing sufficient latent causal systems.

A fully adequate generating hypothesis should be able to place consistently, by a priori methods, the presumed ranking of any proposed set of variables as predictors of a given criterion independently of the investigator concerned. This has not been demonstrated for our hypothesis of decision-making above. We have done no more than to suggest that the hypothesis may be worth the large amount of work necessary to develop it to a higher level of objectivity.

Although for practical reasons we have dealt here with the problem of predicting voting turnout at an election, our deeper interest has lain in developing a workable theoretical approach to the general problem of predicting social behavior.

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²⁰ A rank correlation coefficient possesses a comparatively large standard error, unless the ranking contains thirty or more members. Unless several confirming sample values are available, not too much importance can be attached to a specific value of a coefficient (Kendall, *op. cit.*, pp. 53-54).

CULTURAL AND MARITAL ADJUSTMENT OF JAPANESE WAR BRIDES

GERALD J. SCHNEPP AND AGNES MASAKO YUI

ABSTRACT

This study does not confirm the assumptions of hasty marriage and severe cultural conflict frequently made about interracial marriages. The serviceman's stay in Japan averaged over four years, and courtships averaged about two years. Severe cultural conflict was not found in in-group and out-group relationships—husbands identified themselves with their wives' circles; there were no regrets and no serious in-law problems. Co-operation and adaptation were common, wives were learning English, and there were no religious conflicts. A study of age at marriage, educational attainment, residence separate from in-laws, first marriage, and average number of children all indicated stability rather than conflict.

It may be the general belief that American-Japanese war marriages will have a high rate of failure because of two assumptions: that they are the hasty result of casual contact and that they involve sharp cultural contrasts. That these assumptions are not valid is the conclusion following an intensive study of twenty American-Japanese couples—fifteen in the St. Louis area, five in the Chicago area.

This is an exploratory study, and the conclusions cannot be unqualifiedly applied to all American-Japanese war marriages, as is evident from the following estimates. The International Institute estimates that there are between 40 and 50 Japanese war brides in the St. Louis area. The Chicago Resettlers Committee estimates that between 2,000 and 2,500 reside in the Chicago area. In all, about 15,500 marriages "between American citizens, between Americans and other nationalities, and between Americans and Japanese" have gone through the consulates in Japan between 1945 and 1954;¹ it is estimated that at least two-thirds of these are American-Japanese war marriages.

An interview was designed to determine circumstances of background, courtship, and present adjustment which have been found related to marital success or failure. The criteria of success were that the marriage had not ended in divorce and—from a study of the factors—did not seem likely to end in divorce. Judged by these criteria, all the marriages in our sample were "suc-

cessful," indicating a bias in the selection owing to the difficulty of locating American-Japanese war marriages, the protective attitude of some agencies, and the unwillingness of some couples to be interviewed. Nevertheless, our study throws some light on successful integration in intercultural marriage and shows that the ready assumptions mentioned must be qualified.

To test the first assumption—that these unions resulted from casual contact followed by quick marriage—we inquired into length of stay in Japan of the American serviceman, length of courtship, parental approval or disapproval, nature of first contact, and whether there was a religious ceremony or not.

The husband's stay in Japan averaged 4.4 years, with a range of one to seven years. The length of courtship averaged 23.7 months, with a range of two months to four years. Parental opposition was general at the start of the relationship. It apparently was based on misgivings about intercultural marriages as well as fear that their daughters would be labeled "prostitutes." However, opposition broke down rapidly; it lasted three days in one case to about a month in another. The presence of an older brother was associated with a more rapid breakdown of opposition. The first contact was not of the casual, street pick-up variety. About three-fourths of the couples met at work, the rest at parties and picnics. The girls insisted strongly that they were not "street girls." This is probably correct, for "their record was checked by the Japanese

¹ Personal communication from W. G. Richardson, American Consul, Tokyo, May 24, 1954.

authorities to screen out known prostitutes and criminals."² Nine of the couples had a religious ceremony: five Shinto, two Catholic, and two Protestant; the rest had a civil ceremony only. In general, then, the first assumption is not borne out by the facts. Their weakest feature, as judged by previous marriage-prediction studies, was that less than half the marriages were contracted in a religious ceremony.

The second assumption—that these marriages will have a high rate of failure because of cultural conflict—is more complicated. On the one hand, cultural difference cannot be denied. On the other, the significant consideration for marital adjustment is not the difference itself but the way in which the couples adjust themselves to it. The latter situation was analyzed by studying in-group and out-group relationships, institutionalized roles of husband and wife, language, cuisine, and religious conviction and practice.

As a whole, the husbands showed no indication of unfavorable attitudes toward the Japanese, and none seemed to regret the marriage. In contrast, the wives were keenly conscious of being wives of Americans and living in a foreign country. But they seemed to have prepared themselves for the inevitable difficulties, and none regretted being married to an American. Several insisted that the adjustment was up to each couple, and a number pointed out that there would be marital difficulties even if they were married to Japanese men. While about one-third of the husbands expressed prejudice against Negroes, only two of the wives did so.

In the nature of things, the in-law problem occurred only for the wives. As might be expected, it was most acute for approximately one-third of the cases, those where the couple was living with the husband's relatives. But, generally speaking, the husband's family cordially welcomed the Japanese girl, and the mother-in-law was helpful in teaching her how to shop, prepare

meals, and care for the baby. Most of the difficulties could be traced to difficulties with language.

A few husbands identified their circles of friends with those of their wives. Most of the latter had as closest friends other Japanese war brides, and the husbands accepted this as a matter of course. Our observations were similar to those of Strauss: "The willingness of husbands to find their friends almost solely among other mixed couples bespeaks a readiness to be concerned with their wives' need for Japanese gesture and conversation."³

Although the institutionalized roles of husband and wife were not completely explored, it was clear that co-operation was general rather than domination of one spouse by the other. The wives were not career-minded; only four worked outside, and they did so from economic necessity. Apparently, the wives cheerfully accepted their domestic tasks. Similar co-operation was observed in the making of decisions, although husbands took a more or less leading role if wives were not sufficiently familiar with American custom and law.

All the wives adopted American family ritual, and such occasions as birthdays, anniversaries, Thanksgiving, and Christmas were celebrated in the American manner. Moreover, they did not express any desire to bring into their households such customs as the dolls' festivals or Japanese-style New Year's Day.

Language was probably the greatest difficulty of the war brides. During the occupation these girls, like most urban Japanese, learned some English, but it was not adequate for exclusive use. The difficulty was greatest in times of crisis or emotional excitement and in such situations as the discussion of technical matters or joking. All the wives had tried to improve their English in language classes, by informal instruction from their husbands and in-laws, or by close attention to radio and television programs.

Although most wives liked to have Japanese food from time to time, all accepted American food and adapted themselves to

² Anselm Strauss, "Strain and Harmony in American-Japanese War-Marriages," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI (May, 1954), 99.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 104.

it.⁴ However, in Japan many urban families apparently serve American food several times a week; moreover, in America Japanese food is hard to find, and it is expensive to serve one type of food to the husband and another to the wife.

Strong religious belief and practice were rare among the couples in the present study, and therefore the integrative value⁵ of religion was not observed.

However, since the war brides belonged to that section of the population which was comparatively free from religious and institutional affiliation and since the husbands generally had no strong religious convictions, both came from groups with little cohesion, and thus there was less hindrance to marital adjustment.

In summary, then, the second assumption—that these marriages will have a high rate of failure because of cultural conflict—is not confirmed when the marriages are examined from the viewpoint of in-group and out-group relationships, institutionalized roles of husband and wife, language, cuisine, and religious conviction and practice. Further confirmation of stability was found in certain other general considerations: age at marriage, whether these were first marriages, the living situation at the time of the study, educational attainment, and number of children.

The average age at marriage was 26.8 for the husbands and 23.7 for the wives. These are later ages than in the average American marriage (median age at first marriage: husband, 24.7; wife, 21.4)⁶ and would generally be predictive of marital success.

With the exception of one case, these were first marriages for both partners. This also favors durable marriage.⁷

Most of the wives came from urban areas

in Japan and found little difficulty in adapting to the American city life. In fact, many expressed satisfaction with the conveniences of urban living. This agrees with the finding of Strauss: "Although some women come from a higher comparable class than their men, the American standard of living is generally so much superior that the class difference does not cause the women to make great material demands of their husbands."⁸

Thirteen of the twenty couples were living in apartment houses by themselves; only one couple owned a home. The rest were living with in-laws and desired to move as soon as circumstances permitted.

Similarity of education was the general rule among our couples: the husbands averaged 12.3 years of education; the wives, 10.9 years. In the Japanese system the approximately eleven-year period of schooling of the wives is roughly equivalent to an American high-school education. These couples, then, had somewhat more education than the general American population (median school years completed: 9.3),⁹ and this favors success in marriage.¹⁰

The average number of children was 1.3; the average age of the children was 23.3 months; the oldest child was five years of age. In a group of marriages whose average duration is only three and a half years, these facts are interpreted as signs of stability.

A difficulty in this exploratory study was the securing of a good sample, representative of the universe. If this difficulty were overcome, a study of a group of American-Japanese couples and of a control group would yield fruitful results in itself and would also form the basis for comparison.

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⁴ Ernest W. Burgess and Leonard S. Cottrell, *Predicting Success or Failure in Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1939), p. 132.

⁵ *Op. cit.*, p. 103.

⁶ The Conference Board, *The Economic Almanac, 1953-54* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1953), p. 30.

⁷ Judson T. and Mary G. Landis, *Building a Successful Marriage* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1948), p. 105.

⁴ Burgess and Wallin's comment was confirmed: "Adaptability facilitates decision-making and collective action of husband and wife" (Ernest W. Burgess and Paul Wallin, *Engagement and Marriage* [New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1953], p. 456).

⁵ Clement S. Mihanovich, Gerald J. Schnepf, and John L. Thomas, *Marriage and the Family* (Milwaukee: Bruce Publishing Co., 1952), p. 101.

⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 26, p. 460.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

TECHNOLOGY AND THE STANDARD OF LIVING

January 14, 1955

To the Editor:

In a masterly article ("Technology and the Standard of Living in the United States") in the January, 1955, issue of this *Journal*, Professor W. F. Ogburn returns to his thesis enunciated in a previous contribution ("Population, Private Ownership, Technology, and the Standard of Living," *American Journal of Sociology*, January, 1951, pp. 314-19) that technology is more important than the "economic system" in determining standard of living. The earlier article sought to show this by making an international comparison. I questioned his conclusions at the time (this *Journal*, March, 1951, pp. 484-85).

The present discussion by Professor Ogburn confirms those conclusions. It holds that "the outstanding cause of the doubling of the standard of living of the people of the United States is the growth of technological equipment" (p. 386).

About a hundred years ago economists, including Frédéric Bastiat, Karl Marx, and Eugene von Böhm-Bawerk, essayed to show why increasing employment of capital tends to increase the productivity of labor. They observed that the use of capital makes it possible not only to exploit more effectively available resources but also to bring into use productive forces inaccessible by direct means. We may even grant, although with some hesitation, that the standard of living rises and falls with production. Professor Ogburn indeed remarks, perhaps somewhat unsociologically: "Even the standard of living of a wild animal is determined by its production" (p. 383).

The old questions, nevertheless, remain. In determining the relationship between technology and the standard of living, he secured data for 1900 and 1950 and found

that the trend line straightened out fluctuations. Professor Ogburn is interested here in the effects of prosperity and depression only as these may tilt or depress the slope of the line anchored at two points. When, however, the problem is to show that the standard of living is a dependent function of technology, it seems necessary to demonstrate that prosperity and depression follow fluctuations in the availability and use of technology. The depression of 1929, for example, should correlate dependently with some significant decline in the number of inventions and general availability of technological devices. But it was not possible to show this by the procedure adopted. Indeed, it probably cannot be shown by any other procedure.

Technology, natural resources, education, management, the economic system, and capital are considered as influences on production. He subordinates five of these to technology. In this regard we are especially doubtful about the role attributed to the economic system. It is clearly a Marxian proposition to hold that changes in the technique (mode) of production determine qualitative changes in the economic system. At any rate, in dispensing with organizational factors as a dominant influence, Professor Ogburn observes that since 1900 the "economic system" in the United States has not changed, therefore "a change cannot be explained by [this] constant" (p. 385).

It is difficult to follow this argument. It is admitted that the United States at both periods was a capitalist system. And, yet, is it rational to say, for example, that a nation moving from a largely capital-importing position to that of the leading capital-exporting country has not undergone significant economic changes? This is important, because there may be no other nation capable of duplicating the feat. We should not stress the point if we could sup-

pose that some ordinary capitalist community, say, Mexico, might, by its own bootstraps, decide to improve its technology and thus reap a rise in its standard of living comparable to that of the United States. Furthermore, the observation has been frequently made that our economy has changed from a system vigorously expanding in 1900 by private enterprise to one surviving precariously in 1950 by governmental military expenditure and foreign aid.

The *economic system* is doubtless not of the same order of phenomena as that of technology and the standard of living. Both technology and the standard of living appear to be initially conditioned by the economic order. Consequently, the relevant influences of the economic order must be analyzed before we can understand the associated behavior of the other two functions. This relationship, we think, cannot be denied merely because we do not have satisfactory units for measuring changes in the system. The standard of living rose phenomenally in Venice between 1200 and 1450 and in Holland between 1600 and 1650. These changes took place before the industrial revolution, of course, and in response to policies typical of leading capitalist economies.

In considering the role of technology relative to the economic order, it seems that one should realize constantly that in some, if not in all, precapitalist societies technology hardly thrives, a condition that any technological interpretation of history will have to explain. Moreover, in the international capitalist system itself the economy of every nation is more or less open; and the opportunity for technological advancement in the lesser nations appears to be critically dependent upon their economic relationship to the leaders. It is possible, then, that both technological growth and improvement in the standard of living may sometimes rest upon such organizational factors as tariff policy and its competitive weight in the international system.

OLIVER C. COX

Lincoln University

CITY DIRECTORIES AS SOURCES OF MIGRATION DATA

February 17, 1955

To the Editor:

In a letter to the editor in the January issue of the *Journal*, E. Jackson Baur reported on the inaccuracy of the city directories of Kansas City and compared his findings with those in Norristown, Pennsylvania, which were reported on in my article "City Directories as Sources of Migration Data" (*American Journal of Sociology*, LX, No. 2 [September], 169-76).

Dr. Baur reports that he found the address section of the Kansas City directories 70 per cent complete and therefore questioned whether directories of cities other than Norristown "are a complete and highly accurate source of demographic data." As my article shows, my statement was based not on the count of dwelling units in Norristown but on the enumeration of the adult population as listed in the major section of the directory. These population data corresponded almost 100 per cent with those of the comparable census enumeration. Since the Norristown data which I used were based on the population in which each adult individual counted as one unit and the Kansas City data which Baur used were based on addresses in which the measuring units for purposes of his study were dwelling places, comparison of the findings of these two studies is not fully justified.

Obviously, it is more difficult for a census or directory enumerator to identify what constitutes a separate dwelling unit than it is for him simply to count and identify the number of persons in a given building. The fact that Baur's own survey identified 153 more dwelling units than the census in a comparable area (638 compared to 485) confirms this statement.

Baur's comments suggest another complication: the accuracy of the Kansas City directory listings was often measured by comparison of the number of *addresses* enumerated by the directory with the number of *dwelling units* enumerated by other methods. Addresses and dwelling units are

not necessarily comparable. One would expect the total number of addresses in a community (assuming that one address is assigned to each separate building or to each separate entrance to a building) to be smaller than the total number of dwelling units, since frequently there are two or more dwelling units at one address. The ratio of dwelling units to addresses would differ, of course, from one area of the city to another. Since the number of addresses and the number of dwelling units differ, one is not justified in using the latter as a standard for measuring the accuracy of the former. Only where the directory lists separate dwelling units rather than addresses can a fair comparison be made.

The Norristown directories attempt to do this, and the 1950 census count of dwelling units (9,180) shows a 101.6 per cent correspondence with the number of units listed in the 1951 directory (9,332). (The per cent is over 100 because of the year lapse between the two censuses.) In those cities in which the directories list only addresses without distinguishing separate dwelling units, however, studies designed to identify dwelling units cannot measure the accuracy of their data by comparison with the directory enumeration of addresses. Any such comparison should be expected to indicate an underenumeration of addresses.

For these reasons, if the address section of the directory is to be used as a basis for sampling the community, it is very important to determine first the particular classification of dwelling units employed by the directory and then with this information to test the accuracy of the directory enumeration by comparison with other studies using comparable units.

With respect to my statement that directories offer a "complete and highly accurate source of demographic data," I should like to cite the fact that, although based on the Norristown directories alone, it was made with the knowledge that studies using directories in other cities of the United States had produced results which lend strong support to such an evaluation. Norman Lawrence of the Bureau of the Census

found that the city directories of Washington, D.C., in both 1930 and 1940 enumerated 99 per cent as many persons as the comparable censuses of those years. Carl M. Rosenquist and Walter G. Browder have made extensive use of the city directories of Austin, Houston, and Dallas, Texas, for various periods between 1922 and 1938. Comparison of the enumerations reported in their studies (published by the University of Texas Publications) with data from the nearest United States census shows that in all cities for all periods investigated the directory enumeration was 95 per cent or more of the corresponding census and that the deficiency might well be attributed to time differences between directory and census enumerations. I cite these other studies to suggest that the Norristown directories are not unique in their coverage.

It is probably too much to expect that the directories of all cities are as complete as those cited here. Nonetheless, in the absence of any better official population register, it is probable that city directories are among the better sources of demographic data for the American community.

SIDNEY GOLDSTEIN

University of Pennsylvania

"THE ORIGIN AND GROWTH OF URBANIZATION IN THE WORLD"

May 2, 1955

To the Editor:

Sociological literature is filled with terms which have no precise meaning. "Urbanism" and "variants" fall into this class. Used only to designate the existence of a complex historical and social phenomenon, the terms would be precise. However, when they are used to designate a type of causal system, they become imprecise.

Kingsley Davis in his article "The Origin and Growth of Urbanization in the World," in the March, 1955, issue of the *Journal*, states: "... urbanism represents a revolutionary change in the whole pattern of social life. Itself a product of basic economic and

technological developments, it tends in turn . . . to affect every aspect of existence." He ends the article with " 'Rurality' would have disappeared, leaving only a new kind of urban existence."

The first statement is without determinate value, since any change "tends in turn . . . to affect every aspect of existence." The problem remains to isolate specific factors. The second statement is a variant of the common notion that changes in rural areas are to be understood as the *result* of the impact of urbanism. This has never been proved to be a valid formulation. In the United States, for instance, cotton gins, reapers, and other mechanical equipment not only were invented by rural people but were necessarily widely distributed before urban areas could develop.

Instead of arguing that the urban somehow destroys the rural way of life, it would be far more accurate to consider the development as reciprocal and parallel. Or, considering the increasing tendency toward the development of garden cities, one could say that urbanism would have disappeared, leaving only a new kind of rural existence. Actually, this statement, too, is meaningless, since the words "rural" and "urban" have precise meanings only as they denote the existence of a functional difference between city and noncity. The nature of those differences has varied and will continue to vary in time and space, and so cannot become a part of the meaning of the words.

ARTHUR G. LINDSAY

Analytic Services
Denver, Colorado

HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY, 1954

According to reports received by the *Journal* from 73 departments of sociology in the United States and Canada offering graduate instruction, 168 doctoral degrees and 275 Master's degrees in sociology were conferred in the calendar year 1954.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

- Hatim Abdul Sahib Al-Ka'bi, Grad. Higher Teachers College, Baghdad, Iraq, 1941; A.M. Chicago, 1951. "Social Psychological Analysis of Arab Nationalist Movement in Iraq." *Chicago*.
- Philip James Allen, B.A. Ohio Northern, 1937; M.A. Northwestern, 1940. "Upward Mobility within a Profession." *American*.
- Helen Ely Amerman, A.B. Michigan State, 1937; A.M. Stanford, 1944. "The Impact of Intergroup Relations on Non-segregated Urban Public Education." *Chicago*.
- Nicholas Babchuk, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "A Study of Human Relations in Department Store Selling Groups." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Irving Paul Babow, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1936. "Secular Singing Societies of European Immigrant Groups in San Francisco." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Carl W. Backman, B.A. Oberlin College, 1948; A.M. Indiana, 1950. "Sampling Mass Media Content: A Comparison of One-Stage and Two-Stage Methods." *Indiana*.
- Ernest A. T. Barth, A.B. Rochester, 1950; M.A. North Carolina, 1953. "A Study of Some Factors Associated with the Social Participation of Airmen in Off-Duty Activities." *North Carolina*.
- Allen Barton, A.B. Harvard, 1947; M.A. Columbia, 1948. "Sociological and Psychological Implications of Economic Planning in Norway." *Columbia*.
- Frederick LeRoy Bates, A.B., M.A. George Washington, 1949, 1950. "The Synchronization of Maintenance Activity in Four Bomb Wings: A Sociometric Study of Communication and Allocation." *North Carolina*.
- Peter Ludwig Berger, B.A. Wagner College, 1949; M.A. New School, 1950. "From Sect to Church: A Sociological Interpretation of the Baha'i Movement." *New School*.
- Frances Marian Bishop, A.B. Drury College, 1949; A.M. Kansas, 1950. "Family Crises: An Analytic Study of Problems and Crises Experienced during a Period of Two Years by Eighty-one Middle-Income Families." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Hubert Morse Blalock, Jr., B.A. Dartmouth College, 1949; M.A. Brown, 1953. "An Analysis of Some Empirical Generalizations in Race Relations." *North Carolina*.
- Stephen Taylor Boggs, A.B. Harvard, 1947. "Ojibwa Socialization: Some Aspects of Parent-Child Interaction in a Changing Culture." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Robert Boguslaw, A.B., A.M. Brooklyn College, 1940, 1947. "Role Tension and Role Perception: An Approach to the Analysis of Labor-Management Relations." *New York*.
- Joe M. Bohlen, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1947, 1948. "Changes in Knowledge and Opinions of Business and Professional Persons about Co-operative Associations." *Iowa State College*.
- Ernst Borinski, A.M. Chicago, 1946. "A Legal and Sociological Analysis of the Segregation Decision of May 17, 1954." *Pittsburgh*.
- Robert T. Bower, A.B. Yale, 1941. "Communication Structure of an Indian Village." *Columbia*.
- Richard H. Brennenman, B.S. Lehigh, 1952; M.L. Pittsburgh, 1952. "The Development of Industrial Sociology." *Pittsburgh*.
- Morgan C. Brown, B.A. Paine College, 1937; M.A. Ohio State, 1950. "Evaluation of Jobs and Occupations by Negroes of Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State*.
- Charles Browning, A.B. Bethany-Peniel College, 1944; A.M. Southern California, 1949. "Differential Social Relationships and Personality Factors of Parents and Boys in Two Delinquent Groups and One Nondelinquent Group." *Southern California*.
- Jack V. Buerkle, B.S., A.M. Illinois, 1948, 1949. "Factors Associated with Supervisory Success in the Operating Room." *Iowa*.
- William Francis Bugden, B.A. Boston College, 1942. "Some Differences between Rural and Urban-reared Criminals at Rockview Farm Prison, Pennsylvania." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Anthony J. Cacioppo, B.S., M.A. Kent State,

- 1948, 1949. "A Reformulated Theory of Criminality: An Empirical Test." *Iowa*.
- Kenneth L. Cannon, B.S. Brigham Young, 1935; M.S. Iowa State College, 1948. "Sociometric Scores among High-School Students and Their Relationship to Selected Variables of Family Living." *Iowa State College*.
- William Catton, A.B. Oberlin College, 1950; M.A. Washington, 1952. "Propaganda Effectiveness as a Function of Human Values." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Burton Robert Clark, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949. "Adult Education in Transition: A Study of Institutional Insecurity." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Martin Ludwig Cohnstaedt, B.S. Rutgers, 1941; M.A. North Carolina, 1943. "A Comparative Analysis of Commuting and Noncommuting Families in the Slaterville Springs-Brooktondale Area, Tompkins County, New York." *Wisconsin*.
- James S. Coleman, B.S. Purdue, 1949. "Political Cleavage within the International Typographical Union." *Columbia*.
- Jerry Walker Combs, Jr., A.B. Presbyterian College (Clinton, S.C.), 1934; M.A. Tennessee, 1948. "Human Fertility in Puerto Rico." *Columbia*.
- Ruth Mathilde Connor, A.B. Pennsylvania State College, 1949; M.S. Hunter, 1947. "Relationship of the Social Structure of Salem, Massachusetts, to a Self-study of Health." *North Carolina*.
- Jack Randolph Conrad, A.B., M.A. Emory, 1949, 1951. "The Bullfight: The Cultural History of an Institution." *Duke*.
- Helen Constat, A.B. Hunter College, 1942; M.A. New School, 1948. "Bureaucratic Collectivism: An Analysis of the Historical Examples of Pharaonic Egypt and Soviet Russia." *New School*.
- James Harris Copp, B.A., M.A. Minnesota, 1949, 1951. "A Study of Factors Associated with 4-H Club Enrolment." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert Elson Corley, A.B. Illinois Wesleyan, 1942; M.A. Illinois, 1948. "A Sociological Evaluation of Some Urban Planning Programs." *Illinois*.
- Lewis A. Coser, B.A. Sorbonne, France. "Toward a Sociology of Social Conflict." *Columbia*.
- James D. Cowhig, A.B. Miami, 1950; M.A. Michigan State College, 1951. "Relations of Ecological and Sociological Characteristics of Urban Sub-areas of a Middle-sized City." *Michigan State College*.
- Sydney H. Croog, A.B., M.A. Yale, 1946, 1947. "The Social Background of Emotionally Disturbed Children and Their Siblings." *Yale*.
- Margaret Elaine Cumming, A.B., M.A. Saskatchewan, 1948, 1949. "The Social Control of Mental Illness, with Special Reference to the Strategies of Isolation and Denial." *Radcliffe College*.
- Gordon Cummings, B.S., M.S. Cornell, 1948, 1950. "The Major Value Orientations of New York State Farmers with Reference to the Role of the Federal Government in Agriculture." *Cornell*.
- Robert P. Cunningham, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1949, 1950. "A Sociological Approach to Esthetics: An Analysis of Attitudes toward the Motion Picture." *Iowa*.
- William Lee Cupp, A.B., M.A. Iowa State, 1949, 1950. "A Study of Small Groups in a Youth Rehabilitation Center, with Special Reference to Patterns of Co-leadership." *North Carolina*.
- Jack Homer Curtis, B.S. St. Louis, 1949; M.A. New Mexico, 1950. "Group Marginality and Adherence to Religious Doctrine in an American Community." *Stanford*.
- Vahakn Norair Dadrian. "A Comparative Study of Modern Nationalism: A Sociological Effort of Analysis of the Cases of Modern England, France, and Germany by Way of a Typology, and through the Use of Historical and Political Data." *Chicago*.
- Walter P. Davison, A.B. Princeton, 1939; A.M. Columbia, 1941. "Berlin Airlift." *Columbia*.
- William Nelson Deane, A.B. Gordon College, 1944; A.M. New Hampshire, 1948. "The Mormons of the El Dorado Stake and the Valley City Ward: A Study in Social Norms and Their Effectiveness." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Melvin L. DeFleur, A.B. St. Louis, 1949; M.S. Washington, 1952. "Experimental Studies of Stimulus Response Relationships in Leaflet Communication." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Robert A. Deutsch, I.E.E. Pratt Institute, 1925; B.S. Long Island, 1947; M.A. New School, 1952. "Atomic Scientists as Opinion Leaders and Policy Advisers." *New School*.
- Robert M. Dimit, B.A., M.S. Pennsylvania State, 1948, 1949. "Diffusion and Adoption of Approved Farming Practices in 11 Counties in Southwest Virginia." *Iowa State College*.
- George I. J. Dixon, A.B., M.A. Montana State,

- 1947, 1947. "Cultural Primitivism and Related Ideas and Ideals: A Case Study in the Sociology of Knowledge." *Nebraska*.
- Russell R. Dynes, A.B., M.A. Tennessee, 1948, 1950. "Church-Sects Typology: An Empirical Study." *Ohio State*.
- Harold W. Eastman, A.B. Sioux Falls College, 1941; M.A. College of William and Mary, 1946. "The Process of Urbanization: A Restudy of Culture Conflict." *Iowa*.
- Robert Lee Eichhorn, B.A., M.A. Kansas, 1947, 1949. "Patterns of Segregation, Discrimination, and Interracial Conflict: Analysis of a Nation-wide Survey of Intergroup Practices." *Cornell*.
- Ralph W. England, Jr., A.B. Michigan, 1941; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Postprobation Recidivism among 500 Federal Offenders." *Pennsylvania*.
- William Martin Evan, B.A. Pennsylvania, 1946; M.A. Nebraska, 1949. "Occupation and Voluntary Associations: A Case Study." *Cornell*.
- Raymond O. Farden, B.A. Concordia College, 1947. "An Explanatory Study of the Prediction of Occupation Adjustment." *Minnesota*.
- George A. Field, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1938; A.M. Pennsylvania, 1949. "Cultural Classes in a Planned Community: A Study of Social Origins and Social Accommodations." *Pennsylvania*.
- Herbert Fisher, A.B., Harvard, 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "Bias and Variance in Coding Free-Answer Responses." *Chicago*.
- George Kenneth Floro, Ed.B. Toledo, 1947; A.M. Northwestern, 1948. "The City Manager in the State of Michigan: A Case Study of an Itinerant Professional." *Chicago*.
- Raymond Forer, B.A. Denver, 1947; M.A. Yale, 1951. "The Reaction of Adolescents to Radio and Television in Relation to Certain Selected Social Variables." *Yale*.
- Irving Adolf Fowler, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "Local Industrial Structures, Economic Power, and Community Welfare: Thirty Small New York State Cities, 1930-1950." *Cornell*.
- Renée Claire Fox, A.B. Smith College, 1949. "A Sociological Study of Stress: Physician and Patient on a Research Ward." *Radcliffe College*.
- Noel Francisco, A.B., B.D., M.A. Drake, 1945, 1948, 1948. "Pacifism as a Social Movement." *Duke*.
- Zelma Mary Watson George, Ph.B. Chicago, 1924; A.M. New York, 1943. "A Guide to Negro Music." *New York*.
- Daniel Glaser, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1939, 1947. "A Reformulation and Testing of Parole Prediction Factors." *Chicago*.
- Raymond Leonard Gold, A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Toward a Social Interaction Methodology for Sociological Field Observation." *Chicago*.
- Rhoda Lois Blumberg Goldstein, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; A.M. New School, 1948. "The Professional Nurse in the Hospital Bureaucracy." *Chicago*.
- David I. Golovensky, A.B. Yeshiva, 1932; M.S.S. New School, 1944. "Ingroup and Outgroup Attitudes of Young Pupils in a Jewish Day School Compared with an Equivalent Sample of Pupils in Public (Mixed) Schools." *New York*.
- Raymond Lowell Gordon, A.M. Chicago, 1949. "An Interaction Analysis of the Depth-Interview." *Chicago*.
- Robert Mack Gray, S.B., S.M. Utah, 1949, 1949. "A Study of the Older Person in the Church." *Chicago*.
- Jerome Green, A.B. Ohio State, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1950. "The Use of an Information Test about the Negro as an Indirect Technique for Measuring Attitudes, Beliefs, and Self-perceptions." *Southern California*.
- Joseph Robert Gusfield, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1946, 1949. "Organizational Change: A Study of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union." *Chicago*.
- Robert Wesley Habenstein, S.B.Ed., A.B. Bowling Green, 1941; A.M. Chicago, 1949. "The American Funeral Director: A Study in the Sociology of Work." *Chicago*.
- Archie Orben Haller, Jr., B.A. Hamline, 1950; M.A. Minnesota, 1951. "A Correlation Analysis of the Relationship between Status and Personality." *Wisconsin*.
- F. Eugene Heilman, A.B. DePauw, 1929; M.S. Indiana, 1935; M.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "Theories of Social Problems and Social Disorganization: An Historical and Analytical Study." *Nebraska*.
- George A. Hillery, Jr., B.A., M.A. Louisiana State, 1949, 1951. "The Negro in New Orleans: A Demographic Analysis." *Louisiana State*.
- Robert K. Hirzel, B.A., M.A. Pennsylvania State, 1946, 1950. "The Influence of Urban Factors upon the Fertility of the White Rural-Farm Population of South Carolina." *Louisiana State*.
- Perry H. Howard, B.A. Harvard, 1950; M.A.

- Louisiana State, 1951. "The Political Ecology of Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Lucy Huang, A.M. Marshall College, 1948. "Dating and Courtship Innovations of Chinese Students in America." *Chicago*.
- Egbert C. Jaco, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1949, 1950. "Some Factors in the Social Etiology of Mental Disorders." *Northwestern*.
- Rev. Jean Marie Jammes, Licentiate in Theology, Pontificia Universitas Gregoriana, Rome, 1950. "The Catholic People and Their Priests: Expectations, Criticisms—Mistakes." *Chicago*.
- Clarence Ray Jeffery, A.B. Indiana, 1949. "An Institutional Approach to a Theory of Crime." *Indiana*.
- Guy Benton Johnson, Jr., A.B. North Carolina, 1947; A.M. Harvard, 1953. "A Framework for the Analysis of Religious Action with Special Reference to Holiness and Non-holiness Groups." *Harvard*.
- Frank Edward Jones, A.B., A.M. McGill, 1949, 1950. "The Infantry Recruit: A Sociological Analysis of Socialization in the Canadian Army." *Harvard*.
- Robert Harley Jordan, A.B. Whittier College, 1943; A.M. Southern California, 1948. "Social Functions of the Churches in a Changing Community with Special Reference to Social Processes." *Southern California*.
- Buford Helmholz Junker, A.B. Harvard, 1933. "Room Compositions and Life Styles—a Sociological Study of Living Rooms and Other Rooms in Contemporary Dwellings." *Chicago*.
- Norman Kaplan, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1947. "Reference Group Theory and Voting Behavior." *Columbia*.
- Etta Elis Karp, A.B. Hunter College, 1929; A.M. Columbia, 1943. "Crime Comic Book Role Preferences." *New York*.
- Benjamin J. Keeley, A.B. Kearney State Teachers College, 1947; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Factors Associated with Value Convergence in a Social System: With Special Reference to the Marriage Group." *Nebraska*.
- Alan Chester Kerckhoff, B.A. Oberlin College, 1949; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "An Investigation of Factors Operative in the Development of the Personality Characteristics of Marginality." *Wisconsin*.
- Harry Vincent Kincaid, A.B. Santa Barbara College, 1949; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Urbanism and Dependency: A Test of a Certain Value Theory in Rural Sociology." *Stanford*.
- Deborah S. Kligler, B.A. Smith College, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "The Effects of the Employment of Married Women on Husband and Wife Roles." *Yale*.
- George Kranzler, 1st Ph.D. Würzburg, Germany; M.A. Columbia, 1943. "The Jewish Community of Williamsburg, Brooklyn." *Columbia*.
- Joseph Chiozza Lagey, S.B.Ed. Boston, 1942. "Relationship of Social Factors to Attitude Change." *Chicago*.
- Ralph Lane, Jr., B.A., M.A. Columbia, 1946, 1947. "Change and Organization in Rural Ireland." *Fordham*.
- Gladys Engel Lang, A.B. Michigan, 1940; A.M. Washington, 1942. "A Study of Politics on Video: Viewers, Content, and Definitions of the 1952 Conventions." *Chicago*.
- Thomas S. Langner, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "Normative Behavior and Emotional Adjustment." *Columbia*.
- Jerome Laulicht, B.S.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1949. "The Scale Analysis of Criteria for the Resolution of Role Conflict Situations." *Kentucky*.
- William Paul Lentz, B.S. Oshkosh State Teachers College, 1938; M.Ph. Wisconsin, 1939. "Rural-Urban Differentials and Juvenile Delinquency." *Wisconsin*.
- Albert E. Levak, B.S., M.Litt. Pittsburgh, 1947, 1949. "Michigan Centennial Farmers: Social Correlates of Farm Ownership for an Extended Period of Time." *Michigan State College*.
- Helena Znaniecki Lopata, A.B., A.M. Illinois, 1946, 1947. "The Functions of Voluntary Associations in an Ethnic Community: Polonia." *Chicago*.
- Sheldon Lowry, B.A. Brigham Young, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1949. "Differentials in Morbidity and in the Use and Cost of Health Services in Wake County, North Carolina." *Michigan State College*.
- Elizabeth Latimer Lyman, A.B. Wells College, 1937; A.M. Chicago, 1948. "Similarities and Differences in Relative Valuation of Aspects of Work." *Chicago*.
- Bevode Chalmus McCall, S.B.Ag., A.M. Florida, 1943, 1947. "Georgia Town and Cracker Culture: A Sociological Study." *Chicago*.
- Harold Davidson McDowell, A.B. Marietta College, 1947; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "The Principal's Role in a Metropolitan School System: Its Functions and Variations." *Chicago*.

- Raymond Wright Mack, A.B. Baldwin-Wallace College, 1949; M.A. North Carolina, 1950. "The Prestige System of an Air Base: Squadron Rankings and Morale." *North Carolina*.
- Allister Miles Macmillan, B.A., M.A. Acadia, 1947, 1950. "Explorations in Rural Community Health with Particular Reference to Psychophysiological Symptoms." *Cornell*.
- Albert Douglas Maynard, A.B., LL.B. Emory, 1934, 1937; S.M. Georgia Institute of Technology, 1951. "Modern Methods of Management Opposition to Union Activities in the Georgia Textile Mills." *Chicago*.
- Joe Dan Mills, B.A. North Carolina, 1947; M.A. Wisconsin, 1951. "The Occupational Segmental Personality: A Study in Constructive Typology." *Wisconsin*.
- David Graham Moore, A.B., A.M. Illinois, 1940, 1943. "Managerial Strategies and Organizational Dynamics in Sears Retailing." *Chicago*.
- Miriam Freidman Morris, B.A. New Jersey College for Women, 1947; M.A. Kentucky, 1949. "A Study of Women's Occupations." *Wisconsin*.
- John Joel Moss, B.S., M.S. Brigham Young, 1948, 1949. "Newcomer Family-Community Relationships in Two Rapidly Urbanizing Communities: A Study in Family Acceptance-Rejection." *North Carolina*.
- Byron E. Munson, B.S., A.M. Illinois, 1949, 1950. "Attitudes concerning Urban versus Suburban Residency in Indianapolis." *Illinois*.
- Antanas Musteikis, A.B. Vilnius (Lithuania), 1941; A.M. New York, 1951. "Religious Fluctuations during the Period of the Reformation in Lithuania." *New York*.
- Melvin Charles Nadell, A.B., A.M. Southern California, 1945, 1947. "Sociocultural Factors Related to the Incidence of Visual Refractive Errors." *Southern California*.
- Dennison J. Nash, A.B. St. Lawrence, 1948; A.M. Washington, 1950. "The American Composer: A Study in Social Psychology." *Pennsylvania*.
- Emily W. Nett, A.B. Heidelberg College, 1946; M.A. Washington, 1951. "Predicting Stay or Leave Response of Hospitalized Tuberculosis Patients." *Ohio State*.
- Donald Joseph Newman, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1949, 1952. "A Study of Informal Processes in Felony Convictions." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert Bruce Notestein, Jr., B.A. Illinois, 1943; M.S. Wisconsin, 1947. "William Graham Sumner." *Wisconsin*.
- Glen Nygreen, A.B., M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1939, 1953. "Marital Adjustment in the University of Washington Married Student Community." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Lloyd Edgar Ohlin, A.B. Brown, 1940; A.M. Indiana, 1942. "The Stability and Validity of Parole Experience Tables." *Chicago*.
- Ann Garver Olmsted, A.B. Iowa State Teachers College, 1945. "A Critical Review of Research in Rural Sociology." *Minnesota*.
- Charles Terrance O'Reilly, Ph.B., M.A. Catholic, 1949, 1951. "Race Prejudice among Catholic College Students in the United States and Italy: A Comparative Study of the Role of Religion and Personality in Inter-group Relations." *Notre Dame*.
- Carl E. Ortmeier, A.B. Iowa, 1939; M.S. Iowa State College, 1948. "Ethnic Attitudes of Children in Selected Towns and Rural Areas in Iowa." *Iowa State College*.
- Neil M. Palmer, B.S., M.A. Texas, 1946, 1949. "The Relation of Selected Variables to the Use of Membership Groups as Reference Groups." *Iowa*.
- William Petersen, A.B. Columbia, 1935. "A Case Study in International Migration." *Columbia*.
- Harold Winston Pfautz, A.B. Brown, 1940; A.M. Chicago, 1947. "Christian Science: The Sociology of a Social Movement and a Religious Group." *Chicago*.
- Lawrence Podell, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1951; M.A. Syracuse, 1952. "American Value Orientation and the Predisposition of Personalities to Occupational Roles." *Cornell*.
- Alphonso Stewart Powe, B.S., B.D. Johnson C. Smith, 1929, 1932. "The Role of Negro Pressure Groups in Interracial Integration in Durham City, North Carolina." *New York*.
- Jack J. Preiss, A.B. Dartmouth College, 1940; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "The Functions of Relevant Power and Authority Groups in the Evaluation of County Agent Performance: A Study of Four Michigan Counties." *Michigan State College*.
- Gladys Putney, B.A., M.A. Nebraska, 1949, 1950. "A Field Evaluation of Acculturation Theory." (With Snell W. Putney.) *Oregon*.
- Snell W. Putney, B.A., M.A. Nebraska, 1950, 1951. "A Field Evaluation of Acculturation Theory." (With Gladys Putney.) *Oregon*.
- Franklin Eugene Rector, B.A. Phillips, 1946;

- M.S. Oklahoma A. & M. College, 1948. "Social Correlates of Eighth-Grade Attainment in Two Wisconsin Counties." *Wisconsin*.
- Reuben E. Reina, A.B. Michigan, 1949; M.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Relationship between Change in National Policy and Local Community Culture and Social Organization." *North Carolina*.
- John Burns Scott, A.B. Manitoba, 1945; A.M. Southern California, 1946. "Population Characteristics of Santa Ana, California." *Southern California*.
- Richard Fowler Scudder, A.B. Georgetown College, 1934; M.A. George Peabody College, 1939. "A Study of the Reliability of Social Status Indices in a Blue Grass Community." *Kentucky*.
- Clarence O. Senior, B.A., M.A. Kansas, 1927, 1941. "Land Reform and Democracy." *Columbia*.
- Benjamin D. Shratter, B.S., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1951, 1952. "Industrial Sociology: Status and Prospects." *Pittsburgh*.
- James Winslow Singleton, A.B. Oberlin College, 1949; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "Meanings of Work and Attitudes toward Retirement among Steelworkers." *Chicago*.
- Leonard M. Sizer, B.A. Ottawa, 1938; M.A. Wisconsin, 1950. "Role Conception, Role Discrepancy, and Institutional Context: A Study of the Protestant Ministry." *Iowa*.
- Joel Smith, B.A. Queens College, 1945; M.A. Columbia, 1949. "Organization of the Farm and Mass Communication." *Northwestern*.
- Sara Elizabeth Smith, A.B. State Teachers College, Indiana, Pennsylvania, 1939; M.A. North Carolina, 1947. "The Occupational System and Migration within the United States." *North Carolina*.
- Donald William Smitherman, B.S. Kansas State College at Fort Hays, 1938; M.A. Wichita, 1950. "An Investigation of Empathy as a Socio-psychological Process in Group Marriage Counseling." *Kansas*.
- Vernon Snowbarger, A.B. Bethany-Peniel College, 1938; A.M. Oklahoma, 1942. "Factors Associated with Truancy among Boys in Selected Junior High Schools of Los Angeles County." *Southern California*.
- Charles R. Snyder, A.B., M.A. Yale, 1944, 1949. "Culture and Sobriety: American-Jewish Drinking Customs." *Yale*.
- Robert Chaikin Sorensen, A.B., A.M. Chicago, 1944, 1944. "The Role of Public Sentiment and Personal Prejudice in Jury Trials of Criminal Cases." *Chicago*.
- Charles Side Steinberg, A.B., A.M. New York, 1937, 1939. "Exclusive Television Channels for Education." *New York*.
- Clarence A. Storla, Jr., B.A. Minnesota, 1949; M.A. Louisiana State, 1951. "A Study of the Knowledge and Attitudes of Louisianians Relative to Heart Disease." *Louisiana State*.
- Gresham Sykes, B.A. Princeton, 1950. "Social Mobility and Social Participation." *Northwestern*.
- Stanley Jeyaraj Tambiah, B.A. Ceylon, 1951. "The Process of Secularization in Three Ceylonese Peasant Communities." *Cornell*.
- Marvin J. Taves, A.B. Hamline, 1945; M.A. Minnesota, 1952. "A Study of Social Factors Associated with Religiosity among a Sample of College Employees." *Minnesota*.
- Stanley Taylor, A.B., A.M. Toronto, 1932, 1938. "Conceptions of Institutions and the Theory of Knowledge." *Chicago*.
- George Achilles Theodorson, B.A., M.A. Cornell, 1950, 1951. "The Structure and Development of Social Cohesion." *Cornell*.
- Paul W. Thomas, B.A., A.M. Oberlin College, 1932, 1938. "An Analysis of Family-Size Preferences and Factors Influencing Them in Two Selected Student Groups." *Indiana*.
- James David Thompson, B.S., M.A. Indiana, 1941, 1947. "Structures of Authority and Power in Two Military Organizations." *North Carolina*.
- Marc-Adelard Tremblay, B.A. Montreal, 1944; M.A. Laval, 1950. "The Acadians of Portsmouth: A Study in Culture Change." *Cornell*.
- Robert O. Trout, B.A. Louisiana Polytechnic Institute, 1938; M.A. Louisiana State, 1942. "The People of the North Central Louisiana Hill Country." *Louisiana State*.
- Rudolph Villeneuve, S.T.L. Grand Seminary, Montreal, 1947; M.S.W. Montreal, 1950. "The Social Worker: A Study in the Sociology of the Professions." *Fordham*.
- Kenneth Cameron Wagner, A.B. Augustana College, 1944; M.A. Wisconsin, 1949. "Some Latent Functions of an Executive Control Device: A Sociological Analysis of a Social System under Stress." *North Carolina*.
- John Richard Wahl, B.S., M.S. Wisconsin, 1948, 1952. "Investigation of a Forecasting Technique Based on the Latent Set To Vote." *Wisconsin*.
- Frederick B. Waisanen, B.A. Northern Michigan College of Education, 1950; M.A. Iowa, 1952. "The Prejudice Variable: A Social, Psychological, and Methodological Study." *Iowa*.

- Donald Ezzell Walker, A.B., M.T.H. Southern California, 1943, 1947. "The Intropunitive Tendency in Patients with Gastro-intestinal Cancer." *Stanford*.
- Orry C. Walz, A.B., M.A. Kansas, 1931, 1933. "The Construction of a Rural-Urban Index." *Kansas*.
- George Henry Weber, A.B. South Dakota, 1943; B.S.Ed. Northern State Teachers College, South Dakota, 1943; M.A. Kansas, 1949. "A Social-psychological Schema for the Analysis of the Thompson Thematic Apperception Tests." *Kansas*.
- Eugene A. Weinstein, B.A. Chicago, 1950; M.A. Indiana, 1951. "Development of Children's Conceptions of Occupational Prestige." *Northwestern*.
- Aubrey Wendling, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1944; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1952. "Suicide in the San Francisco Bay Region, 1938-1942 and 1948-1952." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Lee A. Wiggins, A.B. North Carolina, 1941. "The Analysis of a Multi-wave Panel." *Columbia*.
- Charles R. Wright, A.B., M.A. Columbia, 1949, 1950. "Development of Professional Attitudes during Training in Social Research." *Columbia*.
- Harold C. Yeager, Jr., A.B., M.A. Yale, 1947, 1948. "Organized Religion and Stratification in a New England Community." *Yale*.
- Roger I. Yoshino, A.B. Denver, 1944; A.M. Southern California, 1951. "Selected Changes in a Japanese Village, 1935-1953." *Southern California*.
1951. "Role Patterning of Married Women in Oberlin, Ohio." *Oberlin College*.
- Sarkis Atamian, B.S. Rhode Island, 1950. "The Armenian Community: The Historical Development of a Social and Ideological Conflict." *Brown*.
- Robin F. Badgley, B.A. McGill, 1952. "Occupational Stratification and Evaluation." *McGill*.
- Mary V. Bailey, B.A. Denison, 1948. "A Comparison of Research by the Government with Research Sponsored by Other Organizations." *Columbia*.
- Frances R. Ballard, S.C.N., B.A. Niagara, 1945. "A Study of Institutional Care of Infants in Our Lady's Home for Infants in Louisville, Ky." *Catholic*.
- David R. Barr, A.B. Miami (Oxford, Ohio), 1953. "The Analysis of Linkage and Segregation as Ecological Correlation." *Miami (Oxford, Ohio)*.
- Arthur S. Barron, A.B. Tulane, 1950. "The Soviet Press and the *Daily Worker*: A Comparative Content Analysis." *Tulane*.
- John A. Becker, B.B.A. Upsala College (New Jersey), 1951. "Union Organizing Abroad a Merchant Ship." *New School*.
- Robert R. Bell, A.B. Michigan State, 1951. "Marital Adjustment of Offspring Related to Divorce and Death of Parents." *Indiana*.
- Joseph Berger, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1949. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Abraham Berkowitz, B.A. New School, 1952. "How the ILGWU and AWCA Unions Have Increased Their Prestige with the Public." *New School*.
- Morris I. Berkowitz, B.S. Purdue, 1952. "A Study of Child Clients of the Department of Public Welfare of Tippecanoe County, Indiana." *Purdue*.
- Earl Bogdanoff, A.B. Roosevelt, 1952. "The Sociology of the Public Case Worker in an Urban Area." (With Arnold Glass.) *Chicago*.
- Grant Bogue, B.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "Development of Occupational and Community Preferences among Youth of a Rural Community." *Michigan State College*.
- John O. Boice, B.A. Morningside College, 1953. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Frank Bonilla, B.B.A. City College of New York, 1949. "A Comparative Study of the Audience for Mass Media in Three Latin-American Capitals." *New York*.
- Audrey Borenstein, A.B. Illinois, 1953. "UNESCO's Theory of War: A Critique." *Illinois*.

MASTER'S DEGREES

- R. May Hanson Adamson, A.B. Wayne, 1952. "An Evaluative Study of Wayne County Clinic for Child Study." *Wayne*.
- Robert A. Allan, B.E. Wisconsin State College, 1929. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- James G. Allen, B.S. Wisconsin, 1949. "Role Expectations Which Characterize the Position of Head Resident in the Men's Residence Halls, Iowa State College, 1953-54." *Iowa State College*.
- Mark Kermit Anderson, B.S. Brigham Young, 1938. "A Study of Certain Behavior Patterns of Students from the Sevier County High Schools with Particular Emphasis on Marriage Patterns and Their Effects." *Brigham Young*.
- Nancy C. Aschaffenburg, A.B. Oberlin College,

- Annette Bornstein, B.S. New York, 1950. "The Social Status of Women in Iran." *New York*.
- Lee Braude. "A Study of Factors Bearing on the Continuation of the Academic Career." *Chicago*.
- Bette Breidenbaugh, B.S. Purdue, 1953. "A Study of Factors in the Success or Failure of Marriages Involving Premarital Pregnancy." *Purdue*.
- Gabriel Brinkman, O.F.M., B.S. Quincy College, 1952. "Some Factors in the Breakdown of Catholic Marriages in Several Eastern Dioceses." *Catholic*.
- Louise Brown, B.S. Illinois, 1932. "A Study To Assess the Effect of Temporary Housing on Freshmen College Women." *Miami (Oxford, Ohio)*.
- William Henry Brown, B.S. Jackson College, 1950. "Comparative Study of Horse Nomadism." *Illinois*.
- Florie Erb. Bruton, B.S. George Peabody College, 1939. "Some Implications of National Prenursing Tests for the Selection of Students for Alabama Hospital Schools of Nursing." *Alabama*.
- Mary Rue Bucher, Ph.B. Chicago, 1948. "Blame in Disasters: A Study of a Problematic Situation." *Chicago*.
- Douglas Rich Bunker, B.A. Brigham Young, 1953. "Social Relationships of Fathers and Preadolescent Sons in Provo, Utah." *Brigham Young*.
- Bruce William Burley, A.B. Oberlin College, 1951. "Career Patterns of Ministers." *Connecticut*.
- Mary Sheila Burns, C.S.A., B.A. Marian College, 1945. "A Study of Catholic Rituals in a Selected Sample of Catholic Families." *Catholic*.
- Robert Grimes Capps, B.S. College of William and Mary, 1950. "A Comparative Study of Social Differences and the Frequency of Venereal Disease." *American*.
- Mary Carras, A.B. Washington (Seattle), 1951. "Everett, Washington: A Demographic and Ecological Analysis." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Barbara Jean Carter, A.B. Talladega College, 1949. "Careers and Remuneration of Negro Workers." *Kansas City*.
- A. Reed Carver, B.A. New Hampshire, 1953. "An Investigation of the Assimilation of the Greek Nationality Group in Manchester, N.H." *New Hampshire*.
- Valentin Cedillo, B.S. University of the Philippines, 1946. "Essay: The Sociology of Philippine Rural Life." *Cornell*.
- Ruth Sacks Chusid, A.B. Pennsylvania State, 1948. "The Revised Burgess and Wallin Rating Scale as an Instrument for Predicting and Measuring Integration in Marriage." (With Haydon, Smith, and Manniche.) *Chicago*.
- Andrew Royston Cochran, A.B. Hobart College, 1942; B.D. Protestant Episcopal Theological Seminary in Virginia, 1944. "The Power Structure of the Episcopal Diocese of Rhode Island: A Study in the Sociology of Social Organization." *Brown*.
- Burton Herbert Cohen, A.B. New York, 1951. "Principles versus Practice: An Analysis of Juvenile Detention in Passaic County." *New York*.
- Werner Cohn, B.S.S. College of the City of New York, 1951. "Jehovah's Witnesses as a Proletarian Sect." *New School*.
- Leroy Thomas Conley, A.B. Michigan State College, 1950. "An Analysis of the Contribution of Émile Durkheim to Sociological Theory." *Southern California*.
- John Connors, B.S. Mount St. Mary's College, 1948. "An Appraisal of the Educational Aspects of the Operation of the New York State Law against Discrimination." *Catholic*.
- Gerald Cooney, A.B. St. Ambrose College, 1949. "A Comparative Analysis of Two Leading Textbooks in Introductory Sociology, One Catholic and the Other Secular." *Denver*.
- Jim Corey, B.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "A Study of Police Experience with the Racial Aspects of Servicemen-Civilian Relations in the Territory of Hawaii." *Hawaii*.
- Carl J. Couch, B.A. Iowa, 1951. "Attitudes and Accuracy of Communication: A Study of Social Perception." *Iowa*.
- Mary Jane Cramer, A.B. Western Reserve, 1952. "Differential Evaluation of a Marginal Status Occupation." *Ohio State*.
- Albert Joseph Crist, A.B. Notre Dame, 1953. "A Study of Employment Opportunities for Parolees." *Ohio State*.
- Margaret F. Cronin, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1951. "An Analysis of Selected Concepts of the Social Thought of Saint Thomas Aquinas." *Southern California*.
- Helen F. Crowder, A.B. Washington, 1950. "A Study of U.S.A. Industries with a Comparison of Negro and White Workers Gainfully Employed by Industry." *New York*.
- Mary E. Curtis, B.A. Yale, 1931. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Leona L. Davis, B.A. Kent State, 1953. "A Comparative Analysis of the Treatment of

- the Negro in Two New York City Daily Newspapers." *Kent State*.
- Ambrose J. DeFlumere, B.A. Marietta College, 1950. "A Study of the Programs of a Selected Number of National Organizations in the Area of Intergroup Relations." *Kent State*.
- Arturo DeHoyos, B.A. Brigham Young, 1952. "A Sociological Study of Inter-marriage between Mexicans and Americans in Salt Lake City, Utah." *Brigham Young*.
- Wilson Charles Denhalter, A.B. Denver, 1954. "A Sociological Analysis of the Official Literature of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-Day Saints." *Denver*.
- Robert Arnold Dentler, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1949, 1950. "The Federal Writers' Project and the Writers' Program." *American*.
- William Elwood Derrah, B.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Census Tracting in Practice and in Theory." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Jacob J. DeRyke, B.A. Iowa, 1950. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Robert Dreeben, A.B. Oberlin College, 1952. "Social Change and Liberal Educational Theorists: John Dewey." *Columbia*.
- Marie-Therese Dubalen, École des Hautes Études, Paris, 1929-30; École de Louvre; San Francisco, 1948. "The Worker-Priests." *New School*.
- Cyril H. Eicher, A.B. Fenn College (Ohio), 1948. "Attitudes of Fort Wayne High-School Students of Various Denominations toward the Sunday School." *Wayne*.
- Joseph W. Elder, A.B. Oberlin College, 1951. "Caste in the Churches of South India in Madurai." *Oberlin College*.
- Richard Emil Engler, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1949. "Some Contributions of Pareto to Group Theory." *Southern California*.
- Louis A. Facto, B.S. Iowa State College, 1951. "Increase and Decrease of the Population of Small Towns in Iowa." *Iowa State College*.
- Armond Fields, B.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "The SS as a Party Police." *Illinois*.
- John Forster, B.A. Ohio State, 1952. "The Changing Role of the Family in the Samoan Community at Pearl Harbor." *Hawaii*.
- Gérald Fortin, A.B. Laval, 1950. "Immigration and the Growth of Canada." *Laval*.
- Edith M. Fortunoff, B.A. Hunter, 1941. "A Descriptive Study of the Attitudes of Jewish Contributors to Jewish Voluntary Organizations." *Columbia*.
- Delbert H. Fowler, B.S. Utah, 1949. "The Personal, Social, and Academic Adjustment of Children from Broken Homes Attending Horace Mann Junior High School." *Utah*.
- Margaret Zimmerman Freeman, B.A. Linfield College, 1951. "Some Social Factors in Truancy in the Public Schools of the Territory." *Hawaii*.
- Lucan Freppert, O.F.M., B.A. St. Joseph's Seminary, 1951. "A Study of Religious Rituals among Families Living in a Midwestern Urban Parish." *Catholic*.
- Edwin Friedman, B.S. City College of New York, 1948. "East Harlem Community Study: 1940-1950." *New York*.
- Bertha Fritz, A.B. Texas, 1948. "An Occupational Study of 113 Full-Time Private Branch Exchange Telephone Operators in Dallas, Texas." *Southern Methodist*.
- Sally Fyne, B.A. Chicago, 1949. "Comparison of Greek and Turkish Attitudes toward Selected Foreign Countries." *Columbia*.
- Eugene B. Gallagher, A.B. Lehigh, 1949. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Beatrice M. Garner, B.S. South Dakota State College, 1945. "Ute Acculturation and Dietary Adaptation." *Michigan State College*.
- James C. Garner, B.A. New Mexico, 1950. "Differential Images of School Teachers." *Michigan State College*.
- Claude G. Garrison, B.A. DePauw, 1925; B.D. Garrett Biblical Institute, 1927. "A Study of Client Evaluation of Directed Pastoral Pre-marital Counseling." *Ohio State*.
- Gordon F. George, S.J., B.A. Loyola College, 1932. "Social Influences Tending To Modify the Doctor-Patient Relationship." *Fordham*.
- Carlo Giachetti, S.J., Università di Torino (Italy), 1938-41; Ph.L. Aloisium Gallarate (Varese, Italy), 1944; Alma College, 1947-51. "The Survival of the Theory of Nordic Superiority in the Immigration and National Act (Public Law 414)." *Fordham*.
- Thomas L. Gillette, A.B. Missouri, 1952. "Santa Fe: A Study of the Effects of Negro Invasion on Property Values." *Kansas City*.
- Harold Goldsmith, Ph.B. Chicago, 1949. "A Study of Differential Fertility in Families Receiving Aid to Dependent Children Grants." *Chicago*.
- Rev. Peter C. Gonsalvez, Ph.L., S.T.L. Papal Athaenium, Kanday, Ceylon, 1939, 1943; Xavier's College, Calcutta, India, 1946-47; J.C.D. Gregorian University, Rome, 1951. "Caste and Society in India." *Fordham*.
- Harold A. Gould, B.A. Rhode Island State College, 1951. "The Japanese Student's View of

- America: A Study in Cross-cultural Perception." *Ohio State*.
- Joseph R. Grau, Immaculate Conception Seminary. "Puerto Rico in Transition: A Study in Cultural Change." *Fordham*.
- William L. Green, B.A. Drake, 1950. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Frances Gregerson, B.S. Washington (St. Louis), 1938. "Television as a Factor in the School Life of a Group of High-School Students." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Leonard Earl Griswold, A.B. Johns Hopkins, 1949. "The Differential Distribution of Information about the Community Chest in Lexington, Kentucky: A Study in the Sociology of Knowledge." *Kentucky*.
- Patricia Gümrükçü, A.B. Nebraska, 1949. "Marriage and Profession: A Comparison of the Marital Adjustment of Women Teachers and Home Women." *Kansas City*.
- Karl Gunther, A.B. Western Reserve, 1950. "The Group Memberships of Some Recent German Immigrants." *Chicago*.
- Adam Wnuczek Haber, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1953. "Factors Associated with Interstate Migration: An Analysis of Migratory Movements between Missouri and Other States, 1949-1950." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Warren Hagstrom, B.A. Minnesota, 1952. "A Study of the Relationship between Personality Adjustment and Conformity to Experimentally Developed Perceptual Norms." *Minnesota*.
- Alan Cecil Hare, B.A. British Columbia, 1951. "Kerrisdale Youth." *British Columbia*.
- James Edward Harris, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1953. "The Relevance of Social Class to Attitudes toward Major Companies and Labor Unions in a Mississippi Community." *Mississippi State College*.
- Marton Roy Haskell, A.B. City College of New York, 1931; LL.B. Brooklyn Law School, 1946. "Acting in One's Own Behalf: The Inclination To File a Grievance Pursuant to Collective Bargaining Agreement." *New York*.
- Mary Terese Haugh, A.B. Marian College (Indianapolis), 1950. "A Critical Evaluation of the Educational Program at the Indiana Women's Prison." *Butler*.
- William P. Hawkinson, B.A. Kent State, 1951. "Residential Propinquity as a Factor in Negro Spouse-Selection in Relation to Age and Occupation of Negro Males in Akron, Ohio, 1953." *Kent State*.
- Edward Morgan Haydon, Ph.B. Chicago, 1933. "The Revised Burgess and Wallin Rating Scale as an Instrument for Predicting and Measuring Integration in Marriage." (With Chusid, Manniche, and Smith.) *Chicago*.
- Noreen Kerr Haygood. "An Evaluation of Research in the Family." *Chicago*.
- Russell H. Heddendorf, B.A. Queens College (Flushing, N.Y.), 1951. "Theoretical Study of Morale in an Army Engineer Unit." *Columbia*.
- David M. Heer, A.B. Harvard, 1950. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Margaret I. Helfrich, B.A. Duquesne, 1951. "A Study of the Occupations of a Selected Group of Sociology Majors." *Pittsburgh*.
- Franklin J. Henry, Ph.B. Marquette, 1951. "The Relation of Differentials in Interracial Attitudes to the Social Structure of the College of Arts and Sciences of the Catholic University of America." *Catholic*.
- Robert Dunton Herman, B.A. Pomona College, 1951. "The American Courtship System: An Investigation of an Emergent Social Pattern." *Wisconsin*.
- Ernest Luther Hill, A.B. Georgetown College (Kentucky), 1953. "Leadership Identification by Newspaper Analysis: The Development and Testing of a Method." *Kentucky*.
- Paul Hochstim, B.S.S. City College of New York, 1951. "A Study of Inner-directed Tendencies among College Students." *New York*.
- William Howard Hodge, A.B. Washington (St. Louis), 1953. "Problem and Nonproblem Male Sibling in the St. Louis Public Elementary Schools." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Marjorie C. Hope, A.B. Sarah Lawrence College, 1944. "A Content Analysis of Children's and Young People's Literature on Peace." *Columbia*.
- Jan McDonald Howard, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1951. No thesis. *Stanford*.
- Mary Howard, A.B. Grinnell College, 1952. "A Study of Professional Personnel in Inter-group Relations Agencies." *Fisk*.
- George Calvin Hoyt, A.B. Stanford, 1950. "The Life of the Retired in a Trailer Park." *Chicago*.
- Raymond W. Hubbert, B.A. Eureka College, 1949. No thesis. *Mississippi*.
- John M. Hunnicutt, A.B. Hastings College, 1951. "A Critique of Intra-national Migration Theory." *Nebraska*.
- Harold J. Hurwitz, B.A. Bates College, 1945.

- "An Experiment in Cross-cultural Institutional Change." *Columbia*.
- Dona L. Hutsler, B.A. American, 1953. "Descriptive Study of the Negro Episcopalian of the Diocese of Washington, D.C." *Columbia*.
- Grattan G. Irwin, Jr., A.B. West Virginia, 1947. "Age Relationships at Time of Marriage in the District of Columbia, 1950." *George Washington*.
- Ginger Chesnick Jacobs, B.S. Southern Methodist, 1950. "A Comparison of the Dallas Jewish Population of 1953-1954 with That of 1939-1940." *Southern Methodist*.
- Cedoine Jeannis, Certificate, Superior Normal School (Haiti), 1950. "Marbial Peasants: A Case Study in Peasant Society." *Fisk*.
- Herbert W. Johnson, B.S. Morningside College, 1953. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Barbara C. Jones, A.B. Whittier College, 1953. "Personal and Social Aspects of Champion Figure Skaters." *Southern California*.
- Verona W. Jones, B.S. Iowa State College, 1937. "Adjustments in School and Community in a Rapidly Changing Area, the Edcouch-Elsa School District, Hidalgo County, Texas, 1933-1953." *Iowa State College*.
- Lawrence Judd, A.B. Rice Institute, 1942. "A Study of the Cultural Organization of Tong Toa Village in Thailand." *Cornell*.
- Mildred Beatrice Kantor, B.A. Rochester, 1951. "An Analysis of Racial Occupancy Patterns in Federally Aided Low-Rent Housing Projects." *North Carolina*.
- Joyce B. Kaplan, B.S. Ohio State, 1953. "Descriptive Study of Political Behavior of Young College Graduates Living in a Republican Community." *Columbia*.
- Joseph H. Kelly, B.S. Springfield College, 1953. "Using Ecological and Demographic Data in Administrative Planning of a Metropolitan Young Men's Christian Association." *Bowling Green State*.
- Mounir Khoury, B.A. Utah State Agricultural College, 1949. "Essay: The Jibrail Rural Fellowship Center and Its Effects on Jibrail: A Lebanese Village." *Cornell*.
- Arthur Louis Kiefer, B.S. Wheaton College, 1939. "Some Social Effects of a Readjustment Program in Men Committed to a Penal Institution." *Southern California*.
- Henry L. Klein, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1940. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Jack Kleintot, B.A. City College of New York, 1953. "Political Behavior: A Study of Voting Trends in Selected Bronx Sections (1944-53)." *Columbia*.
- Frederick Walter Koenig, B.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1951. "Experimental Study of Level of Aspiration and Probability of Success." *Wisconsin*.
- Mary Christiana Kosicki, O.S.F., B.A. DeSales College, 1938. "The Social Contributions of Mother Angela Truszkowska." *Catholic*.
- Arthur Kover, A.B. Cornell, 1953. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Joyce M. Koym, B.A. Cornell College, 1952. "Personal and Social Adjustment to Retirement: Exploratory Case Studies of a Sample of Male Industrial Workers in Cedar Rapids, Iowa." *Iowa*.
- Witold Krassowski, B.S. Purdue, 1952. "Social Structure and Professionalization in the Occupation of the Carnival Worker." *Purdue*.
- Irvin Kuper, B.S. New York, 1932. "Employee House Organs: A Study in Communications." *New School*.
- Barbara Joan Lauer, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1953. No thesis. *Stanford*.
- Wilmer Joseph Leon, A.B. Southern, 1949. "The Negro Contractor in Oakland, California, and Adjacent Cities." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Luc Lessard, A.B. Laval, 1950. "The Students' Standards of Living at Laval University." *Laval*.
- Judy Levantman, B.A. Barnard College, 1953. "The Social Role of the Literary Critic." *Minnesota*.
- Donald Nathan Levine, A.B. Chicago, 1950. "Conformity and Deviation in the East German Youth." *Chicago*.
- Charles Henry Lewis, B.A. Pittsburgh, 1950. "Redevelopment of Marshall Heights: A Study of Selected Factors as Influences on Attitudes toward Urban Redevelopment." *American*.
- Sebastian Lewis, O.S.B., B.A., St. Benedict's College, 1948. "The Attitude of the Catholic Press toward Colonization in America, 1850-1900." *Catholic*.
- Maurice Leznoff, B.A. McGill, 1951. "The Homosexual in Urban Society." *McGill*.
- James Lindahl, B.A. Wayne, 1953. "Processes of Decision-making in a UAW-CIO Local Union." *Wayne*.
- Merrill Winston Lindsey, A.B. Rust College, 1948. "A Study of Present Youth Probation Procedures in Mississippi Compared with Ideal Probation Patterns." *Denver*.
- Judith M. E. Lissner, A.B. Wilson College, 1949; M.N. Yale, 1952. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Lawrence William Littig, B.S. Wisconsin, 1950.

- "Lens-Subject Distances for Photogrammetric Anthropometry." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert Lott, A.B. Denver, 1950. "Sociological Theories of Pitirim A. Sorokin as Discussed in Selected Writings." *Southern California*.
- Ritchie Peter Lowry, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1952. No thesis. *California (Berkeley)*.
- Kenneth Gordon Lutterman, B.S. Wisconsin, 1951. "Reactions to Community Living." *Wisconsin*.
- James Bayne Macdonald, B.A. Toronto, 1952. No thesis. *Toronto*.
- Dennis C. McElrath, B.A. California (Santa Barbara), 1952. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Patrick McGillivray, B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1950. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*.
- John F. McIntyre, B.S. John Carroll, 1950. "Interracial Covenants in Washington, D.C." *Catholic*.
- Francis John Mctighe, B.Ed. Duquesne, 1948. "The Relationship of Unitarian Leaders to Selected Social Reform Movements in the United States." *Southern California*.
- Francis C. Madigan, S.J., B.A. Atenio de Manila, P.I., 1943. "Point Four and the Indian Village: A Study in Cultural Change." *Fordham*.
- Aloysius F. Maher, O.F.M.Conv., A.B. St. Anthony-on-Hudson Seminary, 1950. "Investigation of Cana Clubs in Diocese of Washington, D.C." *Catholic*.
- Erik Manniche. "The Revised Burgess and Wallin Rating Scale as an Instrument for Predicting and Measuring Integration in Marriage." (With Chusid, Haydon, and Smith.) *Chicago*.
- Jeanne Martin, B.A. Southwest Missouri State College, 1947. "Albert Chevannes: Early American Sociologist." *Tennessee*.
- Yves Martin, A.B. Laval, 1950. "Demographic Evolution of Sainte-Marie-de Beauce." *Laval*.
- Paul B. Marx, O.S.B., Ph.B. St. John's, 1944. "The Catholic Social Thought of Virgil Michel, O.S.B., as Contained in His Writings and Personal Papers." *Catholic*.
- Beverly Eileen Mason, A.B. Southern California, 1949. "Some Conflicts between the Individual and Society as Revealed in Selected Dramas of Henrik Ibsen." *Southern California*.
- William John Meagher, A.B. Brown, 1952. No thesis. *Connecticut*.
- Sushila V. Mehta, B.A., M.A. Bombay, 1942, 1945. "The Social Status of Woman in India as Related to the Industrial Revolution in the Same Country." *Columbia*.
- Stoyan M. Menton, B.A. Wayne, 1937. "Workers' Education in Great Britain and the United States." *Wayne*.
- Sheldon R. Messinger, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947; B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1951. No thesis. *California (Los Angeles)*.
- John Methuselah, A.B. Nebraska, 1954. "Indian Nationalism: A Comparative Study." *Nebraska*.
- Finn B. Midbøe, Juridical degree, Oslo, 1942. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Jerry L. Miller, B.A. Oklahoma, 1953. "Sociometric Perception and Role Taking in a Camping Situation." *Oklahoma*.
- Kathryn Beckner Mobley, B.A. Marshall College, 1950. "A Study of Natural Bridge Camp: A New Approach to the Treatment of Juvenile Delinquency." *Marshall College*.
- John Moland, Jr., B.S. Fisk, 1952. "Addor, North Carolina: Social Structure of a Declining Rural Community." *Fisk*.
- Ober Morning, A.B. Yale, 1950. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Rudolph I. Moz, B.S. Illinois, 1952. No thesis. *Illinois*.
- Kunio Nagoshi, B.A. Hawaii, 1953. "Some Social Factors Affecting the Occupational Situation among Nurses at Leahi Hospital." *Hawaii*.
- Frank C. Nall, B.A. Michigan State College, 1950. "A Study of the International Farm Youth Exchange Program in Mexico." *Michigan State College*.
- Guy Benjamin Nerren, A.B. David Lipscomb College, 1953. "The Origin and Development of Nonprofit Health Insurance in Mississippi." *Mississippi State College*.
- Joan Nicklin, B.A. Birmingham, 1942. "Racial and Class Attitudes in Members of a Tenants' Organization." *Columbia*.
- Rev. Jas. Russell Noland, Jr., A.B. Emory, 1945; B.D. Yale, 1946. "Industrial Crises and Co-operative Church Extension." *New York*.
- Laura L. Norris, B.S. Utah, 1953. "The Female Offender: A Socio-psychological Analysis." *Utah*.
- Daniel O'Connell, O.F.M., A.B. Holy Cross College, 1940. "The Social History of an Inhabited Alley in Washington, D.C." *Catholic*.

- Maria Anne Smith Osborne, A.B. Texas, 1946. "The Educational Status of Intrastate Migrants in Texas." *Texas*.
- Ellen K. Page, A.B. Ohio State, 1953. "Attitudes toward Displaced Persons and the Displaced Persons Program." *Ohio State*.
- John A. Pagin, B.A. Iowa, 1949. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Delmar Clifford Palm, B.A. Mexico City College, 1950. "The Sociological System of Florian Znaniecki." *Pennsylvania State*.
- Erdman B. Palmore, A.B. Duke, 1952. "The Introduction of Negroes into Four White Industrial Departments." *Chicago*.
- Isabel S. Panopio, B.S.Ed. Philippines, 1947. No thesis. *Iowa*.
- Karl S. Peterson, B.A. Marietta College, 1948. "Educational Background of Negro Clergymen of Columbus, Ohio." *Ohio State*.
- Gerald Popiel, B.A. City College of New York, 1942. "On the Soundness of Using Experiment Method in Study of Motivation." *Columbia*.
- Raymond H. Potvin, S.T.B. Montreal, 1947. "Concept of Class Organization in the Social Encyclicals." *Catholic*.
- James L. Price, B.S. Ohio State, 1950. "Inconsistent Parental Expectations in Defining the Churchgoing Role and Their Effect on Adolescent Youth." *Illinois*.
- Emma Jean Ralph, B.S. Nursing Ed., Pittsburgh, 1949. "Factors Affecting the Morale of West Virginia Nurses." *West Virginia*.
- John Rankin, B.A. St. Francis Xavier (Antigonish, Nova Scotia), 1942. "A Brief History of Farmers' Movements in Canada." *Cornell*.
- Richard Warren Redick, A.B. Union College, 1950. "A Study of Differential Rates of Population Growth and Patterns of Population Distribution in Central Cities in the United States: 1940-1950." *Chicago*.
- Earle Reeves, Jr., A.B., B.D. Eastern Baptist Theological Seminary, 1952. No thesis. *Pennsylvania*.
- Paul J. Reiss, B.A. College of the Holy Cross, 1952. "Backgrounds of Puerto Rican Delinquency in New York City." *Fordham*.
- Lela Mae Richardson, B.S. Stephen F. Austin State Teachers College (Texas), 1946. "The Displaced Persons' Program in the United States." *Marshall College*.
- Nigel H. Richardson, B.A. McGill, 1951. "A Study of the Relationship between Ecological and Nonecological Factors in the Development of Certain Natural Areas in Montreal." *McGill*.
- Maurice Nathaniel Richter, Jr., "Selected Social and Economic Characteristics of an Underdeveloped Area—Urban Burma, 1952." *Chicago*.
- Margaret B. Riordan, B.A. College of Notre Dame (Maryland), 1942. "A Determination of Some Family Problems of Naval Officers as Ascertained from Observations and Opinions of Naval Chaplains Located at Some Shore Establishments." *Catholic*.
- Allyn F. Roberts, B.A. Northern Michigan College of Education, 1950. "A Social-psychological Study of Humor." *Northwestern*.
- Janet L. Roberts, B.A. Ohio Wesleyan, 1952. "Adolescents' Conceptions of Adolescence in Youngstown, Ohio." *Kent State*.
- Willis Joe Robertson, B.S. Mississippi State College, 1952. "Migration of High-School Graduates from a Mississippi Community." *Mississippi State College*.
- Robert Burtch Rogers, A.B. Louisiana State, 1951. "An Analysis of Selected Sociological Writings of Robert Morrison MacIver." *Southern California*.
- Joseph J. Rosa, A.B. Brown, 1949. "Association between Attitudes and Primary Group Bonds on Adjustment to United States Air Force." *Columbia*.
- Charles J. Ramage, A.B. Marietta College, 1948. "Validation of a Scale for a Measure of Delinquency Proneness." *Ohio State*.
- George Blair Ruthhart, A.B. Stanford, 1952. "Collective Bargaining as a Process of Accommodation in the American Economy." *Southern California*.
- Maria C. Salazar, B.S. Universidad Javeriana, 1952. "A Study of 'The Social Crusade' of Bogotá, Colombia." *Catholic*.
- José Manuel Saravia, Abogado, Buenos Aires, 1953. "Correlations between Two Approaches to the Study of the Problem of Social Control." *Cornell*.
- Bernard J. Schneck, A.B. Scranton, 1947. "The Development of the 'Self' Concept in American Social Psychology." *West Virginia*.
- Mildred Levin Schwartz. "Re-entry to the Labor Force: Women White-Collar Workers." *Chicago*.
- Frances Gillespie Scott, A.B. Texas, 1953. "Aging in a Southwestern Metropolis: The Personal Adjustment of the Aged in Austin, Texas." *Texas*.
- Woodrow Wilson Scott, B.S. Utah State Col-

- lege, 1941. "A Comparative Study of the Characteristics of the Recorded Inebriates in Two Wisconsin Communities." (Omitted from 1953 list.) *Wisconsin*.
- Margaret Zelmer Searcy, A.B. Duke, 1946. "Tuscaloosa County Hunting." *Alabama*.
- Julien Carl Seibert, A.B. Franklin College, 1949. "A Study of Common Underlying Factors in Race, Nationality, Religious, and Class Prejudice." *Duke*.
- Sam Frederick Seymour, A.B. Union College (Schenectady, N.Y.), 1948. "Ecology of San Francisco: An Examination of Burgess' and Hoyt's Theories." *Stanford*.
- Walter Thomas Shea, B.A. Morris Harvey College, 1951. "The Function of the Tavern in Meeting the Needs of the Aged in the Urban Community." *Wisconsin*.
- Avery Sheaffer, B.S. Ohio State, 1949. "Babylonia in the Time of Hammurabi: A Study in Human Ecology." *American*.
- Sam Sieber, B.A. New School, 1953. "Public Images of Candidates in 1952 Presidential Election: A Study in Social Perception of Leadership." *Columbia*.
- Jonathan A. Slesinger, B.A. Vassar, 1949. "Content Analysis as a Technique for Measuring Press Performance." *American*.
- Charles A. Sletten, A.B. Virginia, 1950. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- A. Harry Smith, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1947. "A Possible Explanation for the Negligible Influence of Radicalism on the American Population during the Depression Years of 1929-1932." *New School*.
- Bulkeley Smith, Jr., A.B. Yale, 1946. No thesis. *Yale*.
- Paul A. Smith, Jr., A.B. Alabama, 1950. "An Analysis of Certain Characteristics of the Arrested Population of Birmingham, Ala., as Related to Ecological Distribution, 1949." *Alabama*.
- William Reid Smith, Ph.B. Chicago, 1949. "The Revised Burgess and Wallin Rating Scale as an Instrument for Predicting and Measuring Integration in Marriage." (With Chusid, Haydon, and Manniche.) *Chicago*.
- Lorenzo H. Snow, B.A. Brigham Young, 1950. "A Study of Mixed versus Nonmixed Marriage among Mormon Groups." *Northwestern*.
- Samuel C. Stanley, Jr., B.A. Mississippi, 1953. "The Rural Church and Community Solidarity." *Mississippi*.
- Gary Albert Steiner, A.B. Chicago, 1951. "Some Relationships between Perceived Status Structure and Problem-solving Processes in Small Groups." *Chicago*.
- Richard Walton Stephens, A.B. Marshall 1951. "The Labor Force in N.C. 1700-1951: A Study of Its Growth and Characteristics as Affected by Economy and Social Change." *North Carolina*.
- William Francis Stewart, B.A. Southern Methodist, 1951. "A Value Approach to Cultural Change." *Wisconsin*.
- Frank S. Stockwell, A.B. Tulane, 1950. "A Contribution to Role Theory—Survey and Synthesis." *Texas*.
- Ann Ziegler Strominger, A.B. Chicago, 1951. "Occupational Aspirations of Two Samples of College Seniors." *Howard*.
- Dan Stump, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1950. "An Analysis of Interpretations of the Concept of Social Stratification as Reflected in the Writings of Selected Sociologists." *Southern California*.
- Jack D. Summerfield, B.F.A. Texas, 1949. "The Negro in Radio Broadcasting: A Program Content Analysis." *Texas*.
- Leo Arthur Suslow, A.B., M.A. Colgate, 1948, 1949. "Social Security in Guatemala: A Case Study in Bureaucracy and Social Welfare Planning." *Connecticut*.
- Marilyn Swihart, B.S. Purdue, 1949. "Post-graduation Plans and Preferences of Senior Women at Purdue." *Purdue*.
- Albert R. Thiernau, A.B. Cornell, 1952. *Pennsylvania*.
- Edward A. Tiryakian, A.B. Princeton, 1952. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Charles M. Tolbert, A.B. Mississippi College, 1948. "The Role of Baptists in Higher Education in Mississippi." *North Carolina*.
- William D. Torrence, A.B. Nebraska, 1953. "American Cultural Themes: A Thematic Analysis of Foreign Observer Literature." *Nebraska*.
- Alfred Travers, B.S. Illinois, 1952. No thesis. *Illinois*.
- Martelle Trigg, A.B. Fisk, 1933. "An Analysis of Illegitimacy by Natural Areas in Memphis, Tennessee, 1950." *Fisk*.
- John Bruce Truett, Jr., B.S. Georgia Institute of Technology, 1947. "A Comparison of Methods for the Prediction of Populations." *North Carolina*.
- Adele Turner, A.B.Ed., Central Washington College of Education, Ellensburg, Washington, 1951-52. "Adjustment of Children of Employed Mothers." *Missouri*.

- Paul Stanley Ullman, A.B. Southern California, 1951. "An Ecological Analysis of Social Variables of Mexican Americans in Los Angeles County." *Southern California*.
- Mitsuo Uyehara. "Differential Mortality in Hawaii: An Analysis of the Relationship between Socioeconomic Status and Mortality Changes between 1920 and 1940." *Chicago*.
- Theodore VanderNoot, A.B. Duke, 1952. "Prediction of Industrial Absenteeism by an Attitudinal Scale." *Minnesota*.
- James Wilfrid Vander Zanden, B.S. Wisconsin, 1952. "Practices Pertaining to Dogs among the Indians of the United States." *Wisconsin*.
- Leighton van Nort, A.B. Pennsylvania, 1952. No thesis. *Princeton*.
- Paul H. Vossick, A.B. Kent State, 1953. "An Exploratory Study of the Relative Influence of Selected Factors in the Interests and Backgrounds of Selected College Students on Their Choice of Friends." *Bowling Green State*.
- Immanuel Wallerstein, A.B. Columbia, 1951. "McCarthyism and the Conservative." *Columbia*.
- Frances Dzo Wang, A.B. Gingling College (China), 1936. "A Study of Family Relationships of American-born Chinese High-School Students in Seattle." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Mary L. Wasmann, B.A. Oregon, 1947. "An Evaluation of the New Regionalism." *Oregon*.
- Maxine Davis Weatherford, B.S. Bennett College, 1939. "A Study of Some Aspects of Job Satisfaction among Negro White-Collar Workers." *American*.
- David Neal Webber, A.B. California (Los Angeles), 1950. "A Study of Two Contrasting Approaches in Sociology to Social Planning." *Southern California*.
- W. Dwight Weed, B.A. Ohio State, 1936. "The Ecology of the Protestant Church in the American City." *North Carolina*.
- Richardson White, Jr., A.B. Princeton, 1952. No thesis. *Harvard*.
- Gloria Jean Willard, A.B. Alabama, 1952. No thesis. *Alabama*.
- Stanley B. Williams, B.S. Concord College, 1953. "Disorganization and Delinquency in Three Coal Communities." *West Virginia*.
- Lawrence Wolfson, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1953. "Attitude of New York Jews toward Unassimilated Jews (the Chassidim)." *Columbia*.
- Everett Wong, A.B. California (Berkeley), 1950. "The Exclusion Movement and the Chinese Community in San Francisco." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Bernard Wrenn, B.A. West Virginia Institute of Technology, 1952. "Three-Generation Families: A Study of Three-Generation Family Units and Some Impacts on Its Participants." *Kent State*.
- Ben. Yablonky, B.S.J. Northwestern, 1934. "American News Correspondents at the U.N." *Columbia*.
- Simon Yasin, B.A. McGill, 1951. "Opinion Responses as Role Behavior: A Social-psychological Study in Race Relations." *Michigan State College*.
- Seymour Yellin, B.A. New York, 1952. "The Political Ecology of Voting Behavior in Chicago—1952." *Northwestern*.
- Columban Yelovich, O.F.M., B.A. St. Joseph's Theological College, 1947. "Content Analysis of Certain Textbooks in Regard to Certain Problems of the Family." *Catholic*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1954 . . . . .	70

The following list of doctoral dissertations in progress in universities and colleges in the United States is compiled from returns sent by 39 departments of sociology. The number of candidates now working for doctoral degrees is 211. This list includes dissertations in social work, divinity, and other related fields whenever the local department of sociology undertakes to direct them.

- Lilialyce Sink Akers, A.B. Wheaton College, 1942; M.A. Kentucky, 1949. "The Level of Accommodation between Organized Religion and Organized Labor in an Industrial Community." *Kentucky*.
- Cecil Wylie Alford, A.B., M.A. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "The Socially Maladjusted Child in School: A Sociological Study in Special Education." *Duke*.
- Robert H. Amundson, A.B. Loras College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1951. "Post-World War II Population Problems: Policies in Puerto Rico, Japan, and India." *Notre Dame*.
- Robert O. Andrews, A.B. Upper Iowa, 1949; M.S. Purdue, 1950. "Discrepancies in Official Marriage and Birth Records." *Purdue*.
- Wade Andrews, B.S., M.S. Utah State, 1947, 1948. "A Study of Some Basic Correlates of Rural Leadership and Social Power in Clinton County, Ohio." *Michigan State College*.
- D. Dorrian Apple, A.B., A.M. Texas, 1947, 1948. "Grandparents and Grandchildren: A Sociological and Psychological Study of Their Relationship." *Radcliffe College*.
- John C. Ball, B.S. Connecticut, 1949; M.A. George Peabody College, 1950. "Delinquent Attitude Changes during Incarceration." *Vanderbilt*.
- Panos Bardis, A.B. Bethany College, 1950; M.A. Notre Dame, 1953. "Attitudes toward and Patterns of Dating and Marriage among the Foreign Students of Purdue University." *Purdue*.
- Bernard H. Baum, Ph.B., M.A. Chicago, 1948, 1953. "Decentralization of Authority in a Bureaucracy." *Chicago*.
- Rev. Theodore Beauchamp, B.Litt., B.Theol., Montreal, 1926, 1932; M.A. Fordham, 1949. "Probation System in Canada." *Fordham*.
- Helen P. Beem, B.A. College of Puget Sound, 1945; M.Ed. Washington (Seattle), 1950. "An Operational Delineation of Types of Primary Relations." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Joseph Berger, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1949; A.M. Harvard, 1954. "Co-ordination of Facilities, Performances, and Rewards in Small Social Systems." *Harvard*.
- Joseph Birstein, B.S. New York, 1937. "Censorship and Public Relations in the Motion-Picture Industry." *New School*.
- Thomas L. Blair, B.A. Northwestern, 1950; M.A. Boston, 1951. "Analysis of Attitudes and Values Associated with Position in Social Structure in Rural Brazil." *Michigan State College*.
- Margaret Blough, B.S. Lindenwood College, 1934; M.A. College, 1950. "A Study of the Current Role of Organized Labor as a Pressure Group in the Political System of an Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- John Titus Blue, Jr., B.A., M.A. Michigan, 1945, 1946. "Empirical Study of Parent-Child Relations." *American*.
- Alvin Boderman, A.B., M.A. Minnesota, 1950, 1954. "The Conditions of Group Equilibrium: A Study in Social Control." *Minnesota*.
- Charles Bolton, A.B. Denver, 1947; A.M. Stanford, 1948. "The Development Process of Friendship and Love Relations." *Chicago*.
- Claude B. Boren, B.A. Texas Technological College, 1948; M.A. Washington State, 1949. "Organizational Patterns and Practices in Selected School Systems." *Texas*.
- Alvin Bradford, B.A. San Antonio, 1938; M.A. Texas, 1948. "Analysis of Techniques, Methods, and Tactics of Labor Organizing." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Breen, B.S. Illinois Institute of Technology, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of the Relationship between Retail Trade and Population Characteristics, Density, and Movement in the Chicago Standard Metropolitan Area: 1926-48." *Chicago*.
- Jay A. Brown, B.A., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1946, 1947. "A Sociological Analysis of the Home and School Visitor Program in the Pittsburgh Schools." *Pittsburgh*.
- Henry Bruck, A.B. California (Los Angeles),

- 1948; A.M. Princeton, 1952. "Decision-making and Formal Organization." *Princeton*.
- Max M. Burchard, A.B. San Jose State College, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1951. "The Study of the Maturation of Career Criminals." *Nebraska*.
- Irma N. Butner, B.A. Iowa State Teachers College, 1926; M.A. Iowa, 1947. "Conformity and Nonconformity of College Freshmen to Some Traditional Values in American Life." *Iowa*.
- Leonard D. Cain, Jr., B.A., M.A. Texas Christian, 1948, 1949. "The Role of Social Myth in Social Movements." *Texas*.
- Ray R. Canning, B.S. U.S.A.C. (Logan, Utah), 1942; M.S. Brigham Young, 1948. "A Sociological Analysis of Marriage and the Completed Family in the Central Utah Area, 1905-1955." *Utah*.
- Wilmoth Carter, A.B. Shaw, 1937; A.M. Atlanta, 1943. "Study of the Negro Main Street of a Contemporary Urban Community." *Chicago*.
- Sally Cassidy, B.A. Manhattanville College, 1944; M.A. Fordham, 1946. "A Study of Lay Leadership." *Chicago*.
- Yung Teh Chow, B.A. Feing Hua, 1937; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Gentry of China: A Study of Social Mobility in a Rural Community." *Chicago*.
- John Rees Christiansen, B.S., M.S. Utah State Agricultural College, 1949, 1952. "The Functional Effectiveness of Rural Dane County, Wisconsin, Neighborhoods." *Wisconsin*.
- Frank Cizon, A.B. Notre Dame, 1948. "Some Cultural Aspects of Non-Freudian Social Psychiatry." *Notre Dame*.
- Leslie L. Clark, B.A. Harvard, 1950. "The Selection of Managerial Personnel." *Yale*.
- Roy Arthur Clifford, B.A., M.A. Oklahoma, 1947, 1948. "Institutional Integration and Adjustmental Structures in a Costa Rican Community." *Texas*.
- Jerry S. Cloyd, S.B. Harvard, 1948; B.S., M.A. Nebraska, 1951, 1953. "A Critique and Analysis of Present Theories of Small Groups." *Nebraska*.
- Charles H. Coates, B.S. West Point, 1924; M.A. Louisiana State, 1952. "The Achievement of Career Success by Managerial Executives: A Study of Occupational Mobility." *Louisiana State*.
- Bernard Cohen, A.B. Pittsburgh, 1928; M.A. Southern California, 1949. "Social and Cultural Changes in Jewish Life as Reflected in Modern Literature." *Southern California*.
- Carl J. Couch, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1951, 1954. "Self-attitudes Related to Role-taking Ability and Source of Self-evaluation in a Small Group." *Iowa*.
- Allan F. Cremin, B.A. Yale, 1950. "Sociological Factors and Conditions in the Extremes of Speech Fluency." *Yale*.
- Ray Paul Cuzzort, A.B., M.A. Cincinnati, 1951, 1951. "The Suburbanization of Trade Activities in Standard Metropolitan Areas of the United States from 1939-1948." *Minnesota*.
- Yusuf S. Dadabhay, B.A. Stanford, 1950. "Social Correlates of Resistance to Work Following Physical Disability in Industry." *Yale*.
- Harry K. Dansereau, B.S. Maryland, 1943; M.A. West Virginia, 1948. "Relationship between the Sentiments of Union Members and the Latent and Manifest Functions of a Union Local." *Michigan State College*.
- James A. Davis, B.S. Northwestern, 1950; A.M. Wisconsin, 1952. "Living Rooms as Status Symbols: A Study of Social Perception." *Harvard*.
- Marjorie Browne Davis, B.S. Columbia, 1931; A.M. New York, 1951. "Aspects of Family Behavior in Relation to Health and Medical Care in a Low-Income Urban Neighborhood." *New York*.
- Alfred Maxey Denton, Jr., B.S. Oklahoma A. & M., 1949; M.S. North Carolina, 1951. "Some Factors in the Migration of Construction Workers." *North Carolina*.
- Dempster Dirks, A.B. Chapman College, 1936; M.A. Southern California, 1950. "Selected Social and Cultural Characteristics of La Paz, Baja California, Mexico." *Southern California*.
- Herman Dreer, A.B. Bowdoin College, 1910; M.A. Virginia Theological Seminary, 1912; M.A. Chicago, 1942. "Negro Leadership in St. Louis: A Study in Race Relations." *Chicago*.
- Landonia Dright, B.S. Lewis Institute (Chicago), 1939; M.A. Chicago, 1944. "Therapeutic Influences of Group Membership on Selected Neurotic Personalities." *Southern California*.
- Francis Ramon Duffy, A.B. Holy Ghost College, 1937; B.D. St. Mary's, 1942; M.A. Catholic, 1944. "A Follow-Up Study of Certain Juvenile Delinquents in the City of Pittsburgh." *Pittsburgh*.
- Margaret Eager, A.B. Occidental College, 1936;

- M.A. Southern California, 1939. "Sociological Analysis of the Dramas of John Galsworthy." *Southern California*.
- Richard Eugene Edgar, A.B., A.M. Kansas, 1948, 1950. "The Influence of Urbanization Prior to Migration on White In-migrant Adjustment." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Robert A. Ellis, B.A. Yale, 1952. "Social Stratification in Christiana, Jamaica." *Yale*.
- Robert Endleman, A.B. Toronto, 1946; A.M. Harvard, 1950. "Value Conflict, Personality, and Social Structure." *Harvard*.
- Sylvia F. Fava, A.B. Queens College, 1948; M.A. Northwestern, 1950. "Urban-Suburban Contrasts in Social Participation: Rural Orientation as a Factor in Suburban 'Neighboring.'" *Northwestern*.
- Arnold Feldman, A.B., M.A. Wayne, 1949, 1951. "The Effect of Social Structure on Fertility and Fertility-related Variables in Puerto Rico." *Northwestern*.
- Robert E. Feldmesser, A.B. Rutgers, 1948; A.M. Harvard, 1950. "Social Mobility in the Soviet Union." *Harvard*.
- Mark G. Field, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1948, 1950. "The Medical Profession in Soviet Society: A Study in Bureaucratization and Control." *Harvard*.
- Harry Mark Flapan, B.S. in B.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "An Instrument for Assessing Changes in Empathic Abilities as Manifested between Husband and Wife." *Chicago*.
- John Torgny Flint, B.A. Kent State, 1949; M.A. Chicago, 1951. "Religion in Norwegian Social Structure." *Wisconsin*.
- Audrey W. Forrest, A.B. Omaha, 1947; M.A. Fisk, 1951. "An Analysis and Critique of Existing Race Relations Theories." *Nebraska*.
- Charles Forston, B.A. Texas Wesleyan College, 1945; M.A. Teachers College (Columbia), 1946. "Puritan Social Thought." *Indiana*.
- Howard E. Freeman, A.B., A.M. New York, 1948, 1950. "Successful Treatment at Highfields." *New York*.
- Walter E. Freeman, B.S. Northern Illinois State Teachers College, 1949; M.S. Michigan State College, 1952. "The Relationship of Sentiments within a Social System: A Study of Social Imagery." *Michigan State College*.
- Sophie Freiser, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.S. Purdue, 1952. "Deferred Gratification Patterns in Hospitalized Tuberculosis Patients." *Purdue*.
- Alex Garber, B.A., A.M. Chicago, 1942, 1946.
- "The Russian Constituent Assembly, January 18, 1918: A Study of the Ideological Dimensions to Historical Explanation." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Stuart Harold Garfinkle, B.A. Pennsylvania State College, 1941; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "Tables of Working Life for Women." *American*.
- Robert Earl Garren, B.A. California, 1950; M.A. North Carolina, 1953. "An Approach to the Understanding of the Communication-Efficiency Nexus in Industry: Content Analysis of Some Company House Organs." *North Carolina*.
- Donald Garrity, A.B. Colorado State, 1950; M.A. Washington, 1953. "Prediction of Optimum Sentences and Adjustment of Sentences in Washington State Penal Institutions." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Homer Kent Geiger, A.B. Princeton, 1947; A.M. Harvard, 1949. "The Urban Slavic Family and the Soviet System." *Harvard*.
- Gerhard F. Gettel, B.S. Michigan State College, 1942; M.S. Cornell, 1950. "An Empirical Study of Interorganizational and Intra-organizational Power Structures in St. Clair County, Michigan." *Michigan State College*.
- Don C. Gibbons, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1951, 1953. "Differential Fertility in the State of Washington, 1900-1950." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Glendell Gilman, B.S. Central State Teachers College (Wisconsin), 1941; M.S. Georgia Institute of Technology, 1947. "Regional Influences on Industrial Relations." *Chicago*.
- Ira Glick, B.H.L. College of Jewish Studies, 1949; B.A. Roosevelt, 1949. "Futures Trading: A Sociological Analysis." *Chicago*.
- Bernard Goldstein, B.A. Sir George Williams College, 1946; M.S.Sc. New School, 1948. "The Role of the Local Union in Collective Bargaining: A Study in Institutional Adjustment." *Chicago*.
- Heinz J. Graalfs, A.B. San Francisco State College, 1947; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1951. "Demographic and Ecological Correlations in the Changing Structure of the American City." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Cesar Grana, A.B. Lima, Peru, 1940; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1947. "The Social World of the French Romantic Novelists, 1830-1850." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Norman E. Green, B.E. Rhode Island College of Education, 1939; M.A. Columbia, 1947. "The Collection and Interpretation of Areal

- Photographic Data in Urban Sociological Research." *North Carolina*.
- Herbert W. Gustafson, B.A., M.A. Utah, 1950, 1951. "An Analysis of the Frequency Distribution of Participation among Members of Small Groups Engaged in Discussion." *Utah*.
- Sol Haberman, B.A. Brooklyn College, 1946; M.A. Minnesota, 1952. "Special Distributions of Kendall's (Tau) and Their Uses in Scaling Social Data." *Minnesota*.
- Robert Leonard Hall, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1950, 1951. "San Miguel: A Venezuelan Andean Community." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert Hanson, A.B., M.A. California (Berkeley), 1949, 1951. "A Study of Reliability in Social Research." *California (Berkeley)*.
- David G. Hays, A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1951, 1953. "The Development and Application of Stochastic Models for Interaction." *Harvard*.
- Rose Helper, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1928, 1945. "Racial Practices of Real Estate Institutions in Selected Areas of Chicago." *Chicago*.
- Richard Hill, A.B. Rutgers, 1950; M.A. Stanford, 1951. "Temporal Factors in Message Diffusion." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Ralph H. Hines, B.A., M.A. Illinois, 1950, 1952. "Comparative Study of Effects of Wartime Occupation on Two Scandinavian Communities." *Illinois*.
- Charles Hobart, B.A. Redlands (California), 1950; M.A. Southern California, 1951. "Marital Role Expectations of College Dating, Courting, and Married Couples." *Indiana*.
- Harold Hodges, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1948, 1952. "Social Factors Associated with Leadership among a Selected Group of High-School Boys." *Southern California*.
- Ruth E. Hoffman, A.B., B.S., M.A. Nebraska, 1948, 1950, 1953. "The Social Role of the Intellectual." *Nebraska*.
- George Ruhle Holcomb, B.A., M.A. Wisconsin, 1950, 1952. "The Accuracy of Skeletal Measurements in the Living." *Wisconsin*.
- Leah S. Houser, A.B., A.M. Michigan State College, 1933, 1938. "Sociometric Analysis of Informal Group Relationships among School Children." *Michigan State College*.
- Frank W. Howton, A.B., M.A. California, 1949, 1952. "The Changing Self-image of the American Businessman." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Robert M. Huntington, A.B., A.M. Yale, 1948, 1949. "Marital Partners' Needs and the Solidarity of Their Relationship." *Harvard*.
- Norman Jackman, B.A., B.L.S. California (Berkeley), 1947, 1950. "The Conflict Process in War Relocation Authority Centers, 1942-1945." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Joan Jackson, A.B., M.A. McGill, 1945, 1947. "The Social Adjustment of Alcoholics." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Robert L. James, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1948, 1950. "A Test of an Aspect of Veblen's Theory Regarding Socio-economic Class Stratification." *Oregon*.
- Florence Ethel Jay, B.A. Pennsylvania College for Women, 1924; M.A. Pittsburgh, 1948. "The People Who Stay: A Study of Social Mobility." *Pittsburgh*.
- E. Keith Jewitt, B.S. Black Hills Teachers College, 1949; M.A. Wyoming, 1950. "The Preventive Effects of Arrest, Trial, and Institutionalization in Criminality." *Nebraska*.
- Walfrid J. Jokinen, B.A. Minnesota, 1951; M.A. Louisiana State, 1953. "A Socio-demographic Study of the Finns in America." *Louisiana State*.
- Walter A. Juergensen, A.B. Concordia College, 1942; M.A. Omaha, 1947. "Changes in the Institutions of Marriage and the Family in Germany during the Reformation." *Nebraska*.
- Louise Miller Kanter, A.B. Stanford, 1949; M.A. Nebraska, 1950. "Modes of Orientation among Protestant Clergymen: Authoritarianism and Humanism." *Nebraska*.
- Mildred Beatrice Kantor, B.A. Rochester, 1951; M.A. North Carolina, 1954. "A Study of Reference Group Behavior in the University Environment: Student Drinking Pattern." *North Carolina*.
- Robert E. Kantor, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1935; M.A. California (Berkeley), 1953. "Sociological Dimensions in Schizophrenia." *California (Berkeley)*.
- Bernard Karsh, M.A. Chicago, 1950. "The Labor Strike in a Small Community: A Study of Social Conflict." *Chicago*.
- Frank E. Kent, B.A. Central Y.M.C.A. College, 1937; M.A. Northwestern, 1940. "Family Structure and Labor Force in Japan, 1930-54: A Study of Social Adaptation to Population Pressure in an Eastern Culture." *American*.
- John I. Kitsuse, B.S. Boston, 1946; M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1953. "The Perception of Status Expectations of Adolescents." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Arthur Kline, A.B. Ball State Teachers College, 1946. "Prediction of Marriage with

- Reference to Women Graduates of Indiana University." *Indiana*.
- Clark S. Knowlton, A.B. Brigham Young, 1948; M.A. Vanderbilt, 1949. "The Assyrian Community in São Paulo, Brazil." *Vanderbilt*.
- Martin B. Koneri, B.A. Bombay, India, 1948. "The Indian Independence Movement Considered as a Social Movement." *American*.
- Clarence Kraft, B.S., M.S. Illinois, 1937, 1940. "Adjustment in Mixed-Religion Marriages." *Purdue*.
- Louise Krause, A.B. South Dakota, 1948; A.M. Chicago, 1950. "A Study of Older Employed Women Living in Chicago." *Chicago*.
- Richard Kurtz, A.B. Teachers College of Connecticut, 1951; M.S. Connecticut, 1953. "Marginality in Fringe." *Michigan State College*.
- Kenneth E. Larsen, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1949, 1951. "Industrial Communications as Related to the Number of Supervisory Levels and Selected Intervening Factors." *Iowa*.
- Otto N. Larsen, A.B., M.A. Washington, 1947, 1949. "Interpersonal Relations in the Social Diffusion of Messages." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- Paul Lasakow, A.B., M.A. Illinois, 1948, 1950. "Occupational Background of Father and Sib Constellation in the Family of Orientation and Their Relation to Levels of Aspiration and Mobility among Salesmen from Selected Companies." *Northwestern*.
- Lawrence Lawson, B.A. Toronto, 1927; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Protestant Minister in Chicago." *Chicago*.
- William Lawton, B.A., M.A. Texas, 1933, 1935. "The Du Ponts: The Continuity of a Combined Family and Business Institution in Relation to Its Culture Matrix." *Chicago*.
- Daisy M. Lilienthal, B.A. Boston, 1950. "The Meaning of Unionism: A Study in Perspectives." *Chicago*.
- Irene C. Linder, B.S. Drake, 1937; M.A. Iowa, 1941. "Factors Influencing Career Patterns of Women Entering Church-related Vocations." *Iowa*.
- Roger Little, A.B. Harvard, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Collective Solidarity and Combat Role Performance." *Michigan State College*.
- H. C. W. Liu, B.A. Fugen, 1942; M.A. Yenching, 1949. "The Clan Rules in Traditional China: A Study in Values and Social Control." *Pittsburgh*.
- Herman Loether, A.B. Los Angeles State College, 1951; M.A. Washington (Seattle), 1953. "Experimental Study of Individual Contributions to the Intellectual Production of the Group." *Washington (Seattle)*.
- William Long, A.B. Miles College, 1939; M.A. Atlanta, 1942. "The Relative Status of the Residents of Successive Zones of Settlement in the Negro Community of Chicago." *Chicago*.
- James W. Longest, B.S., M.S. Illinois, 1951, 1953. "Social Change of a New York Rural Community." *Cornell*.
- Juarez Lopes, B.A. Escola sociologia politica, 1950. "Industry and the Local Community." *Chicago*.
- Mary Hanemann Lystad, A.B. Newcomb College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "A Study of Institutionalized Change: The Case of a Welfare Planning Organization." *Tulane*.
- Amos Lytton, A.B. Akron, 1946; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Retirement in the Rubber Industry." *Chicago*.
- Jack Smith McCrary, A.B., A.M. Southern Methodist, 1948, 1949. "The Role, Status, and Participation of the Aged in a Small Community." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Francis Cunningham Madigan, S.J., B.A. Berchman's College, 1943; M.A. Fordham, 1953. "An Investigation among Religious Brothers and Sisters of Some Factors Entering into the Differential Lengths of Life of American Men and of American Women." *North Carolina*.
- Frank L. Magleby, B.S. Brigham Young, 1935; M.S.W. Utah, 1951. "Institutional Treatment for the Criminal-Insane." *Utah*.
- Iga Mamoru, B.A. Kwansei Gakuin (Japan), 1946; M.A. Brigham Young, 1951. "Acculturation of the Japanese in Davis County, Utah." *Utah*.
- Harry W. Martin, B.A., M.A. Georgia, 1949, 1950. "Participation and Leadership of Physicians in Community Life." *North Carolina*.
- John W. Martin, A.B. Knoxville College, 1948; A.M. Atlanta, 1949. "Occupational Aspiration and Occupational Social Distance among High-School Students." *Indiana*.
- Paul Marx, O.S.B. B.A. St. John's, 1944; M.A. Catholic, 1953. "Virgil Michel and the Social Values of the Liturgy." *Catholic*.
- Nick Massaro, A.B., M.A. Southern California, 1949, 1951. "Theories, Practices, and Objectives in National Social Planning." *Southern California*.
- Harold Mendelsohn, B.S. College of the City of New York, 1945. "Requisites in the Investi-

- gation of Mass Communications: Italy—a Case Study." *New School*.
- Sheldon R. Messinger, Ph.B. Chicago, 1947; B.A. California (Los Angeles), 1951. "Administration and Decision-making in the California Prison System." *California (Los Angeles)*.
- Russell Middleton, Jr., B.A., M.A. North Texas State, 1951, 1952. "Agrarian Reform in Mexico, Yugoslavia, and Israel: A Study in the Sociology of Social Planning." *Texas*.
- Vincent Mott, B.A. Xavier (Louisiana), 1938; M.A. Fordham, 1947. "Local 9, John Wanamaker Employees Independent Union: An Analysis in the Field of Industrial Sociology." *Fordham*.
- Peter Munakata, B.A. Sophia University (Tokyo), 1942; M.A. Fordham, 1953. "A Study of Bureaucratic Organization in America." *Fordham*.
- George L. Murphy, B.A., M.L. Pittsburgh, 1948, 1949. "Role of the Prison Chaplain." *Pittsburgh*.
- Raymond Murphy, B.A., M.A. Rochester, 1948, 1950. "Some Correlates of Occupational Social Mobility: A Comparative Occupational Study." *Northwestern*.
- Setsuko Nishi, A.B., M.A. Washington (St. Louis), 1944, 1944. "Nisei Culture in Chicago: Its Manifestations in Social Organization." *Chicago*.
- T. K. Obrebska, M.S. Warsaw, 1937. "Polish Intelligentsia: A Case Study in Social Class." *New York*.
- Dave Okada, A.B. Oberlin College, 1944. "Study of the Ethnic Intolerance of an Ethnic Minority Group: An Assessment of Certain Hypotheses Regarding Ethnic Intolerance." *Chicago*.
- Donald M. Olmsted, A.B., M.A. Wisconsin, 1942, 1949. "Assessment of Leader Adequacy from Structured Questionnaire Responses of Voluntary Group Members." *Minnesota*.
- Milton Oman, B.A. Rutgers, 1950; M.A. Illinois, 1952. "The Decline of Violent Death Rates in American Culture." *Illinois*.
- Thompson Peter Omari, B.S. Central State College, 1952; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Migration and Adjustment Experiences of Rural Southern Negroes in Beloit, Wisconsin." *Wisconsin*.
- Norman Painter, B.A. Baylor, 1947; M.A. Tulane, 1949. "Delineation and Demographic Comparison of Locality Grouping in a Latin American Community." *Michigan State College*.
- Stuart H. Palmer, B.A. Yale, 1949. "The Role of the Real Estate Agent in the Structuring of Residential Areas." *Yale*.
- Warren Peterson, B.S. Western Michigan College, 1943; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "Aging and Career Problems of Public High-School Teachers." *Chicago*.
- William Phillips, B.A., M.A. Fisk, 1948, 1950. "Some Factors in the Changing Position of the Negro in the Labor Force, 1940-50." *Chicago*.
- Earl H. Pierro, A.B. Morehouse College, 1938; M.A. Atlanta, 1940. "A Comparative Analysis of the Occupational Aspirations of Rural and Urban Negro Adolescents in a Selected Section of Georgia." *Iowa*.
- John Pock, B.A. Chicago, 1947; M.A. Illinois, 1952. "A Theoretic and Empirical Study of the Influence of Controlled Structure and Composition upon Social Perception in Task-oriented Groups." *Illinois*.
- Vernon Christ Pohlmann, A.B., A.M. Washington (St. Louis), 1941, 1948. "Relationship between Socio-economic Status and Choice of High School." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Howard William Polsky, B.A. Chicago, 1949; M.S. Wisconsin, 1954. "A Study of Group Interaction." *Wisconsin*.
- Robert G. Potter, Jr., A.B., A.M. Harvard, 1950, 1952. "The Influence of Primary Groups on Fertility." *Harvard*.
- Elwin H. Powell, A.B., M.A. Texas, 1949, 1951. "The Mediaeval and Modern City: A Study in Urban Integration." *Tulane*.
- George Psathas, B.A. Yale, 1950; M.A. Michigan, 1951. "The Development of Independence in Adolescents." *Yale*.
- John Reid, A.B. Morehouse College, 1947; M.A. Atlanta, 1948. "The People of St. Simon Island." *Chicago*.
- Albert Lewis Rhodes, A.B. Southern Methodist, 1949; M.A. North Texas State College, 1954. "A Study of the Authoritarian Personality in Interaction Contests of a Southern Community." *Vanderbilt*.
- Walt Risler, B.A. Upsala College (New Jersey), 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1950. "Personal Documentation and Projective Analysis in Family Research: A Comparative Study of Techniques." *Chicago*.
- Charles Robbins, B.S., M.S. Iowa State College, 1949, 1951. "The Status and Role of the Citizen-Soldier." *Chicago*.

- Wayne C. Rohrer, B.S., M.S. Texas A. & M., 1946, 1948. "The Nature of Large-Scale Farmers' Organizations and Its Relationship to Nonvocational Adult Education Programs." *Michigan State College*.
- Donald E. Roos, B.S., M.A. Northwestern, 1941, 1949. "Complementary Needs in Mate Selection: A Study Based on R-Type Factor Analysis." *Northwestern*.
- Irving Rosow, A.B., A.M. Wayne, 1943, 1948. "Authority in Natural Disaster." *Harvard*.
- Donald Royer, B.A. Elizabethtown College, 1937; M.A. North Carolina, 1944. "Factors Influencing Members in Their Attitudes and Behavior toward the Peace Position of the Church of the Brethren." *Chicago*.
- Philip C. Sagi, Ph.B., M.S. Wisconsin, 1949, 1951. "Mathematical Models for Studies in Demography." *Minnesota*.
- Frank A. Santopolo, B.S., M.S. North Carolina State College, 1947, 1950. "The Priest: A Projective Analysis of His Social Role." *Fordham*.
- Rev. Jos. F. Scheuer, B.S. St. Joseph's College (Collegeville, Indiana), 1947; M.A. Fordham, 1950. "The Parish as a Response to an Ecological Situation." *Fordham*.
- Delbert Schrag, A.B. Bethel College, 1948; M.A. Chicago, 1952; B.D. Bethany Seminary, 1953. "The Sectarian and Liberal Protestant Minister." *Chicago*.
- Jos. B. Schuyler, S.J., B.A., M.A. St. Louis, 1943, 1945. "The Catholic Parish: A Social System." *Fordham*.
- John R. Seeley, A.B. Chicago, 1942. "The Ecological Distribution of Persons in Selected Psychiatric Categories." *Chicago*.
- Kalman Selig, A.B., M.S. City College of New York, 1932, 1933. "Personality Structure as Revealed by the Rorschach Technique of a Group of Children Who Test at or above 170 IQ on the 1937 Revision of the Stanford-Binet Scale." *New York*.
- Sam Fred Seymour, B.A. Union College, 1948. "The Labor Force in Kansas City, 1910-1950." *Chicago*.
- Leo Shapiro, B.A. Chicago, 1942. "An Investigation of the Process Whereby Survey Leaders Plan the Opinion or Attitude Survey Interview." *Chicago*.
- Clarence E. Sherwood, A.B. New York, 1948. "The Testing of a Dimensional Theory of Recidivism." *New York*.
- Sylvia Rhode Sherwood, A.B. Hunter, 1946; A.M. New York, 1950. "Interlocking Role Theory and Recidivism." *New York*.
- Nathaniel Siegel, A.B. Brooklyn College, 1950; A.M. New York, 1952. "Aging and Role Behavior." *New York*.
- Arnold Sio, A.B. Beloit College, 1944; M.A. Chicago, 1952. "Comparative Study of Types of Slavery." *Illinois*.
- Jeannette Louise Smalley, B.S.Ed., A.M. Southern Illinois, 1952, 1953. "The Career Woman in the Urban Community: A Study of Role Adjustment of Married and Unmarried Career Women." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- Darwin D. Solomon, B.S. Wyoming, 1943; M.S. Cornell, 1951. "Important Values of Rural People and Their Relationship to Changes in Farm and Home Practices." *Cornell*.
- Richard Edwin Sommerfeld, A.B., B.D. Concordia Seminary (St. Louis), 1951, 1954; A.M.Ed. Washington (St. Louis), 1953. "The Role of the Lutheran Minister." *Washington (St. Louis)*.
- George M. Stabler, B.S. Earlham College, 1950; M.S. Wisconsin, 1953. "Bejucal: Social Values and Changes in Agricultural Practices in a Cuban Urban Community." *Michigan State College*.
- Howard Stanton, B.A. Chicago, 1947. "An *ad hoc* Appraisal of the National Council on Family Relations." *Chicago*.
- Richard Stern, A.B. Yale, 1951; M.A. Columbia, 1952. "Labor Turnover in a Banking Institution." *Pennsylvania*.
- Robert L. Stewart, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1950, 1953. "The Self and Other Objects: Their Measurement and Interrelationships." *Iowa*.
- Gregory Stone, B.A. Hobart, 1942. "Clothing and Social Structure: A Study of Symbols in the Context of Community Life." *Chicago*.
- Rev. Stanislaus Sypek, B.A. St. Mary's College (Michigan), 1938; M.S.W. Boston College, 1946, 1947. "Adjustment and Maladjustment of Polish Displaced Persons' Families in the Boston Area." *Fordham*.
- John S. Taylor, B.A. Illinois Wesleyan, 1939; M.A. Illinois, 1941. "A Comparison of Personal and Community Attitudes toward Aging and Retirement among Farm Operators." *Illinois*.
- Bruce Thomas, B.S. Indiana, 1940; M.S. New York, 1941. "International Narcotics Control." *Indiana*.
- Alice Thorpe, B.S., M.S. Michigan State College, 1931, 1949. "The Home as the Physical

- Setting for Family Interaction." *Michigan State College*.
- George K. Tokuhata, B.A. Keio (Tokyo), 1950; M.A. Miami (Ohio), 1953. "A Methodological Study of Fertility Prediction." *Iowa*.
- Jean B. Tompkins, B.A., M.A. Iowa, 1927, 1929. "Reference Group and Status Values as Determinants of Voluntary Association Behavior: A Study of Women's Voluntary Associations." *Iowa*.
- Rev. Stanislaus Treu, M.A. Fordham, 1940. "Factors in the Selection of Marriage Partners among Three Generations of Women Graduates of Selected Catholic Colleges." *Fordham*.
- Peter Trutza, M.S. Bucharest, 1939; M.Th. Southern Baptist Seminary, 1944. "A Study of Religious Acculturation of the Romanian Group in Chicago." *Chicago*.
- John Addison Tumblin, Jr., A.B. Wake Forest College, 1948; M.A. Duke, 1950. "The Southern Baptist Missionary: A Study in the Sociology of the Professions." *Duke*.
- Arthur Vener, A.B. Queens College, 1950; M.A. Michigan State College, 1953. "Social-psychological Aspects of Adolescent Clothing Attitudes." *Michigan State College*.
- Paula Verdet, Double License and Diploma, Sorbonne, 1946. "A Study of Preaching in Relation to Discrepancies between Lay and Professional Definitions of the Institution and of the Membership in the Roman Catholic Church." *Chicago*.
- Leonard Wesley Wager, B.A., M.A. Washington, 1949, 1952. "A Study of Airline Pilots in a Major Airline Company." *Chicago*.
- William S. Walker, A.B. West Virginia State College, 1949; A.M. New York, 1950. "A Descriptive Study of Individual and Group Behavior and Group Process at the Highfields Project." *New York*.
- Laurene A. Wallace, B.S. Florida State, 1952; M.A. Illinois, 1953. "Carsonville: A Sociological Analysis of a Rural Community in Southern Michigan." *Louisiana State*.
- Margaret Warning, B.A., B.S., M.A. Washington, 1936, 1944, 1945. "The Implications of Social Class for Clothing Behavior." *Michigan State College*.
- Ora V. Watson, B.S. Centenary College, 1937; M.A. Columbia, 1942. "A Comparative Demographic Analysis of Shreveport and Baton Rouge, Louisiana." *Louisiana State*.
- Roy Ernest Love Watson, B.A., M.A. Toronto, 1948, 1949. "The Nova Scotia Teachers' Union: A Study in the Sociology of Formal Organizations." *Toronto*.
- Murray Wax, B.S. Chicago, 1942; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1947. "The Temporal Images of Radical Social Movements." *Chicago*.
- Irving L. Webber, B.A., M.A. Florida, 1949, 1950. "A Sociological Analysis of the Health Status of Older People in Peninsular Florida." *Louisiana State*.
- Benedict Wengler, B.A. St. Francis College, 1949; M.A. Columbia, 1951. "Sociology of the Apprentice." *Fordham*.
- Robert R. Wharton, A.B. Temple, 1951; M.A. Pennsylvania, 1952. "The Norristown Class Structure." *Pennsylvania*.
- Harold Wilensky, A.B. Antioch College, 1947; M.A. Chicago, 1949. "The Staff Expert: A Study of the Intelligence Function in American Trade Unions." *Chicago*.
- Arthur Wilkens, B.A. Yale, 1939; M.A. Chicago, 1948. "A Study of Residential Segregation of Occupation Groups in Selected Cities in the United States in 1950." *Chicago*.
- James Howard Williams, A.B. Carson Newman College, 1942; M.A. George Peabody College, 1947. "The Choice of Close Friends." *Vanderbilt*.
- George K. Yamamoto, A.B., A.M. Hawaii, 1947, 1949. "The Career of the Japanese-American Lawyer in Honolulu." *Chicago*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center.—Albert Biderman and Maurice T. Price, of the now defunct Psychological Warfare Division of the former USAF Human Resources Research Institute, have joined the Intelligence Research Branch of the Officer Education Research Laboratory under the Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center. Mr. Biderman is supervising a classified project in the Foreign Propaganda and Intelligence section. As specialist and adviser on the Far East, Dr. Price is editing contract reports of the former Psychological Warfare Division on the Chinese Communist regime. Other sociologists previously with the branch are E. F. Shietinger, chief of the Social Analysis section, and Norman Green, a candidate for the Ph.D. at the University of North Carolina.

Barnard College.—Bernard Barber has been promoted to associate professor.

Mirra Komarovsky, chairman of the department, has been elected president of the Eastern Sociological Society for the year 1955-56.

Herbert Hyman, associate professor of sociology at Columbia University, will teach a course on methods of sociological research at the college during the coming year.

Renée Fox, research associate of Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research, has been appointed a lecturer.

Gladys Meyer is serving on the executive board of the Conference on Functional Education.

Richard Brotman, of City College, will direct a field-work course on the college and the community in the coming year.

University of Bridgeport.—Joseph S. Roucek, chairman of the departments of sociology and political science, is coeditor of *Contemporary Social Science*, with Max Salvadori, George B. de Huszar, and Julia Bond.

Abraham E. Knepler, associate professor of sociology, has returned to the department after a semester's leave of absence on a study award of the Fund for Adult Education working in community organization and adult education.

University of Chicago.—The offices and research facilities of the Population Research and Training Center and the Chicago Community Inventory will be located at 935 East Sixtieth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois, after August 1. The center has received a grant from the Population Council, Inc., for three years to analyze the statistics now becoming available from the censuses of Burma in relation to the problems of Burma as an underdeveloped nation and in comparison with other nations; to conduct experimental international studies of population distribution; and to prepare a laboratory manual of population analysis.

William F. Ogburn, professor emeritus of sociology, returned in June to the campus.

Otis Dudley Duncan is teaching at the University of Michigan during the summer session.

Everett Hughes, chairman of the department, and Helen Hughes, managing editor of the *American Journal of Sociology*, left in mid-June for England and Germany and are to return in mid-October.

Peter Rossi, now of Harvard University, becomes a member of the department as assistant professor, beginning in the fall quarter.

W. Lloyd Warner returns to the campus after a year spent in England at Cambridge.

The Louis Wirth Memorial Fellowship in Advanced Studies in Urban Living has been awarded for 1955-56 to Masataka Sugi, formerly of Tokyo and at present at Ohio State University.

Philip M. Hauser and Donald J. Bogue attended the meetings of the International Statistical Institute, the International Union for the Scientific Study of Population, and the Inter-American Statistical Institute in Rio de Janeiro during June and July.

Anselm Strauss will be out of residence in the fall quarter.

The Committee on Human Development has received a grant from the National Institute of Mental Health for a five-year study of psychological and sociological aspects of aging. The research project, which began on June 1, is directed by William Henry, chairman of the committee. The research is being done in Kansas City by two research associates, a field-work supervisor, and a staff of interviewers.

Jeanne Watson, of the Research Center for Group Dynamics of the University of Michigan, has joined the Family Study Center at the University of Chicago and is to direct the study of sociability which is being subsidized by the National Institute of Mental Health.

The division of the social sciences of the university is preparing to celebrate its twenty-fifth anniversary with a program which will begin on Thursday, November 10, and continue until Saturday, November 13. The first day's sessions will include departmental programs, the chancellor's reception, and an evening session, to be addressed by Chauncy D. Harris, dean of the division of the social sciences, who will welcome the guests, and by Frank Knight, professor emeritus of social sciences and philosophy.

On the second day there will be a series of round tables on social science as science. Invitations to take part in the round tables have already been accepted by Ralph Gerard, Jacob Marschak, David Riesman, Harold Lasswell, Sol Tax, Clyde Kluckhohn, G. P. Murdock, Fred Eggan, Fred L. Strodbeck, Robert F. Bales, Murray Horowitz, Herbert Thelen, Chauncy D. Harris, Philip M. Hauser, Everett C. Hughes, Earl Hamilton, George Stigler, Jacob Viner, Clyde Hart, and Bernard Berelson. There will follow a luncheon, which will be addressed by Milton Friedman. In the afternoon there will be a convocation and a reception for invited guests. The dinner will be followed by an address by Chancellor Kimpton.

On the third and final day there will be conferences on "The Social Scientist and the Civic Arts: Economic Policy"; "The Social Scientist and the Civic Arts: Politics"; "Humanism and the Social Sciences"; "Civil Liberty"; and "Provincialism among Social Scientists." Invitations to take part in the conferences have already been accepted by Edward H. Levi, Rexford G. Tugwell, T. W. Schultz, Herman Finer, Quincy Wright, John Nef, Leo Strauss, James Cate, C. Herman Pritchett, Harry Kalven, and Walter Johnson. The luncheon meeting will be addressed by Louis Gottschalk.

Child Study Association of America.—The association has appointed Orville G. Brim, Jr., of the department of sociology and anthropology at the University of Wisconsin, to conduct a three-year study of the relationship between social science and parent education, under a grant from the Russell Sage Foundation. Dr.

Brim, who will have the assistance of an advisory committee of social scientists and practitioners, will conduct a seminar on research in parent education in the sociology department of the Graduate School of Arts and Science, New York University.

Committee for the Scientific Study of Religion.

—The fall meeting will be held in Emerson Hall, Harvard University, on Saturday, November 5, 1955. The theme: "To what extent do the canons of science in regard to conceptual structure and empirical evidence allow religion to be defined as an object of scientific study while preserving its historical context and function? One session of the meeting will be open to papers on miscellaneous themes. Persons submitting papers to be read should send an abstract to R. V. McCann, Program Committee Chairman, Andover Hall, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts, before September 1.

Cornell College.—J. Harold Ennis, head of the department of sociology, has returned to his teaching duties after having spent the first semester of his sabbatical leave at the University of Wisconsin, the University of Kansas, the University of Iowa, and in Des Moines, Sioux City, and Cedar Falls, Iowa.

Haridas T. Muzumdar, professor of sociology and social work, has been recently appointed a co-ordinator of the North Central Association, in which capacity he will visit from six to eight colleges during each academic year, beginning with 1955-56. Dr. Muzumdar is the current president of the Conference on Asian Affairs, which will hold its fourth annual meeting at Kansas State College in the fall.

Cornell University.—With the support of a grant of \$500,000 from the Ford Foundation, the graduate division of extension education will expand in the fall to help promote extension service abroad. The project will give selected leaders advanced training in extension education as adapted to suit overseas countries. Emphasis will be on the educational, psychological, and cultural problems which must be solved before agricultural and related technology will be accepted by the village people in underdeveloped areas. American and foreign students will be chosen from land-grant colleges, foreign institutions, and other agencies responsible for training extension leaders to

serve outside the United States. After two semesters of study on the Cornell campus, they will spend three months gaining firsthand knowledge by visits to other countries, then returning to their own institutions and undertaking there to help train leaders for the overseas extension work. In addition to participating in regular seminars and courses in extension education, students will take work in the graduate school in agriculture, home economics, anthropology, sociology, public administration, philosophy, educational psychology, economics, industrial education, and nutrition. Qualified students may register for advanced degrees.

For the first year, enrolment will be limited to fifteen students. Fellowships will be awarded according to individual need. Continuing the existing work, the school of education will enrol another fifteen students in the regular graduate program in extension education.

The project will be directed by J. Paul Leagans, with the co-operation of A. L. Winsor, head of the school. They will serve on the policy committee with F. F. Hill, university provost; A. H. Peterson, controller; S. S. Atwood, dean of the graduate school; Edward H. Litchfield, dean of the graduate school of business and public administration; William I. Myers, dean of the College of Agriculture; Helen G. Canoyer, dean of the College of Home Economics; Maurice C. Bond, New York State director of extension; R. Lauriston Sharp, chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology; and Robert A. Polson, head of the department of rural sociology.

The Ford Foundation.—The trustees have allocated \$15,000,000 to strengthen and extend research in mental health over the next five to ten years. The decision follows more than two years' study of problems and opportunities by the Foundation's Behavioral Sciences staff. The long range goals of research include determining the causes of mental illness and developing and testing effective methods of treatment and prevention. In the initial stages of the program, applications will be accepted to support work in several research areas related to these goals, including social and community aspects of mental health; children's disorders; biological, physiological, and somatic problems in mental illness; personality development and functioning; and studies in therapy. Such research programs may be located in any qualified institution here or abroad and, typically, will be undertaken in

psychology and other social science departments in universities, departments of psychiatry in medical schools and their related hospitals, and public and private mental hospitals or independent research organizations.

The advisory committee for the program is composed of Seymour S. Kety, associate director in charge of research of the National Institutes of Mental Health and Neurological Diseases and Blindness; John Eberhart, New York City; Merton Gill, of the department of psychiatry, Yale University; Ernest Hilgard, dean of the graduate division of Stanford University; John Romano, psychiatrist-in-chief, University of Rochester Medical Center; and David Shakow, chief of the laboratory of psychology, National Institute of Mental Health.

Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism.

—The organization of an Association for the Application of Creative Altruism (AACA) is proposed. It would operate under a constitution and function through the direction of a council composed of national representatives. The constitution is to be formulated and the council to be elected at the first convention of the founding members of the association. Once well established, the association may start its own research in creative altruism or may sponsor the continuation and extension of investigations of the research center. The organization would publish a quarterly bulletin on work done here and elsewhere and would accept papers, news items, book notices and reviews, conference calendars and reports, and other such material. Nominal membership fees and contributions would defray expenses.

For information, write to Pitirim A. Sorokin, director, Harvard Research Center in Creative Altruism, Harvard University, Cambridge, Mass.

University of Kansas.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Hilden Gibson, chairman of the department of human relations and professor of sociology and political science, on April 1, 1955. Born in 1910, at McPherson, Kansas, he received the A.B. degree from Kansas University in 1933 and the Ph.D. degree from Stanford in 1940. In 1938 he returned to the University of Kansas as instructor of sociology and political science. He became a full professor in 1949. During a sabbatical leave in 1946-47, he held a fellowship in human rela-

tions at the Harvard Graduate School of Business Administration and was associated with Elton Mayo, Dean Wallace B. Donham, and Fritz J. Roethlisberger. In 1948 he helped found and became the first chairman of the department of human relations at the university and became nationally known in the human relations movement. He largely planned the ninth annual Human Relations Conference which met at the university the three days following his death. Professor Gibson's most recent study, *Racial Integration in Employment* (Kansas City, Mo.: Community Studies, Inc., 1954), is an account of his research in two Kansas City hospitals. An effective and popular teacher, he will be much missed by his colleagues, students, and fellow-citizens.

University of Kentucky.—Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor of sociology, is in Greece on a special assignment to evaluate the program of the American Farm School in Salonika and the social impact made by the school's graduates. He will also be in Yugoslavia for a few weeks, doing research. He took office as president of the Southern Sociological Society in April. He has been serving as a special consultant to the Save the Children Federation, to evaluate their community development program in the southern Appalachians. He is editor of the Yugoslav handbook in the series being issued by the Mid-European Studies Center.

The background papers and committee discussions of the seminar on "Collectivization in Eastern Europe" held in April will be published by the University of Kentucky Press, under the editorship of Professor Sanders.

J. W. Gladden, associate professor of sociology, has been named to the National Advisory Board of the Student Y.M.C.A. for a three-year term. He currently serves as chairman of the Area Student Committee of the Southern Y.M.C.A.

Earl Mayhew, retiring state director of the Farmers Home Administration in Kentucky, has joined the staff in rural sociology. He serves as extension specialist, working on program analysis and development, especially of extension services to low-income farmers. Prior to his twenty years in the Farmers Home Administration and its predecessors, he was a county agent in Kentucky, and he is a graduate in rural sociology from Cornell.

Ralph J. Ramsey returns soon to work as extension specialist in rural sociology, after a

sabbatical year of advanced study in adult education at the University of Chicago.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, who has been on sabbatical leave at the University of Lund, Sweden, has received an extension of leave to enable him to carry on further research.

Howard W. Beers, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, was chairman of the staff committee for this summer's seminar on intergroup relations, which ended in the first week of July.

Kyklos.—Under this title an international review of the social sciences is now being published in Switzerland. It is to be a forum for the international discussion of problems relating to the social sciences, with special emphasis on economics. Articles are published in English, French, or German, the majority being in English, and each is followed by a summary in the three languages.

The editorial committee includes A. Aftalion, Paris; Luigi Einaudi, Rome; Howard S. Ellis, Berkeley, California; Alvin H. Hansen, Cambridge, Massachusetts; R. F. Harrod, Oxford; J. R. Hicks, Oxford; Frederic C. Lane, Baltimore, Maryland; W. E. Rappard, Geneva; Wilhelm Röpke, Geneva; Edgar Salin, Basel; Alfred Weber, Heidelberg.

Four numbers are published every year, composing together a volume of at least 400 pages. The annual subscription is \$6.00. Order from the publishers: Kyklos Verlag, Postfach 610, Basel 2, Switzerland.

McGill University.—Oswald Hall, chairman of the department, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology at Tulane University for the year 1955-56 and will be on leave for that time.

Aileen D. Ross is returning in the fall from India, where she has been doing research on changing family patterns.

William A. Westley and Frederick Elkin have been awarded a grant from the Defence Research Board to continue their research on persuasion in interpersonal relationships.

David Solomon of the Defence Research Board, Toronto, has been appointed assistant professor for the coming academic year.

Phillip Garigue has been awarded a Social Science Research Council grant for the summer to continue his research on the family in rural communities of Quebec.

University of Miami.—Dean George Epley, formerly assistant professor of sociology at Memphis State College, is now chairman of the department of human relations.

The department of human relations is sponsoring a six-week workshop on theory and practice in human relations, lasting from June 14 to July 23. The first part will be concerned with the theoretical foundations of human relations and the second with practical applications in public and private agencies, business and industry, education, international relations, the home, and interracial and interfaith situations. A limited number of scholarships will be available. For further information, write to Dean George Epley, chairman of the department and director of the workshop.

The department now offers an undergraduate major in the College of Arts and Sciences and a field of concentration on the graduate level leading to a degree of Master of Education.

Northwestern University.—Robert F. Winch, who has been promoted to a full professorship in sociology, has been awarded a Guggenheim Fellowship and will be in Europe during part of 1955-56.

Raymond W. Mack, who was on leave during the spring quarter studying occupational differences and social mobility, has been awarded a Faculty Summer Fellowship to continue his research.

University of Pennsylvania.—A grant of \$113,000 has been received from the Richardson Foundation, Inc., Greensboro, North Carolina, for the establishment of a foreign-policy research institute for the study of major problems in international relations and their impact upon American foreign policy. Robert Strausz-Hupe, professor of political science at the university and chairman of its graduate program in international relations, will direct the institute, with the assistance of a group of well-known political scientists, historians, economists, sociologists, anthropologists, and geographers. Its operations will be guided by a senior staff conference which will instruct a small research group of postgraduate research associates and graduate fellows. Postdoctoral and predoctoral appointments and awards will be made under the grant.

The findings of the institute will be made available in a series of occasional papers as well as book-length studies.

Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—The College Study, conducted by the bureau since 1945, surveys ten- and twenty-five-year graduates each year to measure current and completed fertility. The June, 1955, issue of the bureau's *Population Bulletin* will report the 1955 survey. Copies are available at \$0.50 each, and quantity prices will be furnished upon request.

For further information write to The Population Reference Bureau, Inc., 1507 M Street, N.W., Washington 5, D.C.

University of Southern California.—Two visiting professors will teach during the summer session: Wellman J. Warner, head of the department of sociology at New York University and secretary of the American Sociological Society, will offer courses in criminology, race relations, and contemporary sociological thought during the six-week session; and Meyer F. Nimkoff, head of the department of sociology at the Florida State University, will offer courses on the family and children's behavior problems during the four-week session.

The Southern Sociological Society.—The society's eighteenth annual meeting was held in Nashville, March 31 to April 2.

A memorial service to Howard W. Odum was held in connection with the regular sessions, at which H. C. Bearley gave the memorial address.

The members of the society were privileged to co-operate with Fisk University in the dedication of Robert E. Park Hall of the Social Sciences, at which E. W. Burgess, of the University of Chicago, was the principal speaker. An address by Morris Ginsberg, of the London School of Economics, on "Moral Bewilderment" and the presidential address by Morton B. King, Jr., on "Comments on Concepts" were given at the annual dinner, which was at Scarritt College.

Officers elected for 1955-56 were president, Irwin T. Sanders, University of Kentucky; president-elect, Homer L. Hitt, Louisiana State University; first vice-president, Mozell C. Hill, Atlanta University; second vice-president, Preston Valien, Fisk University; secretary-treasurer, A. L. Bertrand, Louisiana State University. John N. Burrus, Mississippi Southern College, and Rollin Chambliss, University of Georgia, were elected to serve three-year terms on the executive committee. Continuing to

serve as elected members of the executive committee are Haskell M. Miller, University of Chattanooga; C. A. McMahan, Maxwell Air Force Base; Meyer F. Nimkoff, Florida State University; and Joseph F. Himes, North Carolina College. Continuing as the elected representative to the American Sociological Society is William E. Cole, University of Tennessee.

Texas Technological College.—William M. Pearce, head of the history department, has been appointed to a three-man advisory committee to assist in research on the cattle industry, a study recently undertaken by the State Historical Society of Colorado. The project, "The Western Range Cattle Industry Study," is supported by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation and directed by Maurice Frink, of Denver. Members of the advisory committee to the project are T. A. Larson, University of Wyoming, and James Grafton Rogers, president of the State Historical Society of Colorado.

Transatlantik-Brücke e. V. ("Trans-Atlantic Bridge").—An information bureau for visiting American scientists is set up in Hamburg to supply data on German research institutes, universities, libraries, scientists, their publications and research in the social sciences. The bureau also has connections with management and labor, government agencies, etc., and can arrange interviews with experts on economic, social, or political questions which the visiting American may want to study not only from the scientific but also from the practical point of view. Transatlantik-Brücke, founded in 1952 by private German citizens who wanted to further better understanding of Germany in the United States and vice versa, is financed exclusively by contributions from its members and is strictly nonpartisan. In the United States it works closely with the American Council on Germany, whose head is George N. Shuster, president of Hunter College, New York.

The bureau began operations in April of this year. For information write to: Information Bureau on German Social Sciences, Harvesterweg 9, Hamburg 13, Germany.

The University of Virginia.—The name of the department of sociology has been changed to "department of sociology and anthropology."

Eric R. Wolf has been made assistant professor of anthropology in the department, to take office in the session of 1955-56. Professor Wolf continues until then as research associate in anthropology at the University of Illinois. He has carried on field research in social anthropology in Puerto Rico and in Mexico.

University of California (Berkeley).—The *Journal* wishes to correct an error in the May issue, 1955, page 594. The new journal, *Berkeley Publications in Society and Institutions*, established in Berkeley by the graduate students in the department of sociology and social institutions at the University of California, is to be devoted to articles of general sociological interest written by graduate students anywhere in the country. The new periodical welcomes student contributions.

Kingsley Davis has accepted a permanent appointment as full professor beginning in September, 1955. He will offer courses and provide graduate training in population, urbanism, and the family.

Margaret T. Hodgen will retire on July 1, 1955. A member of the original department of social institutions and subsequently professor in the department of sociology and social institutions, she is noted for her careful scholarly work on social change.

Wolfram Eberhard, who has completed his term as president of the Western Branch of the Asiatic Oriental Society, has been appointed a member of the board of editors of the following journals: *Sociologus*, *Sinologica* (Switzerland), *Oriens* (Holland), and the *Central Asiatic Journal* (Holland).

Philip Selznick has been on leave on a Social Science Research Council Faculty Fellowship, engaged on a special project dealing with the sociology of law.

Tamotsu Shibutani is returning from a half-year's sabbatical leave during which he completed book manuscripts for publication.

William A. Kornhauser will resume instruction in the fall semester following a year's leave of absence spent as a Fellow at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences.

BOOK REVIEWS

Social Area Analysis. By ESHREF SHEVKY and WENDELL BELL. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955. Pp. vi+70. \$1.75.

The latest in a series of studies, initiated by Shevky and Williams with *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* (1949), this monograph is not quite self-contained but presupposes some familiarity with the parent study and several journal papers published by Bell in the last three years. Its particular contributions are to state in summary form the theoretical rationale of the "method of urban analysis," to present revisions of index formulas and computing procedures, and to illustrate the application of the method to another city (the San Francisco Bay area). The proposed method consists of "a classificatory schema designed to categorize census tract populations in terms of three basic factors—social rank, urbanization, and segregation. Each census tract population was given three scores, one for each of the indexes of the factors; and then the tract populations with similar configurations of scores on the three indexes were grouped together into larger units called social areas."

The authors hope that others will "test, apply, and criticize" their instrument. Certainly, critical scrutiny is in order before accepting it as a "framework for the comparative study of the internal differentiation of American cities." (I know of no careful criticism of the earlier work, though an inconclusive exchange of views on its merits and deficiencies appeared in the February and April, 1950, issues of the *American Sociological Review*.)

Both conceptual and methodological difficulties call into question the value of this approach. For example, "urbanization" is characterized inconsistently as "a state of a total society," "a basic differentiating dimension for individuals," "a social process," and a "basic factor of urban differentiation and stratification." The "index of urbanization" is a composite of the proportion of women in the labor force, the ratio of children to women, and the proportion of dwelling units in single-family, detached structures. When these are averaged (after "standardization"), a "unidimensional measuring instrument" is obtained. How, then, could two of the components of the index change in the direction

of more "urbanization," while the other moved in the opposite direction, as occurred in San Francisco over the decade 1940 to 1950? Evidently, "urbanization" is a single "dimension" with a two-way stretch! As a result of averaging the three components, San Francisco experienced a "decided decrease in urbanization" between 1940 and 1950. Since this finding is difficult to interpret, Bell suggests the term "family status" as a substitute for "urbanization." Still one cannot agree that "to say that family status increased . . . represents a generally accepted notion." Indeed, the statement is quite meaningless. To explain how fertility could increase while more women were entering the labor force is a challenging research problem. But the problem is lost if one confounds the two variables in a single index.

To compute "social rank," one averages the proportion of manual workers and the proportion of adults with no education beyond grade school. (The assumption that "occupation, of course, is the key variable" is not reflected in a differential weighting of the two components.) The index shares the virtues and defects of the many similar multiple-factor socioeconomic status indexes used in the past. Among other things, recent research shows that occupation and education do not always act in the same direction in their influence on urban residential patterns. By combining the two variables, one is precluded from studying important cases of status disequilibrium between them.

The "segregation" measures, in their revised form, appear to be improvements over those proposed in 1949. But they rest, in part, on an untenable assumption that an individual is equally likely to "next meet" each of the other individuals residing in his census tract—an assumption the authors appear to discard when they state that "the social area . . . is not bounded by . . . implications concerning the degree of interaction between persons in the local community." Like other segregation indexes, the "index of isolation" treats the proportion of minority-group members in a given tract as though it were independent of the proportion in neighboring tracts. The "index of isolation" is, in fact, merely a new name and formula for a well-known statistic—the correlation ratio.

The discussion of theoretical reasons for choosing particular index variables does not lead to a unique selection of variables or even to a useful criterion for such selection. The matching of statistical manipulation with conceptual formulation remains on the level of operational nominalism; this is clearly shown by the fact that the authors do not even agree between themselves on what to call their "constructs." Moreover, little attempt is made to tie in the notion of "social area"—which is basic to the technique—with any of the "underlying theory." It is a purely classificatory concept: "We view a social area as containing persons with similar social positions in the larger society." There is no treatment of the relation between "social areas" and any other kind of area (although generalized land-use maps are shown, they are not analyzed). There is no adequate statement of the forces and factors which might conceivably produce relatively homogeneous areas or any consideration of principles of urban-area structure which might subsume the idea of "social area." The concept, then, is no improvement over the older one of "natural area." Instead, it is just an elaboration of but one of the facets of the ecological concept—that of population homogeneity.

The authors self-consciously avoid ecological concepts and claim to "focus on relationships of a different order than those considered by urban ecologists." Yet, without having available this theoretical statement, ecologists and other research workers for many years have been delineating areas by means of single- or multiple-factor indexes resembling those proposed here. The upshot of much of this research is that the point of diminishing returns is reached very soon in refining the technique of area delineation, unless one is working on specific hypotheses about area structure. Since the authors state no such hypotheses, it can only be assumed that they intend their procedure to serve a variety of uses. With much less work one can establish a set of areas which will stratify a population well enough for most general purposes. Shevky and Bell fail to show that their procedures have special advantages over others already in use.

The authors claim broad applicability for their approach but illustrate its "analytic utility" primarily by showing the size of the population in each "social area," the geographic location of the areas, and summary index values for each type of area for San Francisco. Thus the "analysis" is only a description of the distribu-

tions of the indexes. No significant hypotheses are tested.

Despite its failure to provide an improved model for research on urban-area structure, the monograph contributes two valuable, if not novel, emphases: (1) urban research should be comparative, rather than a series of case studies of individual cities; (2) the process of urbanization should be studied in a context of related economic and social trends. One can also agree heartily with the implication that the 1940 and 1950 census-tract data are an extremely valuable and largely unexploited resource for comparative urban research.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Social Anthropology in Melanesia: A Review of Research. By A. P. ELKIN. New York: Oxford University Press, 1953. Pp. xiv+166. \$4.75.

At first perusal, one may believe that this is merely a somewhat annotated bibliography of what missionaries, travelers (planters, it seems, do not spend much time writing about the natives they displace or hire), administrative officers, and anthropologists have written, from discovery to 1950, about the many native peoples of that huge part of the world called "Melanesia." To an amateur it appears a very complete and well-arranged bibliography indeed.

A second look reveals proposals for something like a methodological revolution in anthropological work—a revolution which has long been, to be sure, under way, although perhaps nowhere brought to completion. First, Elkin proposes sampling: the choosing of communities and groups for study, not on the basis of convenience or of some perhaps peculiarly interesting feature of their culture, but in such a way that, with a minimum of effort, knowledge may be gained about as large a number of the many Melanesian peoples as possible. He holds, as is logical, to the small community, horde, or other such group as the units to be studied; the organization of life in Melanesia is such that a sample of individuals would be no sample at all (sometimes it isn't in the Western countries, either). In addition to the usual reasons for sampling, Elkin urges the rapidity of change and the paucity of field workers and resources for study. For he believes that the duty of an-

thropologists and sociologists (he easily qualifies as both) is to see that there is as little human loss—of spirit and of life—as possible in the great changes which cultural contacts are bringing about in Melanesia. If they are to discharge this duty well, their work must be planned for quick and representative coverage focused on processes of change and must, therefore, include the historical dimension.

In order to do the latter, Elkin pleads for people who studied the communities in the past to return or to send their students to see and interpret what has happened since. Some anthropologists are already doing so. Elkin actually lists communities studied and names the people he thinks should come back. It is while talking of the importance of histories of change that he notes that, whatever the shortcomings of missionaries as reporters, they at least have the virtue of remaining in one place long enough to record changes.

Elkin also asks that anthropological observation cut deeper than it generally has done into the hidden attitudes of people and that it be done precisely at that period in the course of native history in which it is perhaps most difficult. For many natives have adopted a "double life," one facet of which is conformity to European ways and demands, the other a hidden persistence in old ways in resistance or revolt. The double life, he says, may be unconscious; or it may be a deliberate policy, easily aroused by nativistic leaders. The study of this mentality and of the Cargo Cults and similar nativistic and anti-European movements he considers one of the chief duties of anthropologists who have some conscience about the peoples they have studied.

Although Elkin emphasizes the difficulty which any European will face in studying these matters, he is confident that it can be done. His is sound advice to field workers in a modern industry or hospital as well as in the tribal villages. For he notes that the whole situation must be properly structured in order to do good field work; good will is essential, but not enough. It is not only the native subjects of study who may suspect the field worker of being a spy for colonial authorities or other agency who would do them harm; the government administrators may also fear lest study of discontent stir up the fires thereof. Proper distances, neither too small nor too great, have to be maintained in all directions.

It would not be fair to Elkin to suggest that

he claims that any one of the ideas and suggestions he makes is brand new. It is the grouping of them into a vigorous program based on explicitly stated assumptions and with clear goals that makes the book lively and important, especially for those of us who are interested in the changes and conditions of progress for peoples whose ways of living are being transformed by modern industrial civilization.

I hope that in my enthusiasm about the general problems presented in the book, I have not taken attention away from the fact that it contains very detailed reference to specific problems which ought to be studied in specific areas.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

Études de sociologie rurale: Novis et Virgin. By HENRI MENDRAS. ("Cahiers de la fondation nationale des sciences politiques," No. 40.) Paris: Librairie Armond Colin, 1953. Pp. viii+138.

This paper-bound publication consists of two monographs on rural communities widely separated in space. Novis is in the department of Aveyron, France; Virgin, in Washington County, Utah. The reports are presented in the tradition of European sociography.

The studies represent contrasting methodological situations. Differences in the social situation of the investigator directed the selection of field techniques; in Novis, he was known to the community; in Virgin, he was a stranger. Indirect and informal techniques of securing information were employed in the former case, and more formalized procedures, including a questionnaire, were followed in the latter study.

Each community is described as to its ecology, economy, style of life, social structure, meanings, and mentality. The studies may be read as units or in a comparative categorical fashion. The conclusion attempts to bring the similarities and differences into sharp focus. The author does not pretend to present a systematic comparison between the two communities based upon theoretical considerations. The Novis investigation was done while he was a student at the Sorbonne; the Virgin study, while he was at the University of Chicago. The main objective in juxtaposing the two reports was to focus attention upon certain characteristics of the rural

mind and certain problems created by the mechanization of agriculture.

The two communities are poor and backward. A common religion is the unifying local bond. Novis is Catholic; Virgin, Mormon. The impact of mechanization is more pronounced in Virgin than in Novis. Yet the effect on population stability is contrary to expectation. The young people of Novis seek to migrate, while those of Virgin tend to remain, accessibility to urban culture being a possible explanation of the difference. More basic is the difference in generalized cultural orientation: the American westerner seeks to modify the external environment to satisfy his needs, while the French peasant tries to adapt himself to the external situation until it proves intolerable.

The chief merit of these monographs is their meticulous descriptive detail. The observations and generalizations may be helpful in the construction of hypotheses in several fields. The anthropologist may be interested in the materials on cultural themes, while the systematic examination of the comparative roles of the two religious value systems in the organization of the communities would be fruitful for the sociological study of religious phenomena. As for a typology of rural communities, the studies provide an empirical beginning, but a theoretic ordering must be added.

LAWRENCE L. BOURGEOIS

Loyola University of the South

Saipan: The Ethnology of a War-devastated Island. By ALEXANDER SPOEHR. ("Fieldiana: Anthropology," Vol. XL.) Chicago: Chicago Natural History Museum, 1954. Pp. 383. \$5.00.

Dr. Spoehr has produced a careful documentation of the social history and contemporary culture of the people of Saipan in the Mariana Islands. He has combed the historical records to describe the Spanish, German, and Japanese influences on the indigenous Chamorros and on the descendants of the Carolinians who immigrated during the nineteenth century. In Part II he sets out the main features of the contemporary Saipan community under the headings of the total community, local organization, basic aspects of the economy, political organization, and religion. In Parts III and IV he deals with the culture of the household and the family of

the Chamorros and the Carolinians, respectively. He has certainly provided rich materials for the consideration of anthropologists and sociologists interested in the development of blended cultures and in the position of the family during periods of rapid social change.

Spoehr is most stimulating when he is interpreting historical events. His account is one of the most useful and thorough in the rapidly growing literature on the Pacific island peoples now governed by the United States, and he has been highly successful in isolating various factors of change. But the analysis of kinship structure interests him most. His treatment of it and his theoretical objectives are linked with his earlier work in Florida and Oklahoma. Yet here his discussion and his conclusions, though useful, are distinctly flat. Perhaps this is unfair, for the work is titled an ethnography, and the description of culture is detailed, careful, and precise. The question "Why?" however, seldom obtrudes. Perhaps Spoehr has left it to others to ask this question.

CYRIL S. BELSHAW

University of British Columbia

Growing Up in an Egyptian Village: Silwa, Province of Aswan. By HAMED AMMAR. New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xvi+316. \$6.00.

This is a competent study of a small rural community in Upper Egypt, with particular emphasis upon family life and education. The author was himself born there.

The book is divided into two parts: (1) descriptions of the village, of farming as the valued occupation of all village members, and of the traditional organization of social life through the kin groups—family (*aila*), clan (*kabail*), and section (*hissa*); and (2) a description of the upbringing of the children, especially boys, who, because of the separation of the sexes, are better studied by a man.

The child, desired and welcomed in this culture where the recognized function of marriage is to perpetuate the family, is a nonentity, and childhood is associated with ignorance and time-wasting play, to be abandoned as early as possible. The author's informants found it "very difficult, even unbecoming, to recall their childhood days." Education perpetuates attitudes of docility and respectful submission to elders and

of bitter rivalry with near-agemates and stimulates responses of fear and shame, of jealousy and anger, and of compassion given through the mother's milk. Childhood ends when the adolescent boy and girl participate responsibly in work, are married, and so enter into adult life, living first with the bride's family and later, if the marriage survives and a child is born, with the husband's. In addition to observations and interviews, the work includes an analysis of games and tales, with a limited use of testing materials.

In two chapters, on social change and on modern education, Ammar assesses the effect of modernization on this folk culture and concludes that, in spite of innovations, Egypt's social revolution has not yet become meaningful to the village people. Those for whom it has meaning appear to have left the village.

Ammar's bibliography is inclusive and his continual references to contemporary writing on social theory indicate that he was well prepared to make the study, although he has not yet achieved an independent viewpoint. His is a careful descriptive undertaking, but it makes no theoretical contribution nor offers the insight one might hope for from a social scientist working inside his own culture. In this respect the author maintains the reserve apparently characteristic of the culture of Silwa.

RHODA MÉTRAUX

New York Hospital
New York, N.Y.

Amerika Mura: Imin Soshutsu Son no Jittai
("Influence of Emigrants on Their Home Village"). By TADASHI FUKUTAKE. Tokyo: Tokyo University Press, 1953. Pp. 508 in Japanese, 36 in English. \$5.00.

This book is a summary by Professor Fukutake of reports made by a number of Japanese professors and government officials who together undertook a detailed survey of a fishing and farming village. Sponsored by the Population Problems Research Council established by the Mainichi newspapers, it is one of a series of studies designed to serve as bases for ameliorating or solving Japan's problem of too many people on too little land. It is also indicative of the increase of interdisciplinary research as well as of the emphasis on empirical studies in the social sciences in postwar Japan.

The survey group chose an isolated village in Wakayama prefecture in which the great majority of the inhabitants had been to Canada, were born in Canada, or had relatives still residing there (hence the name of *Amerika Mura*, or "American Village"). They point to a number of situations attributable to emigration, which began early in this century. The average family decreased from 5.2 in 1901 to 3.7 in 1951, the national figure for rural areas in 1950 being 5.3, owing, apparently, more to the separation of spouses and to the weakening of the three-generation family system than to birth control. Many of the houses are quite imposing, some with Western-style rooms. The narrow roads are surfaced with concrete, rare in Japanese villages. The behavior of many of the children of the village appears more Westernized, sanitation is better than in most villages, and the hold of superstitious beliefs among the villagers has decreased.

If the foregoing are "good" influences of emigration, the report also points to certain "bad" results: The village is becoming an unproductive retired-people's village, and the people do not participate in the political life of the community, leaving that to the few upper-class families.

The attempt to weigh the desirable and undesirable influences of emigration is apparently pushed aside when the effects of the recent war and its aftermath are considered. Remittances from Canada, which were chiefly responsible for many of the important changes in the village, stopped. Repatriates increased the village population without increasing productivity. The village, always poor in resources, now shared the postwar economic difficulties with the rest of Japan. Thus it was hoped that all those who could would emigrate and those remaining people would then have to face reality "in good earnest."

Owing to the "push" of economic hardship at home, a few men first emigrated. After exchanges of letters, relatives and acquaintances followed. The early emigrants were almost all young men, but in time increasing numbers of women joined them. Their plan was to make money as quickly as possible and return to their home village. This sojourner state of mind and the concentration in one location, near Vancouver, facilitated maintenance of Japanese institutions and customs. This was in turn associated with "anti-Japanese pressures" and ineligibility for citizenship in the new country. Nevertheless, many did not return to Japan, and their

children, especially, came to identify themselves with their new homeland.

The survey team recognizes that emigration of a magnitude sufficient to "solve" Japan's population problem is not likely to come about, but it believes that any emigration at all would contribute toward amelioration of the problem. The authors imply, however, that future emigration should be of a different type from that which occurred previous to World War II. Thus, "the purpose of this survey is to analyze past emigration and to supply some scientific data necessary for a study of the conditions under which . . . we can send out emigrants who would not only contribute to world peace . . . but also benefit Japan." The conclusion does not appear to be based on the details of "influence of emigrants on their home village." The benefits the village derived from the fact that the emigrants remained attached to it and to Japan seem to have outweighed the adverse results of emigration, at least until the war. But the conclusion is expressed that emigration beneficial to Japan and to Japan's relations with other nations calls for permanent settlement and assimilation in the new land. If the suggestion for a new type of emigration rises from a consideration of "influences of emigrants," then such influences would seem to be primarily those which are judged to have contributed to Japan's embroilment in the recent war.

GEORGE K. YAMAMOTO

University of Hawaii

The Norwegian Language in America: A Study in Bilingual Behavior. By EINAR HAUGEN. (Publications of the American Institute, University of Oslo, in co-operation with the Department of American Civilization, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, University of Pennsylvania.) Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1953. 2 vols. Vol. I: *The Bilingual Community*; Vol. II: *The American Dialects of Norwegian*. Pp. xiv+317; vi+319-695.

Rarely do we find a description of a single language in which linguistic, anthropological, and sociological viewpoints have been combined as successfully as in the present work. The author, a prominent linguist and professor of Scandinavian languages at the University of Wisconsin, states in the preface: "It has been my intention throughout this book to treat lan-

guage as a social phenomenon, in such a way that it might offer something of value to students of history and sociology." The first volume, accordingly, is devoted entirely to a thorough analysis of the bilingual situation and its complex social ramifications and is an excellent contribution to the understanding of the general process of acculturation as well as of the specific problems and reactions of the Norwegians in the United States.

Appreciable from the point of view of a sociologist is the author's definition of the bilingual speaker as a "carrier of intergroup relations" and his recognition of the bilingual's dilemma, which involves a nearly complete mastery of two languages—a skill relatively rare—complicated by the dual function of language as a conveyor of ideas and as a symbol of collective identity, and the intermediate and marginal social role of the bilingual speaker.

The book is comprehensive, discussing every thinkable aspect of the Norwegian language and its use in America, including its written as well as spoken forms, the writing of dialects, the use of names for persons, places, and animals, the "confusion of patterns," and a few examples of the more common forms of humor. It also includes a comprehensive quantitative analysis of the declining use of the Norwegian language in America, with a computation of an "index of retention" based on the 1940 U.S. census and presented in lucid synoptic tables which allow an interesting comparison of the Norwegian with other non-English languages in America.

Of particular interest to sociologists is the discussion of the *social responses* within the Norwegian minority group called forth by the changes that took place in the form as well as the use of the Norwegian language in the process of its adaptation to America. Prominent among those changes is the extensive *borrowing*, or diffusion of English words into the Norwegian language, which the author aptly describes as one aspect of the perennial process of cultural diffusion. He goes to great length and effort to prove that it was a part of the adjustment of the immigrant to America.

But extensive borrowing from English is not totally explainable as a matter of "cultural necessity," nor is bilingualism in itself a sufficient cause for such borrowing. In a chapter on bilingualism and borrowing, somewhat belatedly included in the second volume, the author notes that linguistic borrowing "always goes well beyond the actual 'needs' of a language" and

that it is readily accepted even by the monolingual members of the group. These phenomena and the predominantly one-way influence on language can be explained only in terms of the social pressure of the higher prestige of one group over another (p. 381-82).

But more important is the resentful attitude of the immigrant elite toward the phenomenon. It is important because these people were still influential among the Norwegians, in spite of strong tendencies to resent class distinctions. This cultured elite is the ultimate source of the strong pressure toward "linguistic purism," for which the author has no better explanation than that the greater mastery of English by most members of the second generation made them conscious of "mixing." But parallels are found in numerous nativistic movements in which actual bilingualism is out of the question; moreover, this explanation does not take into account the feeling of guilt or shame generally associated with "mixing." This is the "bilingual's dilemma": he has to live in two different cultural worlds with sometimes contradictory culture patterns, and the variant culture patterns, including speech, have become symbols of conflicting loyalties. This is the basis for the ambivalence shown in clinging persistently to a Norwegian language well stuffed with American expressions. It may be regarded, as the author aptly remarks, as an attempt "to achieve again a unified cultural personality" in a dual social situation.

In all fairness it should be remarked that in the excellent chapter, "The Struggle over Norwegian," the author recognizes the existence and importance of the cultured elite among the Norwegian immigrants. Based on literary sources, mostly articles in Norwegian-language newspapers and periodicals, the chapter is a penetrating historical analysis of the highly diverse and sometimes ambivalent attitudes of American Norwegians, not only to the Norwegian language but to the whole of their social and cultural heritage.

A wealth of material is here presented in a lucid and arresting style. With his broad sociocultural point of view and with his extensive knowledge of the Norwegian culture, the author has achieved a comprehensive social and cultural history of the Norwegian people in America.

PETER A. MUNCH

University of North Dakota

Race, Jobs, and Politics: The Story of FEPC. By LOUIS RUCHAMES. New York: Columbia University Press, 1953. Pp. x+255. \$3.75.

This book is a historical account and appraisal of major phases of government policy and programs in the United States to abate the effects of discrimination in employment of racial, religious, and national origin minorities. Beginning with the status of the Negro in employment at the turn of this century, the story traces changes in the status and outlook of racial and other minorities through the ebb and flow of socioeconomic forces into the midcentury. The principal development of the story starts on the eve of our involvement in World War II: impending problems of manpower mobilization and of national unity and morale induced the federal government to establish the Fair Employment Practices Committee as a key agency.

With its main focus on the committee, the book gives a powerful description of complex issues, serious obstacles, and notable achievements. Light is shed upon matters of internal organization of the committee; its method of procedure; its relationships with other government agencies, prominent political figures, labor organizations, employers and employer associations, and minority group and other community agencies. It explains why the committee was from its inception subjected to the pressure and counterpressure of conflicting interests, ideals, and expectations. The author emphasizes distinct contributions, despite an unusual degree of opposition and harassment, to the breaking-down of traditional and customary barriers to employment, to the improvement of morale of minority peoples, and to the stimulating of FEPC legislation by state and municipal governments.

The book provides an analysis of this legislation and an evaluation of the laws in operation, with special reference to New York State. Sharp criticism is directed toward laws which omit sanctions or fail to provide for proper administration and enforcement.

On the whole, the study supports a theme that the national committee and its program were substantial forces in bringing about a more favorable opinion in America, at least in the North, on the propriety and effectiveness of government intervention to protect the right to equal opportunity for work. In an introductory comment the author calls his study "the story of an experiment in social engineering" and ob-

serves: "Comparatively few Americans were aware of its beginning, fewer still believed that it would succeed."

AUSTIN H. SCOTT

Lincoln University

Selected Studies of Negro Employment in the South, Case Study No. 1: Negro Employment in Three Southern Plants of International Harvester Company. By JOHN HOPE II. Washington, D.C.: National Planning Association, 1953. Pp. x+143. \$1.75.

This is the first of six descriptive studies of interracial employment in the South, prepared under the auspices of the National Planning Association's Committee of the South. The Memphis, Louisville, and Evansville plants of International Harvester are the subject of this report. International Harvester, as a company with an unusually outspoken and well-implemented policy against racial discrimination, provides a most informative test case both for theories of racial integration and for practical programs. The report is based on official company reports and on interviews, chiefly with management and with union officials.

The report begins with a survey of company and union policy and the extent of Negro employment. A second chapter outlines the procedures for hiring and job transfers and notes the failure of public schools to prepare Negroes for the jobs potentially available to them in these Harvester plants. An extensive examination of employment from 1946 to 1950 shows that the Negroes' greatest gains have been in semiskilled work and in production, with only minor inroads into skilled work, especially in maintenance.

Part II is devoted to analysis of strategy and problems in the implementation of management policy. In general, it appears that the strongest tools for implementing policy are strict adherence to the standard contract provisions of seniority and grievance procedure, so long as Negroes are initially hired in considerable numbers, but not where the barriers against hiring cannot be overcome because trained applicants are lacking and because of craft-union restrictive practices. Much educational work to implement policy is done as part of orientation sessions, leadership training programs, and the like, though confusion sometimes exists over responsibility. Education is primarily, however,

a matter of discovering what it is like to have a good job in a biracial situation and of accepting the fact that the company will back its policy with coercion when necessary.

Potentially the most interesting but actually the most disappointing chapter summarizes four incidents involving work stoppages over Negro employment, two involving compromise settlements of the claims of Negroes, and one detailing the rise of a Negro to supervision over white employees without any difficulty. A fuller analysis of the circumstances and of their long-range consequences would have given life to the material from earlier chapters.

This report should be most useful in enlightening reluctant employers as to the degree to which community patterns can be successfully defied by a sincere and consistently enforced company policy. It will also provide interesting and valuable reading for students beginning the study of race relations. It reminds us again of craft-union policy and the vicious circle of restrictions on training, supporting and supported by restrictions on opportunity. The objective of the book was not to generalize but to describe. But the absence of intimate acquaintance with the plants and the limited use of rank-and-file informants lead to some superficiality and incompleteness. On the whole, the book's contribution lies in the substantiation of known principles rather than in the offering of new ideas.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Population Statistics and Their Compilation. By HUGH H. WOLFENDEN, with an appendix on some theory in the sampling of human populations by W. EDWARDS DEMING. Published for the Society of Actuaries by the University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xxiii+258. \$7.50.

A revision and enlargement of a monograph of the same title published in 1925, this book is intended to be read as a sequel, or intermediate text, of the author's *Fundamental Principles of Mathematical Statistics and an Outline of a Course in Graduation* (1942) or other works on basic actuarial techniques.

The author presents his material in sixteen sections, plus Dr. Deming's appendix on sampling. The first four sections deal with the processes of census-taking and vital-events registra-

tion, the problems to which they relate, and the reliability of official population data. Sections 5-8, which constitute more than half the book, present a description of the techniques by which actuaries have derived complete and abridged life tables from census and registration data. Each of the last eight sections is a very short summary statement of population techniques in one of the major areas of population analysis—there are sections on comparing mortality rates of local areas; forecasting mortality rates; studying mortality by cause of death; mortality of occupational groups; marriage, widowhood, orphanhood, and unemployment; the theory of reproduction; and sickness data.

The historical perspective is especially prominent in the large section dealing with techniques for constructing life tables. The differences in underlying assumptions for each major development in the United States and Great Britain are described. The author passes comparatively little judgment upon the current alternative approaches and does not indicate areas where current actuarial research is or should be concentrated. Undoubtedly because the historical orientation does not leave room, almost no illustrative materials are given to show detailed methods of computation of the steps in constructing the life tables.

Because currently there is no completely satisfactory text in methods of population research, this book will be of exceptional interest to demographers. But the treatment of such topics as fertility, migration, racial and ethnic differences, marriage and divorce, educational attainment, occupation, and labor-force composition of the population is scanty, and the author assumes that the reader is already familiar with the basic life-table relationships, the fundamentals of their construction, and the common principles of graduation, interpolation, and curve-fitting. Consequently, sociologists will find most use for the book as supplementary reading to acquaint their better students with the history and alternative approaches to life-table construction. An exception is chapter vi, "The Mathematical Relationships between Births, Deaths, and Populations, and the Formulae for the Rates of Mortality," which is so clearly written that it could be used effectively as basic reading.

The later chapters dealing with special population topics are so brief that they are little more than an annotated bibliography of the most important writings. Nevertheless, they do cover

a vast amount of literature and can be useful as a brief summary and integration of basic concepts, especially if the reader has already read carefully at least some of the key basic sources cited. Some of the topics in population research involve too many different considerations to be covered in a few pages and still be fully comprehensible to anyone but a person who has already read a larger and more detailed statement on the subject. A similar comment applies to the splendid summary, "Some Theory in the Sampling of Human Populations," by Dr. Deming.

DONALD BOGUE

*University of Chicago
and Scripps Foundation for
Research in Population Problems*

Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality." Edited by RICHARD CHRISTIE and MARIE JAHODA. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 279. \$4.50.

This is the second volume in a series designed to promote continuity in social research through examining the presuppositions and methods of an outstanding study and exploring the possibilities of further inquiry. Although *The Authoritarian Personality* has been widely acclaimed as a study of race prejudice, it is essentially an investigation of the relationship between personality and perspectives. Since perception is selective, the organization of one's outlook depends in part upon his distinctive sensitivities. Hence orientation to people and the world depends upon personality structure, which is the product of childhood experiences. This volume contains papers by R. Christie, E. Frenkel-Brunswick, H. H. Hyman, H. D. Lasswell, P. B. Sheatsley, and E. A. Shils, evaluating the original study in terms of this broader interest.

An assumption was that collective phenomena—such as political ideologies and ethnic differentiation—could be explained in terms of individual motives and personality traits. While this might be expected of many psychologists, even sociologists, forgetful of Cooley's discussion of "impersonal forms," have in recent years sometimes slipped into the tempting trap. Hence, the final section of Shils's paper provides a salutary reminder of the fallacy. Men are role-playing creatures and in structured situations act largely in terms of their obligations. It is

precisely because men can inhibit their more spontaneous inclinations that organized society as we know it is possible; even political activity is partially structured. In any event the propositions in *The Authoritarian Personality* are in need of qualification—with statements of the conditions under which personal needs become important.

Among the noteworthy contributions is a remarkable critique of methodology by Hyman and Sheatsley. Not an invective by angry men, it is a sober and careful evaluation of the technical aspects of the study. The authors focus upon the question of how effectively the data collected support the propositions they were intended to test. After a careful study of the sampling procedure, the various measuring instruments, and the manner in which cases were analyzed, they come to the conclusion that, although the study was a commendable effort to combine statistical and clinical techniques, the procedures were not the most efficient and the theory was not proved by the data. This chapter is without question one of the finest discussions of this type in the literature, and there can be no doubt that careful analyses of this kind will lead to greater proficiency in social research. The negative conclusions, of course, do not detract from the worth of the master-volume; the very fact that the study was worthy of such careful scrutiny in itself points to its merits.

In the original study an assumption that unfortunately escapes consideration in these papers is the dichotomy of the world into the authoritarian and the liberal—actually a division into the good and the bad. A number of sociologists, notably W. G. Sumner and Eric Voegelin, have pointed to the tendency of men involved in conflict to personify their enemies in negative terms—to construct an image of the opposition containing all the brutal, inhuman, repulsive, or childish traits in one's own culture. Even a casual glance at the records of strikes, revolutions, wars, religious strife, and race tension reveals the regularity with which such contrast conceptions are formed by participants on both sides. All enemies seem to have suspiciously similar characteristics. What makes this particular concept even more tenuous, as Hyman and Sheatsley point out in another context, is the fact that psychoanalytic mechanisms permit alternative interpretations of identical behavior patterns. Without denying that certain personality traits suggestive of paranoia are often found among fanatics of any cause—political,

religious, or even intellectual—one can raise the question of whether all those of whom we heartily disapprove are actually so.

As is so often the case with any provocative contribution, *The Authoritarian Personality* has been the subject of both blind adoration and rabid opposition. In spite of all its flaws, it will probably be established as one of the outstanding intellectual efforts of our generation.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

University of California

How Nations See Each Other: A Study in Public Opinion. By WILLIAM BUCHANAN and HADLEY CANTRIL. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1953. Pp. ix+220. \$5.00.

In 1947 a project was launched in UNESCO to utilize the knowledge and techniques of the social sciences in an effort to develop a better understanding of world tensions, and this book presents the results of the first international survey conducted under UNESCO auspices toward this end. Since men interact on the basis of images that they form of one another, a study of the conceptions that people in various nations have of one another was considered most appropriate. Hence, simultaneous surveys were conducted in nine countries, using modern sampling techniques and posing identical questions. Each respondent was questioned concerning his own position in the class structure of his country, his feelings of personal security in matters unrelated to international affairs, nations toward which he felt friendly or unfriendly, characteristics which he attributed to various people, and his ideas about human nature, national character, peace, and world government. Roughly half the book consists of tables presenting the data, and the remainder is devoted to discussion of the findings.

There are numerous items of interest to sociologists, even though, in general, the data are too imprecise for the construction or testing of hypotheses. Students of social stratification will be interested in the comparative data on class consciousness—the manner in which various occupational groups were ranked in the various nations and the proportions and types of persons who regarded themselves as being "middle class." Students of social psychology have long been impressed with the Katz-Brally study, in which various ethnic groups in the United

States were identified in fairly stable stereotypes; in this study a similar procedure was used on an international scale, and the data show a remarkable consistency from country to country. Also of interest are the comparative data on people who regard human nature as fixed as opposed to those who view it as plastic, and their own national characteristics as inborn rather than acquired.

In an unprecedented study uncommonly broad in scope the inevitable technical difficulties are freely acknowledged. The authors do not claim to have demonstrated any conclusions, and they present their materials with humility. As is true in much of the survey work now being conducted, attention is centered upon the improvement of procedures for eliminating semantic errors (especially in translation), on more effective choices of stratified samples, and on coding and tabulation problems. The authors point specifically to the problem of making valid comparisons and accurate explanations when the cultural backgrounds of the respondents are so different. But this is a difficulty inherent in the survey procedure itself. The solution to the difficulty is to be found not only in the proper wording of the questions but in the study of the social contexts in which the perception takes place. The expense involved may make such a procedure prohibitive in ordinary polling enterprises, but, without some control over the context, even a theoretically perfect semantic presentation would still leave biases.

What the data reveal is that people have unrealistic images of one another and that there is some still unspecified relationship between one's conception of his status and his perspective. For the expenditure of effort and expense the results may seem meager. Furthermore, the authors' recommendations for the reduction of international tensions are not impressive. However, the failure arises not from any lack of diligence but from the poverty of sociological theory. In the absence of plausible and testable hypotheses on the conditions of collective aggression and the manner in which public support may be mobilized for such enterprises, the authors were left with no alternative but to work with rather trivial ideas. While those looking for demonstrated generalizations on tensions will be disappointed, the volume nonetheless contains much interesting data.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

University of California

The Psychiatrist: His Training and Development. By AMERICAN PSYCHIATRIC ASSOCIATION. Washington, D.C.: American Psychiatric Association, 1953. Pp. viii+214.

This is the official report of the Conference on Psychiatric Education held at Cornell University in June, 1952, which dealt mainly with the training of psychiatrists. It complemented the conference held a year earlier, which focused on the role of psychiatry in medical education (reported in *Psychiatry and Medical Education* and published by the American Psychiatric Association).

One wonders for whom the book was written. This is nowhere clearly evident and almost precludes a critical judgement of the book as a whole. Its parts clearly reveal many of psychiatry's central problems: not only the training of residents but the form and direction of the field itself.

A persistently begrudging acceptance of psychoanalysis colors the entire book. Whenever a case for the psychoanalytic orientation is presented, it is studiously and laboriously hedged, rebutted, and mildly deplored. All this is done in the alleged interests of the residents—never as an open expression of the resistance of older, established men in the field, to whom psychoanalysis represents an affront and a threat.

Many developmental currents are isolating parts of analysis from medical psychiatry. Still other parts are being firmly welded with the central concerns of medicine and psychiatry. These problems within psychoanalysis surely need consideration in the training of residents. The maze which confronts the young physician seeking training as a resident in psychiatry is dealt with under several major headings: the development of residency training, psychodynamics, ideals and practices, the resident, training centers, the role of psychoanalysis in residency training, the role of child psychiatry in residency training, some special fields, psychiatry in other specialty training, and psychiatry and the nation's health. At the end are supplementary statements on contents and methods of training.

Under these headings "psychodynamics" is defined, defended, and attacked; "anxiety" is discussed and disagreed about; concepts of energy are dealt with. No bland façade of agreement is presented; rather, fundamental differences are clearly and honestly set forth. One is impressed by the widely different points of view, by the tenacity with which they are held,

and by the forthrightness with which they are presented. Lively protests against majority decisions appear in footnotes, lending these a rare interest.

Similarly, attitudes of other fields of medicine are noted as deflecting potential candidates away from psychiatry. This may be deplorable, but no time is wasted deploring it. Rather, the education of colleagues is energetically addressed. Reformist zeal suffuses the book. But it is, at the same time, modest: "It was agreed that further exploration of the situation is desirable."

The report of the earlier conference on the role of psychiatry in medical education presented psychiatry as the mediator of the social sciences to medicine. It seemed natural to question how psychiatry became the repository of such social-scientific material. The present volume could have given equal weight to the uses of social science for psychiatry, and the matter of providing such training for residents might have been explicitly and systematically developed. But there were almost no social scientists at this conference and, although the importance of social-science training is insisted upon, its content and the means of establishing communication between the disciplines are only cursorily dealt with.

Persons interested in psychiatry, medicine, social work, and the social sciences are among those who should find much useful data here. And it provides, in passing, an interesting documentation of the problems of a changing specialty seeking to establish a stable place for itself within medicine and in the mind of the public.

HARVEY L. SMITH

*University of North Carolina
at Chapel Hill*

Whom We Shall Welcome. By PRESIDENT'S COMMISSION ON IMMIGRATION AND NATURALIZATION. Washington, D.C.: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1952. Pp.xv+319.\$0.75.

With the passage of the latest collection of legislation in this field, the Immigration and Nationality Act of 1952 (generally known as the McCarran-Walter Act) President Truman appointed a distinguished commission to study the entire problem and bring in appropriate recommendations. The present report is the work of the commission. It proceeded to call

in six hundred and thirty-four notable public leaders and social scientists. Their major conclusion was that the act was not based upon sound fundamental principles, that it increased existing discrimination and introduced new injustices.

The commission found that the McCarran-Walter Act of 1952 accepted the implicit racist principles of the national origins quota system, a carryover of the melting-pot views of the early twenties. It takes no account of the sociological developments in this field in the last thirty years. Senator McCarran does speak of the need of preserving the "sociological and cultural balance" of the American population, but it is an ethnocentric homogeneity in which population selection is limited as defined by the National Origins Act. Implicit, of course, in such a population policy is the concept of the unassimilability of recent immigrant groups. That American ethnic groups in general, and not just "certain unassimilable elements," persist as cultural entities is ignored.

Perhaps the most backward aspect of the 1952 act is its position on civil liberties. Proceeding on the assumption that the constitution does not protect aliens, it views deportation not as criminal punishment and holds that the constitutional safeguards with respect to jury trial, unreasonable searches, and post facto prohibitions, are not applicable. In addition the 1952 act gives the President power to give governmental functionaries practically unreviewable discretion to exclude aliens and to deport those who have engaged in political activity now proscribed, even if it ceased many years ago, and at the time was not forbidden by law. By expanding the grounds on which naturalized citizens may lose their citizenship, the 1952 act has removed the stability of citizenship for naturalized citizens. This, in effect, has created two classes of citizens.

The commission's more important recommendations are: the national-origins quota system should be abolished; there should be a unified quota system, which would allocate visas without regard to national origin, race, creed, or color; the maximum annual quota immigration should be one-sixth of 1 per cent of the population of the United States, as determined by the most recent census; the same officials should not be permitted to exercise both enforcement and judicial functions; the conditions for admission and deportation of aliens to and from the United States should

bear a reasonable relationship to the national welfare and security; the security of the United States should be protected by continuing to bar the entry of spies and saboteurs, but aliens who are former members or affiliates of any totalitarian party may be admitted, provided they have repudiated and are now opposed to such totalitarian ideologies; and the law should extend to naturalized citizens the same status as the native-born enjoy.

The commission has created a lasting monument to the good sense of President Truman. Its report will be much with us in the coming years in our work as sociologists and our concern as citizens.

SIMON MARCSON

Brooklyn College

Group Dynamics: Research and Theory. Edited by DORWIN CARTWRIGHT and ALVIN ZANDER. Evanston, Ill.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1953. Pp. xiii+642.

The experimental research on small groups which figures so prominently in current debates over proper directions for social science has now found its first "reader." But this is no potpourri; it is an attempt to show that small-group research is accomplishing something, and it succeeds very well.

Five foci of current research are singled out and a section—comprising from three to ten reports of empirical research, together with an introductory integrative chapter—is organized around each. The largest group of studies is of such phenomena as the group anchorage of ostensibly individual opinions and attitudes, the dynamics of interpersonal influence, the differential consequences for productivity and morale of co-operative and competitive arrangements or of one pattern of supervision rather than another—all examples of impressive continuity with Lewin's work. At the same time, Lewin's much criticized vector language ("valence," "force," "locomotion," "region") is often employed. Continuously in evidence, too, is the amazing ingenuity associated with his research, which is displayed in a seemingly boundless ability to scale anything at all to small-group size and shape it for experimental manipulation. The validity of these "translations" remains a major question, of course, but at least one of the manifestations of "art" in social science is right here in the camp of the quantitative enemy, where, for example, one finds (though this is by no means explicitly claimed) Germany and

America experimentally contrasted in the making of masks by two groups of children.

Well over half the empirical studies are reports of experiments in the "laboratory," with groups assembled for the occasion by the experimenter. A third or so are studies conducted in natural settings—housing communities, children's camps, factories, etc.—with "real life" groups, though some of these are experiments, too, in the sense that matched groups are observed and compared with respect to experimentally controlled variations. Most of the field studies, however, as well as some of the laboratory work, are analyses of patterns of interaction in various situations (disaster, task-oriented discussion, housing communities, etc.) and their relationship to such things as shared opinions and appraisal of self and others.

The book is strong precisely in that it does not succeed in presenting a review of small-group research as, in fact, it sometimes pretends to do. The studies either derive directly from the group-dynamics tradition or are selected because of their relevance for the theoretical concerns which this tradition has developed. As a matter of fact, the book points out very neatly some of the positive functions of working within the bounds of a research-oriented theoretical tradition, for the latter sensitizes its adherents to parallel and reinforcing findings emanating from ostensibly disparate studies. Moreover, a theoretical tradition leads to the making of testable derivations. For example, if ostensibly individual opinions and attitudes are, in fact, anchored in small groups, it follows that the changing of these opinions and attitudes must not be a purely private matter. This case is neatly built up and tested at many points in one of the strongest sections of the book, "Group Processes and Group Standards." What is more, a tradition keeps the investigator alert to contradictions and paradoxes—sometimes the most fruitful products of empirical research—thus leading to reconceptualizations as well as to the identification of the conditions under which one or another relationship obtains.

The one place where review is most seriously attempted is, as a matter of fact, quite unsuccessful. This occurs in a nonempirical (sixth) section of the book—section 1—where a number of programmatic statements, representative of several other small-group research traditions, are presented. But there is little justification for simply placing difficult programmatic statements reflecting varying "approaches" at the

beginning of a book organized around a quite different program. Even more, it is hardly fair to the guest theorists to have omitted in a book on empirical research the very research which they themselves have developed.

The great problem, of course, is the problem of generalizing from the findings of experimental small-group research. Can one learn anything about, say, low-status groups in the community at large from an experiment of several minutes' duration in which status differences are "induced" by the experimenter with reference to an unusual, perhaps nonego-involving, task and in which subjects communicate by written messages with others whom they have never seen before and will not see again? Or, more generally, if the group were a "real" group rather than a collection of anonymous individuals, would the results be at all the same?

There well may be real situations that correspond even to some of the more fantastic-sounding experimental situations; extrapolation in such cases would certainly seem legitimate. Then, too, there are actual situations that permit rigorous experimental design; shuttling back and forth between laboratory and field seems to be gaining popularity in small-group research. Furthermore, some of the things we might hesitate to accept are testable—sometimes in the laboratory itself. For example, why cannot one find out how the Asch experiment (chap. xii) would work if the "group" were really a group, or how the stratification experiment (Kelley, chap. xxx) or the co-operative competitive experiment (Deutsch, chap. xxiii) would work in another culture, or under what conditions the size of the group or its duration would restrict generalization? And, in fact, several studies reported here begin to do just that: Hare (chap. xxxiv) considers variation in group size and its effect on interaction and consensus; French (chap. x) compares real groups and contrived groups. One looks forward to considerably more work along these lines.

Of the twenty-six papers in this book which were reprinted from journals, only four appeared in sociological journals; *Human Relations* and the *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* account for eighteen. Yet, while a sociopsychological emphasis predominates in them, the sociological emphasis on individuals in interaction is evident in a significant proportion.

ELIHU KATZ

University of Chicago

Society in Action: A Study of Basic Social Processes. By JOYCE O. HERTZLER. New York: Dryden Press, 1954. Pp. xii+452. \$5.25.

This introduction to the principles of sociology belongs in the tradition of introductory texts which stresses concepts and generalizations rather than illustrations and American society. It is designed for a sophomore. The advantage of such a text is that it represents an effort to transmit a systematic body of knowledge and draw upon the best theoretical work as well as the concrete research. Its major advantage is in combining a high level of abstraction with theoretical points of view which are not ready for joining.

The author has made a serious effort to present a thorough statement of sociological principles. He has drawn upon the major theoretical work, both old and new, in American sociology and is thoroughly familiar with the empirical literature. Yet the book is forbiddingly abstract even for a class of intelligent sophomores. For the author to suggest that the student can supply his own illustrations presupposes that the student first understand the principle as it is stated. It is doubtful whether this will be easy, particularly since Hertzler, in his scientific caution, frequently qualifies his generalizations in a single sentence with a long series of modifying adjectives.

A second difficulty is presented by the variety of theoretical viewpoints espoused and presented. At the present time functional theory, with its stress on values, is not completely compatible with processual theory, with anthropological theory, or with biologically oriented ecology. Hence the effort to state the fundamental generalizations of these approaches within one text and as if they were one body of theory is certain to prove confusing to students. Yet it remains true that such efforts, even though they result in partial failure, are a necessary part of the growth of the discipline and a greater achievement, perhaps, than some easy successes.

WILLIAM L. KOLB

Tulane University

Isn't One Wife Enough? By KIMBALL YOUNG. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xiv+476. \$6.00.

What happens when people reared as monogamous Protestants accept polygyny both as an

ideal and as a duty laid upon them by divine revelation? Kimball Young describes the experience of the Latter-Day Saints after their prophet Joseph Smith introduced "celestial marriage." Practiced secretly in Nauvoo after 1843 and openly in Utah after 1852, this doctrine soon symbolized for Mormon and non-Mormon alike the conflict which religious innovation had caused between the Saints and their fellow-Americans, a conflict which Professor Young traces to the defeat and suppression of the "peculiar institution." Starting and ending in secrecy, polygamy had about one generation of relative peace in which stable reciprocal patterns of expectations and action were developed. Since revelation enjoined few concrete forms, since previous experience had been entirely monogamous, and since the sentiments associated with monogamy were deeply imbedded in the character of the practitioners, serious problems had to be faced. Kimball Young examines these problems, and it would be difficult to imagine an analyst better qualified by background and professional training. After a presentation of both the non-Mormon and the Mormon view—"a remnant of barbarism" to the Gentile; "exalting in its tendency" to the Saint—two aspects of polygamy are considered in a sample of 175 families. What patterns were emerging when prosecution ended the experiment? What psychological conflicts were generated by gentile opposition and the contrary dictates of earlier beliefs?

Polygamy tended to coincide with high social, occupational, and economic status. Over half the families presenting sufficient data were successful in making the new system work, and only a quarter showed "considerable conflict." Competition between married and unmarried men in conditions of no great sex disparity gave rise to some norms. In addition to the formal requirement that the first wife be consulted, married men were expected to give place to single men, and parents were to be consulted before courtship went far. Whether later wives were to be consulted before another spouse was taken was never settled, although some leading church families, feeling responsible for making the ideal work well, did so. Courtship of plural wives was short, and romantic love was minimized. It was almost always conducted serially, although "occasionally a zealous and courageous Saint would try courting two women at the same time." Many polygamous marriages were among people from polygamous families

themselves. One-fifth of the husbands married sisters.

In the important matters of the relative status of wives, separate or joint residence, and inheritance, few stable patterns evolved. The families were happier when in separate dwellings. Justified theologically as providing earthly tabernacles for waiting spirits, polygamy emphasized childbearing as the prime wifely function. A "race for babies" was sometimes added to other feminine and domestic matters in the competition of wives which was common, since no rule of wife-ranking existed. In cases where one wife was dominant, co-operation was often excellent. Such domination usually emulated the mistress-servant or mother-daughter relation. Strain resulted from a carry-over of monogamous attitudes, status anxiety, temperamental differences, economic hardship, unconscious guilt, and even "resentment if not downright disbelief in the system." Divorces, though disapproved, were granted. Polygamy made monogamous wives insecure, while the introduction of another wife often upset a polygamous family. Child-rearing also followed earlier practices, except that the father was more removed from influence upon early childhood. The status of the plural wife and her children was weakened by their being illegitimate. The attempt to change this situation, first by providing an escape from, and later abolishing, the dower right of the legal widow, was the high point in the search for legality. Its failure gave rise to two informal patterns—some division of property before death and legal marriage to the second wife after the first died.

In the 1880's the persecution which forced Wilford Woodruff's *Manifesto* abandoning the new system led to the establishment of the "underground," which facilitated dispersion and deception. Abandonment was followed by the difficult adjustment which involved resistance, resignation, and considerable revision of former official values.

Unfortunately, the book is not so well organized as one could wish in a definitive work on the subject. There are no tables or charts, and one is left to ferret out statistics from the text. There is no description of the sample, which is apparently heavily weighted by southern Utah families. In short, the publishers have not done justice to their author. One suspects that the title was chosen to spice up a scholarly study.

THOMAS F. O'DEA

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Diary of a Self-made Convict. By ALFRED HASSLER. Chicago: Henry Regnery Co., 1954. Pp. viii+182. \$3.00.

It is unfortunate that it is impractical to require those who are instrumental in sending people to prison to qualify for their jobs by first serving a short sentence themselves. If more of these authorities could have an experience like that of Hassler's, it is safe to say that they would be less careless with other people's time than they now are and that there would be fewer prisoners.

The author was sentenced to serve three years in a federal penitentiary because he was a conscientious objector. He actually served about nine months, when he was paroled. Prior to conviction, he had been a newspaperman and an editor for a religious publishing house. The incarceration of persons of this kind is clearly unrelated to "rehabilitation" or "protection of society," being justifiable only as a wartime punitive measure. It might be argued that the presence of well-educated persons of high moral character, like Hassler, in the inmate population is a constructive influence of more importance and greater effectiveness than the efforts of the professional staff.

Hassler presents his day-by-day experiences in a calm, reasonable, matter-of-fact way. He becomes indignant or bitter only occasionally. He describes his experiences and his fellow-inmates realistically, sympathetically, and often humorously. As Barnes says in the Foreword, the total impression given is that there is no such thing as a "good" prison. The very organization of the prison situation is such that prisoners and officials are set apart from each other as two opposed and hostile groups. The attitudes acquired by the prisoners are determined much more by this than by the good intentions of the staff.

Hassler's book really contributes nothing new, for the evils of prisons have long been known and have been described often. The problem is knowing what to do about it and creating sufficient public interest to get it done. However, this work is a reminder that the problem is still there, despite the progress that has been made in eliminating some of the grosser evils of the older prisons.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

Issues in the Study of Talent. By DOUGLAS W. BRAY. New York: Columbia University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+65. \$2.00.

Having examined the psychological literature on ability, the author presents a brief ground-clearing discussion of the current research issues and follows with a proposal for further steps to be undertaken by the Columbia University project in Conservation of Human Resources.

In general, both parts are good. A minor criticism: he decided to concentrate on three types of superior persons—those prominent in musical performance, in physical science, and in business administration. According to the author, "the problem of establishing criteria for success among business executives can be met tentatively by deciding that individuals who have achieved certain positions of power and prestige are by definition superior performers." Very probably, research will eventually reveal this to be a strategic fallacy.

The research will be worth watching. It might have been even more advanced if the sociological literature had been read as well as the psychological.

ROBERT E. L. FARIS

University of Washington

Wildcat Strike. By ALVIN W. GOULDNER. Yellow Springs, Ohio: Antioch Press, 1954. Pp. 179. \$3.00.

This book, a companion piece to a previous report on an industrial plant, justifies its presentation of "the rudiments of a general theory of group tensions" as a bridge between a pure and an applied sociology.

A "wildcat" is defined as a strike in which the official union leaders have lost control to unofficial leaders; the issues are of little interest to official union and management leaders; and the "workers' aggression" is directed at the "run-around"—i.e., delay in handling grievances. The strike under study occurred in 1950 in a gypsum factory employing 225 workers (75 in a subsurface mine), located in a small town on the fringe of an urban area. It lasted ten days.

The book offers a careful description and analysis of the strike. There follow seventeen propositions in a "generalized theory of group tensions," using such variables as the specificity, legitimacy, integration, and perception of expectations; the desire for approval; negative

transference; distrust; power expectations; deferred gratification; constraints; etc. The propositions are illustrated by the strike data. Some are tautological; most can easily be "disproved" by counterexample.

Several "disorganization patterns"—social and cultural threats which disrupt social systems—are discussed: e.g., role conflicts, authoritarian administration; succession and strategic replacements, which involve "legitimation crises" and the "resistance of old lieutenants"; technological innovations; market pressures; and role discontinuities.

Analysis of the interplay between such organizational threats and the defenses they call forth serves as a summary of the basic "episodes" in the strike: "*equilibrium*": when labor-management relations are relatively stable; "*disorganization and defense*": when the market changes and it becomes harder to sell goods or find jobs; "*development of organizational character*": a compromise strike settlement includes new rules stating both parties' rights and obligations and clearer standards for settling grievances. In general, organizational character moved in the direction of bureaucracy, and tensions remained, initiating a "vicious circle."

This book alternates between perceptive sociological analysis and extreme psychologizing. Professor Gouldner notes, for instance, that the workers use colorful anatomical terms to refer to their foremen, who, they say, "would stick a knife in you." Interpretation: for some men "the strike was motivated, on a very deep and unconscious level, by a desire to ward off a homosexual attack," or, in the phrasing Gouldner prefers, by an attack on basic conceptions of self, especially of manhood (pp. 73-74). It seems equally plausible to suggest that language usage varies by social class, that industrial workers with the most varied fantasy lives (both here and in Europe) frequently use identical designations for their managers.

Gouldner guides his analysis of interview material by the assumption (reminiscent of the Mayo group's work in Western Electric) that a "symptom" is a "complaint about something," useful only in identifying "zones of disturbance." The industrial sociologist, like the physician, can never take it at its face value. Thus we get a list of "symptoms" of the "more fundamental conditions underlying the strike" (pp. 42-43, 45, 50, 52, 87, 122, 139-40)—such as complaints about (1) an engineer who speeded up production; (2) a long-standing personal

feud between the engineer and the chief steward; (3) the workers' bitter memory of depression unemployment and presumably the current "uncertain" state of the product and labor markets; (4) the importation of work from a near-by struck plant of the same company. The implication seems to be that a wage issue is never really a wage issue, a speed-up never a speed-up, concern about unemployment is never really what it seems, and so on. A more moderate view might change many of the interpretations.

Offsetting occasional lapses are some very good passages indeed. Noteworthy are the discussion of official union leadership as a block, not a channel, to "upward communication"; the accent on what is communicated vis-à-vis the length and strength of the lines; and a good analysis of the problem of the labor contract, drawing upon one of our earlier "structural-functionalists," John R. Commons. Throughout, there is keen sensitivity to "environment" (market, community) in the analysis of in-plant social relations.

This is an uneven book, clear but repetitious. Its flashes of insight are sometimes dimmed by comfortable Freudian explanations. To the practitioner much of it is obvious. To the sociologist it is useful chiefly because so few descriptions of "wildcats" are available and this is one that tries to theorize without ignoring the data.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Michigan

Personnel Resources in the Social Sciences and the Humanities: A Survey of the Characteristics and Economic Status of Professional Workers in 14 Fields of Specialization.
By UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF LABOR.
(United States Department of Labor Bull. 1169.) Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Labor, 1954. Pp. 140. \$0.70.

This bulletin presents the findings of a mail survey conducted by the American Council of Learned Societies in 1952 at the request of the Department of Defense. The purpose of the survey was to provide the government with information about the nation's resources of personnel with specialized training and experience in the social sciences and in certain of the humanities. Membership lists of the professional societies were used as a sample, from which the data were collected on age, education, income, area of spe-

cialization, and job experience. The findings on sociologists were: their median age was thirty-seven. Younger sociologists tended to specialize in public opinion and communication and social psychology. Older sociologists concentrated on the family and rural-urban sociology. Social organization was the major area of specialization for most sociologists (13 per cent), and nearly as many (11 per cent) specialized in some branch of applied sociology, such as human relations in industry or penology and correction. Significantly, less than 1 per cent listed themselves as specialists in theory.

Forty-eight per cent of sociologists who replied hold the Ph.D. degree, and 36 per cent hold the M.A. This is compared unfavorably with history's 64 per cent with Ph.D.'s and anthropology with 50 per cent, and favorably with economics, where 47 per cent are Ph.D.'s; political science, 39 per cent; and statistics, 18 per cent.

Only 12 per cent of the sociologists who replied were working outside the field in 1952, and only 3 per cent were unemployed. Three-quarters were employed by colleges or universities, of whom 20 per cent did full-time research. Eleven per cent were employed in either federal or state government, and only 3 per cent were employed in private industry. Such employment, however, was far more frequent among economists, of whom 28 per cent are in government and 10 per cent in industry; among political scientists, 44 per cent in government; and among statisticians, 45 per cent in government and 23 per cent in industry. An interesting relationship between age and employment and between education and employment characterized all groups in the sample: in general, college faculty members were the oldest respondents in their field; employees of the federal government were intermediate in age; and respondents in private industry were the youngest of all. Similarly, most Ph.D.'s worked for universities; fewer in government; and fewest of all in private industry.

The median annual salary for sociologists in 1952 was \$5,100. This does not include additional income obtained from writing, consulting, and extra teaching. This situation is favorably compared with persons in linguistics and literature, in history and the other humanities, and in geography (average income, \$4,900). It is unfavorably compared with scholars in statistics, political science, economics, and anthropology (average income, \$6,100). Regardless of

age and education, industry paid best, government next best, and the universities least of all. The type of organization for which a social scientist or humanist works is likely to have an even greater effect on his salary than length of experience or extent of education.

Finally, 15 per cent of the sociologists who replied were women. As in all the other disciplines sampled, women sociologists earned less than the men (by \$600), had less education (21 per cent fewer Ph.D.'s), and, on the average, were older by five years.

This is an excellent source of data on the nation's personnel resources in the social sciences and humanities. Even though the data over-represent respondents who belong to the professional societies (i.e., the better-educated, university-employed), it offers a large body of useful and interesting information. Further, it is clearly written and attractively presented. It is encouraging to know that the government was prompted to collect the information by a belief that "... many critical national and international problems must be approached through intensive study and understanding of the history and culture of various countries and the behavior of individuals in their relations with each other."

ARTHUR S. BARRON

Research Institute of America

Register of Research in the Social Sciences in Progress and in Plan, No. 11: 1953-1954. Edited by FEODORA STONE. London: National Institute of Economic and Social Research; New York: Cambridge University Press, 1955. Pp. viii+168. \$4.50.

The annual register of social research projects under way in Britain is so important a work of reference that the *Journal* wants to bring it sharply to the attention of its readers.

The projects are numbered and classified by subject, so that one can easily find what he is interested in. The volume contains also a directory of research institutions and indexes of the projects by institution where they are being done, of research workers' names, and of the projects by subject.

The projects in economics are by far the most numerous; a fairly elaborate system of subheadings has been developed for them. Studies which might be called "sociological" in this country

appear under cultural anthropology, demography, industrial relations, social psychology, and social surveys, as well as under the heading of sociology. The term "social survey" is used in the older sense of description of conditions and social services in a community. There is no heading for opinion surveys; nor do I find projects of that kind, in a hurried leafing through.

The register lists 1,688 projects, of which 736 are theses. The projects listed have become more numerous year by year, which means, I suppose, that more social research is being un-

dertaken. A good part of the increase appears, however, to be in the number of unfinished theses listed year after year. This means that the British universities are indeed becoming Americanized.

I believe most North American social scientists will find work closely related to their own in the *Register*. They might even find some refreshingly different.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

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SOCIOLOGICAL THEORY AND CONTEMPORARY POLITICS¹

BARRINGTON MOORE, JR.

ABSTRACT

Much contemporary theory utilizes laboratory and logical reflection for simplifying reality. Since social reality often fails to reveal the regularly recurring uniformities necessary for theory, the results are often arid. But scientific analysis can be applied to many politically significant problems despite their uniqueness. The available body of theory emphasizes equilibrium and process. Without contradicting its assumptions, equilibrium theory cannot cope with important forms of social change, which are more successfully analyzed by theories of process. Analysis based on alternative possibilities might yield richer results than attempts to make firm predictions.

I

Whenever two sociologists are gathered together, to paraphrase a famous remark by Adam Smith, they are likely to engage in conspiratorial complaints about the low state of the discipline. A major source of our self-criticism is the absence of any sizable core of established theory, any framework of general propositions strong enough to convince a substantial part of the profession.² As one of my colleagues is fond of remarking, sociology is the science with the hollow frontier.³

Another, though perhaps a less frequent,

¹ With pleasure I acknowledge the support of the Center for International Studies, Massachusetts Institute of Technology, and of the Russian Research Center, Harvard University.

² But see Franz L. Neumann, "Approaches to the Study of Political Power," *Political Science Quarterly*, LXV, No. 2 (June, 1950), 161-80, which I regard as the most successful attempt thus far at codifying theories on power.

³ See George C. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt Brace & Co., 1950), chap. i.

complaint is that the main stream of contemporary sociological research ignores the central problems of our own epoch and society: the retreat and transformation of the capitalist order, the rise of totalitarianism, or the colonial revolution. Since ideas about appropriate scientific strategy necessarily concern both theory and empirical research, the sources of dissatisfaction are related. Differing assumptions about strategy lead to quite different diagnoses of the malady and proposals as to a remedy. We should not be unduly disturbed if we discover that full agreement is impossible; a variety of strategies, even if we quarrel among ourselves, may be a healthy sign of potential intellectual growth.

We may distinguish two main lines of thought in the diagnosis of the present state of sociology. The distinction between them corresponds very roughly to that between an emphasis on pure science and one on historical understanding of unique problems or between generalizing and individualizing tendencies in the analysis of human affairs.

Lacking any better terms, I call one the "modern" and the other the "old-fashioned" diagnosis. My own sympathies incline rather strongly toward the latter, though both views apparently lead to absurdities if pressed rigorously toward their conclusions. Moreover, no single sociologist necessarily adheres entirely to either viewpoint in the way each is presented here; both are constructs, made to appraise certain intellectual problems.

The modern diagnosis runs somewhat as follows. Science advances insofar as it can find adequate procedures for simplifying and ordering its factual raw materials. In contrast to earlier days the raw world of nature is now often regarded as a chaotic mass on which the scientist to some extent imposes his own order. In part this simplification is achieved through the laboratory, where irrelevant factors are excluded and relevant ones studied until the pattern of their relationship becomes clear. In part it is also achieved by disciplined logical reflection no longer tied to any factual base. By this view theory advances to the extent that it can free itself from the prepossessions of common sense and the observations of facts as they occur in nature. What is called for is the act of creative imagination, best exemplified in the work of the pure mathematician, who explores the pattern of implications in a set of assumptions of his own choosing. Such reasoning lies behind much of the constructing of "ideal types" and mathematical models of portions of social reality. To be sure, as even the most theoretically minded emphasize, it is essential to return from time to time to the world of verifiable observations. But the observations in themselves are not necessarily the source of progress.⁴ Newton, it might be argued by a "modernist," came to his conclusions not by carefully observing the fall of an apple but by trying to reach a principle. Furthermore, it is not necessary that the principle conform to known or even possible facts, as

witness the concept of motion without friction.

Thus the modernist diagnosis in the social sciences stresses stricter laboratory methods at one end of the intellectual spectrum and imaginative theory at the other, the whole to be tied together somehow by interdisciplinary co-operation, to provide eventually an intellectual synthesis of man's knowledge of man. When this synthesis is achieved, the "modernist" might continue, it will be an extraordinarily powerful tool for the analysis of social problems as they are usually conceived. In the meantime, as progress is made in this direction, by-products may be expected that will yield increased understanding of current problems. But they should definitely and firmly be regarded as mere by-products. Indeed, if we deflect our attention from pure science, we shall merely dissipate our energies in trying to solve problems presented with the headlines and will never achieve our fundamental aims. The more optimistic would add that this failure would be a loss from the standpoint of general welfare, while the more pessimistic are inclined to hold that firmer scientific analysis is likely to reveal many problems to be inherently insoluble and must therefore be a goal in its own right.

In their counterdiagnosis those sympathetic to the old-fashioned standpoint might use the following arguments. Sociologists and other social scientists are persistently frustrating themselves because they set themselves inherently impossible goals. As our critics from Dilthey onward have been fond of remarking, considerable areas of human behavior do not display the regularly recurring uniformities that are the necessary empirical basis of scientific generalization. No amount of intellectual agility, for example, can overcome the differences among the numerous revolutions that have taken place in human history and reduce them to a common pattern. Similarities there may be, but they are of such a broad and general nature as to be unenlightening, and they become less enlightening the more

⁴ See the many instances cited by H. Butterfield, *The Origins of Modern Science* (London: G. Bell & Sons, Ltd., 1949), chaps. ii-iv.

cases one tries to cover with a theory.

Here the old-fashioned sociologist may contrast the fate of Newtonian physics with that of classical economics. Both tried to explain a wide range of phenomena with a minimum number of postulates and in time encountered observations that these postulates could handle only with very great difficulty, if at all. In the case of physics, however, it was not necessary to discard the older views altogether. Instead they were recognized as part of a larger system of valid theory whose applicability was more limited than originally supposed. While some inconsistencies between the old and the new remain, the physicists hope that they will eventually be ironed out. Within their field Newtonian principles still stand.

In the case of classical economics the situation is different. The difference is one of so many degrees as to constitute almost a qualitative distinction. According to many economists, the structure of industrial society has so changed that the major postulates of classical economics no longer apply to any significant extent, particularly those concerned with free competition and the organization of production into units so numerous that no unit by itself can influence price. Though there may be some economic or sociological principles that are just as applicable to Melanesian society as to the United States, we have to work out a new set of postulates for the internal dynamics of each stage of social development. If in the course of less than two hundred years the physicist's postulates no longer serve to predict the movements of the planets, it would be roughly parallel to the position of the classical economist today. Thus, while creative imagination is essential, it is not omnipotent. We have to take nature as it comes, the old-fashioned sociologist might conclude, and cannot impose arbitrary uniformities where none exists.

From there he might press on to the offensive. Since any attempt to construct a grand analytical scheme, a universal mathematics for social science, is doomed from the start to become nothing but an arid formal-

ism, the mere ordering of words or symbols into categories is no achievement, unless it can be shown that these verbal patterns have their counterpart in observable reality. As Santayana has observed, "Without reference to their illustration in things, all consistent propositions would be equally valid and equally trivial. Important truth is truth about something."⁶ Modern formal sociology, the old-fashioned scholar might continue, gradually working himself up to a frenzy, represents merely a retreat from the world of real problems. It promotes a trained incapacity to seek any disciplined comprehension of our social and political environment.

To one who accepts any substantial part of this reasoning it follows that the sociologist can expect to make better progress, both scientifically and practically, if he tries to "know something about something" and limits his objectives to a manageable scope. The old-fashioned thinker defines his task in terms of problems to be solved, concrete relationships to be discovered, instead of the erection of a systematic framework of analysis.

II

When pushed as far as it will go, the old-fashioned position breaks down into the absurdity of dogmatic historicism, or the doctrine that all human behavior consists of unique events to be explained by other unique events. The discovery of relationships that hold for more than a single occasion, as in the study of kinship, provides empirical evidence that we are not reduced to historicism for all areas of social life. However, the study of kinship systems, despite its undoubted significance in the demonstration of certain kinds of formal order in human affairs, does not appear to be a strategic point of entry for the understanding of twentieth-century life. This point is of little concern to those who stand on the position of pure science, as do many of the

⁶ George Santayana, *The Life of Reason: Reason in Science* (2d ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1948), p. 32.

"modernists." But if the possibility of creating any very substantial pure science is doubted, and if it is further believed that most knowledge in the social sciences will always be contingent on a particular, if not necessarily altogether unique, set of circumstances, then the point becomes very relevant indeed.

No doubt there is always some conflict between the requirements of understanding the present and those of constructing valid theory for the sake of future knowledge, just as in everyday life there is a conflict between present consumption and saving for future consumption. But in sociology, as in everyday life, I do not believe that the conflict is altogether irreconcilable. From the standpoint offered here, theory can be regarded as a set of tools whose usefulness is tested in their ability to solve concrete problems. There is a division of labor between the toolmakers, or the theorists, and the tool-users, who work on concrete problems, though it is not an absolute one. Indeed, it would be most unfortunate if the two occupations developed into castes.

In more formal terms it may be argued that a major function of sociologists, though by no means the sole one, is the analysis of the grosser structural features of the world in which they live. This would include assessments of possible and probable future developments in particular national states and the likely consequences of various policy alternatives. In turn, concern with these problems involves the analysis of movements and circumstances that will be in many respects unique.

Sociologists need not be frightened off by the dogma that science does not study the unique. In its most sophisticated form, this doctrine holds that whatever understanding we have of a unique event is limited to the more general features that it shares with other events. Thus we understand Caesar's act of crossing the Rubicon in terms of one or more universal categories, such as political ambition, that are common to many men. Undoubtedly we never understand the unique in all its details and all its complexi-

ty. But this does not eliminate the possibility of understanding one unique constellation of forces in terms of another and equally unique constellation. Ordinarily such understanding is regarded as historical,⁶ but it can equally be labeled "scientific" if the relationship is formulated in a way that can be proved or disproved by evidence. Hitherto unknown relations often turn up in this way that later are found to have wider applicability and to gain the respected status of universals. Gaetano Mosca is one of the sociologists who has made many suggestive generalizations on the basis of limited historical illustrations.

In sociology it appears that we frequently face a task of understanding a series of universals that are combined in more or less unique patterns. What forces produced fascism in Germany? To what extent are the same forces at work in the United States? How does their combination, among themselves and with other forces, differ so that we may expect a different result? In comparing one pattern of events against another, we have to be able to discriminate, to assess differences as well as similarities.

In this connection there is no a priori reason to adopt a rigidly determinist attitude. To be sure, there may be, in the concrete situation, certain inherent trends that will work themselves out no matter what anyone thinks or does. On the other hand, in most cases we shall be concerned with a range of possible alternative outcomes, some more probable than others. Certain outcomes will mean higher costs for those involved than will others. A depression can be overcome in ways that put a heavy burden on powerful groups, or it can be allowed to continue, different costs being differently distributed. What actually takes place will depend partly on people's understanding of the situation, including elements in their recent experience, as witness the American and British attitudes toward appeasement of dictators in the 1930's and 1950's! To the

⁶ Cf. Heinrich Rickert, *Kulturwissenschaft und Naturwissenschaft* (7th ed.; Tübingen: J. C. B. Mohr, 1926).

extent that it enters into people's understanding, social science can nullify its own Cassandra-like predictions. At the moment this happy day seems to be sufficiently far off to eliminate any risk of unemployment among those of us with naturally somber dispositions.

III

What theoretical tools does sociology now possess for a scientific study of unique social phenomena, especially of the major structural characteristics and trends of our own era?

In nineteenth- and twentieth-century theories one may distinguish two types of emphases. I shall designate one "equilibrium theory" and the other "process theory." They are by no means antithetical, but at the same time there are very significant differences in the type of research problems that each suggests.

In equilibrium theory the key assumption is that any social system tends toward a state of rest in which the conflicts and strains among its component parts are reduced to a minimum. In its recent elaboration by the structural functional school, the main line of questioning for empirical investigations concerns the determination of the functional imperatives, or prerequisites, of a society or part of a society. Were this social system to continue, what activities would have to be carried out, what forms of social organization would be necessary, and what limits are there on the ways in which these forms can be combined with one another?⁷

As Parsons makes quite explicit, the equilibrium assumption is not one about empirical facts. Instead it is a theoretical assumption that serves to order a larger body of theory into a consistent whole.⁸ Those who work with structural functional theory are for the most part thoroughly aware that

social systems do not continue without change. They see history as strewn with the wreckage of social systems that have failed to meet their functional imperatives. Nevertheless, by determining what is necessary for a system to continue, they argue, one may also discover the foci of strain and potential change. Therefore it is not true that structural functional theory is completely unable to cope with problems of social change, as its critics frequently assert.

Reading the literature of this school, one easily gains the impression that it is straining to create a form of process theory but is having great difficulty in so doing. Thus, in a chapter called "The Processes of Change of Social Systems," Parsons writes, in italics, that "*a general theory of the processes of change of social systems is not possible in the present state of knowledge.*"⁹ Elsewhere he speaks of a "moving equilibrium," which he defines in part as an "orderly process of change" in a society which nevertheless retains the "conditions of distinctiveness . . . within its boundaries over against its environment."¹⁰

No doubt there are several reasons for the difficulties faced by this school in treating historical change. However, a central obstacle may be the concept of equilibrium itself. Without doing violence to its principles, equilibrium theory cannot account for change except in one direction, that is, toward some point of ultimate stability. Hence it cannot cope effectively with some of the most important actual types of change. The elaboration of social institutions beyond the point of any visible utility, for example, finds no place in the theory.¹¹ Likewise, the theory, at least in its present form, is inadequate for explaining how attempts to meet the functional requirements of a social system can lead to a modification in its structure. For example, in the judgment of some historians, the attempts made by later Roman emperors to strengthen the Empire contributed to the growth of feudalism or

⁷ Marion J. Levy, Jr., *The Structure of Society* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952), pp. 39, 211-26.

⁸ Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951), p. 481.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 486.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 36.

¹¹ As noted by Levy, *op. cit.*, p. 46.

to the replacement of one social system by quite a different one. In modern times the New Deal may be plausibly regarded as an attempt to shore up American capitalism, that is, to meet its functional requirements. But this process in turn led to marked modification of American society. Precisely such large-scale movements, generated by internal as well as external conditions in a society, constitute the heart of the problem of understanding our epoch as well as others.

No doubt the structural functional school can find a place in its elaborate scheme of categories for the types of phenomena just mentioned. They might be described as unanticipated and dysfunctional consequences of behavior. However, that amounts to throwing the equilibrium assumption overboard. It says in effect that tendencies toward equilibrium are unexpectedly producing change, a contradiction in terms. Furthermore, this approach conceals causal relations that may exist over time as one social system generates its successor.

At this point it may be illuminating to contrast equilibrium theory with Marxism. As we have seen, under equilibrium theory it is very difficult and perhaps impossible to account for the vicious circle, so common in history, when a progressively deteriorating state of affairs leads to a revolutionary explosion. Marxism, among other forms of process theory, puts this situation at the center of its intellectual scheme. In this way time is brought in to reveal what is asserted to be a causal relationship. Where equilibrium theory produces correlations, Marxism tries to produce causal connections. For a Marxist it is almost as difficult to conceive of a situation returning to a state of maximum harmony as it is for an equilibrium theorist to conceive of a self-generating cycle of ever fiercer struggle culminating in destruction. Both equilibrium theory and Marxism, as well as other forms of process theory, if pursued with dogmatic vigor, give rise to elaborate intellectual structures that illuminate important segments of social reality and leave others obscure. Since equilibrium theory fails us at a crucial point, we

must look further to process theory for help, aware that it, too, will have its limitations.

Among process theorists one may include, in addition to Marx, such diverse figures as Cooley, Durkheim, Keller, Sorokin, Ogburn, and many others. Within this diversified assembly of ideas it is possible to detect, nevertheless, a common proposition: Any given state of human affairs is likely to contain within it the seeds of its own transformation into a new and different state. This assumption of immanent and continuous change represents, I would suggest, the key assumption and distinguishing feature of process theory. At the same time we should be careful to note that the distinction between the two viewpoints is not watertight. Though fundamental differences appear, there is considerable overlapping.

Even theories emphasizing that every society harbors the seeds of its own destruction share with equilibrium theory the conception of some form of internal social order. Marx stresses the dependence of other social institutions on economic relationships. From a diametrically opposite standpoint Sorokin points out the significance of inter-related institutional forms that express a cultural system of meanings,¹² or what some anthropologists call the basic premises of a culture. Ogburn derives much of the institutional structure of a society from the state of technology. Thus, all theories express some view of the inherent compatibility or incompatibility of two or more social institutions, a fundamental tenet in equilibrium doctrine. The very notion of predictable change is impossible without some idea of the orderly relation of the parts in whatever is changing. Both a mechanical engine and a living organism display this orderly relation of parts whenever they are capable of movement. However, the difference between equilibrium and process theory lies in the latter's emphasis upon a kind of order that necessarily produces change.

¹² See especially Pitirim Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1941), IV, 31-40.

In itself the assumption of ever present change is not particularly enlightening until it is coupled with some theory about the forces that produce change and the direction of the movement. Most comprehensive theories that have been put forth for this purpose have taken either an evolutionary or a cyclical form. It is fashionable just now to reject them as premature attempts at synthesis. Nevertheless, we may also be overhasty in jettisoning them in their entirety. As already noted, in the development of human thought it has often happened that ideas which were thought universally valid have only a restricted field of application. They are valuable achievements nonetheless. Euclidean geometry is no longer the last work in its field. But its principles have been consciously or unconsciously used by house carpenters for thousands of years.

Cyclical theories are particularly close to equilibrium theory and are sometimes, as in Pareto, combined. They frequently assume, either explicitly or implicitly, that institutional change in a given direction sooner or later sets up counterforces that oppose or modify it. Toynbee's concept of the "nemesis of creativity" provides one of the more suggestive illustrations.¹³ Any successful institutional device tends to persist beyond the point at which it is adaptive, becoming a danger to the society in which it has flourished. At the same time cyclical theories run into difficulty precisely because they assume a return to some original state, even though they differ from equilibrium theory by assuming that this original state also contains tensions which will renew the cycle. History simply does not repeat itself. There are massive and apparently irreversible changes, such as the industrial revolution, which cyclical theories cannot account for adequately.

Evolutionary theory puts such changes at the center of its scheme. Perhaps in partial combination with some theory of cycles, to give a spiral conception of change, this approach may some day provide the most

satisfactory general synthesis. In the meantime it may be the better part of wisdom to avoid integrating theories that are dubious in themselves and to concentrate on finding ways to order smaller portions of reality into meaningful units.

For this purpose the evolutionary theory of stages provides suggestive clues and raises important problems. There is no doubt that the unilinear version of evolutionary theory contained serious mistakes. It posited an inevitable series of stages, in each of which all aspects of social structure (from economic organization to religion and the family) were similar and through which every society would sooner or later pass. Nevertheless, the theory of stages contains a residue of truth. Anthropologists now hold that in some areas, particularly technology, one may observe progressive and cumulative changes where the knowledge gained in one period provides the necessary foundation for further advance. One anthropologist suggests that an essential condition for cumulative change is the possibility of sharing a common core of knowledge and at the same time specializing within it. In the case of marriage, on the other hand, the fact that there are only two sexes limits the number of possible forms to four and precludes cumulative structural change. Since, however, culture changes as a whole, we find the impact of technological change on other parts, such as in the reduction of social functions performed by the modern family.¹⁴ Thus the concept of stages, even of a more or less inevitable "next stage," has at least a limited range of applicability. This concept, however, need not be tied to a form of technological determinism: the dynamics of change may also be found in other parts of social structure.

However, the most interesting and for our epoch the most significant problems occur in connection with the skipping of stages rather than with their orderly sequence. The transformation of Western lib-

¹³ Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 307-36.

¹⁴ Harvey C. Moore, "Cumulation and Cultural Processes," *American Anthropologist*, LVI, No. 3 (June, 1954), 347-57.

eral and rationalist ideas, together with the alterations in the structure of industrial society as this complex of doctrines and institutions spread eastward to Asia, constitutes perhaps the major example of contemporary stage-skipping. The results certainly cannot be expected to resemble very closely the so-called free capitalist institutions of Victorian England.

In such cases we are observing the interaction of two sets of processes that had been developing independently up to the time of coming in contact. The analysis of such a problem is a great difficulty. Using the illustration of the early impact of the West upon Japan, Sidney Hook argues that such a situation is inherently indeterminate.¹⁵ Certainly one could not have foretold what would have happened solely through an analysis of the processes at work in Japanese society alone nor, for that matter, in the West alone.

One way to a partial solution may be the following: Contact between two or more autonomous processes frequently sets up another and larger process that in turn modifies the original set. The new process may be sufficiently orderly to permit prediction. For example, neither Soviet nor American policy during the second World War and the postwar years can be satisfactorily explained independently of one another. To some it appears that the United States was merely hypocritical in first trying to demilitarize Germany and Japan and then seeking to rearm them as fast as possible. Others explain American behavior by referring to the larger process whereby a coalition, lately victorious against a common enemy, disintegrates when the common threat has disappeared. The next step, as is well known, is for the victors to become suspicious of one another, since the most serious danger now is from the victorious partner. There is therefore an ungraceful scramble for the assistance of former enemies. Soviet behavior conforms to the same pattern. Certain tenden-

cies, though by no means all, toward the transformation of both societies into garrison states may also be traced to this general process.¹⁶

It is impossible, however, to reduce the clash of cultures and social systems to a single process. By no means everything, for example, can be explained by the growth and disintegration of international coalitions. Certain processes continue to develop within the state, even though profoundly modified by the latter's position in the international distribution of power. In China and other parts of Asia indigenous revolutionary forces were at work before extended contact with the West and continue down to the present day. Frequently, forces generated in the domestic and the foreign arena come into sharp conflict with one another, as now appears to be the case both in the United States and in France.

From a purely formal point of view there are three possible outcomes when processes that were developing separately come into contact with one another. New processes may be started; old ones may continue in modified form; and still others may persist independently as though nothing had happened. No ready formula exists, however, by which it would be possible to predict in every case where the dividing lines are to be found. The notion that technology, for example, will always spread more rapidly than other cultural traits is probably mistaken. New technology requires new psychological attitudes and new forms of social structure, just as variations in the existing social structure (e.g., in India and Japan) will affect receptivity to new technology.¹⁷ Perhaps a general formula can no more be dis-

¹⁶ While from the first the Soviet system has displayed many traits of a garrison state, American society, now openly hostile to the Soviet system, has begun to show increasing signs of a totalitarian tendency. Politics may contain a process similar to that expressed by Gresham's law in economics, "the bad" driving out "the good."

¹⁷ For brief but illuminating comments on this point see Kingsley Davis, *The Population of India and Pakistan* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), pp. 216-17.

¹⁵ See his "Determinism," *Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1937), V, 111.

covered in the interaction of processes than can a general theory of mixtures be given in chemistry without specifying the ingredients.

In general, sociological theory tends to be plagued with questions such as this, so broad as to have no specifiable meaning. We ask, for example, what is the role of ideas in social change? Instead, we ought to ask what is the role of certain types of ideas under specified circumstances? Much remains to be learned about the kinds of strain in industrial society that create increased demand for a return to some idealized version of the *status quo ante*, as in extreme right-wing movements here and in Nazi Germany. We should also know about corresponding movements in peasant countries now in the early stages of industrialization. Likewise we want to know about the sources and nature of movements aiming at a new and different type of society. In answering, we must comprehend the interaction of several processes taking place simultaneously.

Where the nature of the processes is properly understood, analysis can proceed toward outlining the range of possibilities for the future and the costs of alternative policies. We need not be deterred by the impossibility of precise prediction for relationships that are not completely determinate. The sociologist has added unnecessarily to his sense of professional inadequacy by feeling compelled to predict the inevitable outcome of any situation.

All that is necessary and all that is useful, in these large-scale instances of interaction among societies and cultures, is a reasonably accurate assessment of the limits and possibilities of effective human action. In turn, such an assessment makes sense only in terms of some prior set of values. Unless he is content to be a moral eunuch in the service of any bureaucracy that hires him, the student of society will do his best to bring disciplined intelligence to bear on these problems as well.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

CHANGING CRIMINALS: THE APPLICATION OF THE THEORY OF DIFFERENTIAL ASSOCIATION

DONALD R. CRESSEY

ABSTRACT

Behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values are not only the products but also the properties of groups. Consequently, attempts to change individual behavior should be directed at groups. The implications for diagnosis and treatment of criminals of the theory of differential association are consistent with this principle of changing behavior by changing the group and can be effectively utilized in correctional work.

Sociological theories and hypotheses have had great influence on development of general correctional policies, such as probation and parole, but they have been used only intermittently and haphazardly in reforming individual criminals. Since sociology is essentially a research discipline, sociologist-criminologists have devoted most of their time and energy to understanding and explaining crime, leaving to psychiatrists and others the problem of reforming criminals. Even the sociologists employed in correctional work have ordinarily committed themselves to nonsociological theories and techniques of reformation, leading the authors of one popular criminology textbook to ask just what correctional sociologists can accomplish which cannot be accomplished by other professional workers.¹

Perhaps the major impediment to the application of sociological theories lies not in the nature of the theories themselves but, instead, in the futile attempt to adapt them to clinical use. Strictly speaking, the now popular policy of "individualized treatment" for delinquents and criminals does not commit one to any specific theory of criminality or any specific theory of reformation, but, rather, to the proposition that the conditions considered as causing an individual to behave criminally will be taken

into account in the effort to change him. An attempt is made to diagnose the cause of the criminality and to base the techniques of reform upon the diagnosis. Analogy with the *method* of clinical medicine (diagnosis, prescription, and therapy) is obvious. However, by far the most popular interpretation of the policy of individualization is that the *theories*, as well as the methods, of clinical medicine must be used in diagnosing and changing criminals. The emphasis on this clinical principle has impeded the application of sociological theories and, it may be conjectured, success in correctional work.

The adherents of the clinical principle consider criminality to be an individual defect or disorder or a symptom of either, and the criminal as one unable to canalize or sublimate his "primitive," antisocial impulses or tendencies,² who may be expressing symbolically in criminal behavior some unconscious urge or wish arising from an early traumatic emotional experience,³ or as a person suffering from some other kind of defective trait or condition.

In all cases the implication is that the

² Sheldon and Eleanor T. Glueck, *Delinquents in the Making* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1952), pp. 162-63; see also Ruth Jacobs Levy, *Reductions in Recidivism through Therapy* (New York: Seltzer, 1941), pp. 16, 28.

³ Edwin J. Lukas, "Crime Prevention: A Confusion in Goal," in Paul W. Tappan (ed.), *Contemporary Correction* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1951), pp. 397-409.

¹ Harry Elmer Barnes and Negley K. Teeters, *New Horizons in Criminology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951), p. 644.

individual disorder, like a biological disorder, should be treated on a clinical basis. An extreme position is that criminality actually is a biological disorder, to be treated by modification of the physiology or anatomy of the individual. However, the more popular notion is that criminality is analogous to an infectious disease like syphilis—while group contacts of various kinds are necessary to the disorder, the disorder can be treated in a clinic, without reference to the persons from whom it was acquired.

Sociologists and social psychologists have provided an alternative principle on which to base the diagnosis and treatment of criminals, namely, that the behavior, attitudes, beliefs, and values which a person exhibits are not only the *products* of group contacts but also the *properties* of groups. If the behavior of an individual is an intrinsic part of groups to which he belongs, attempts to change the behavior must be directed at groups.⁴ While this principle is generally accepted by sociologists, there has been no consistent or organized effort by sociologist-criminologists to base techniques or principles of treatment on it. Traditionally, we have emphasized that sociologists can make unique contributions to *clinical* diagnoses, and we have advocated the development of a "clinical sociology" which would enable us to improve these diagnoses.⁵ But here we reach an impasse: if a case of criminality is attributed to the individual's group relations, there is little that can be done *in the clinic* to modify the diagnosed cause of the criminality. Moreover, extra-clinical work with criminals and delinquents ordinarily has merely extended the clinical principle to the offender's community and has largely ignored the group-

relations principle. For example, in the "group work" of correctional agencies the emphasis usually is upon the role of the group merely in satisfying the needs of an individual. Thus the criminal is induced to join an "interest-activity" group, such as a hiking club, on the assumption that membership in the group somehow will enable him to overcome the defects or tendencies considered conducive to his delinquency.⁶ Similarly, in correctional group therapy the emphasis is almost always on the use of a group to enable the individual to rid himself of undesirable psychological disorders, not criminality.⁷ Even in group-work programs directed at entire groups, such as delinquent gangs, emphasis usually is on new and different formal group activities rather than on new group attitudes and values.

The differential association theory of criminal behavior presents implications for diagnosis and treatment consistent with the group-relations principle for changing behavior and could be advantageously utilized in correctional work. According to it, persons become criminals principally because they have been relatively isolated from groups whose behavior patterns (including attitudes, motives, and rationalizations) are anticriminal, or because their residence, employment, social position, native capacities, or something else has brought them into relatively frequent association with the behavior patterns of criminal groups.⁸ A diagnosis of criminality based on this theory would be directed at analysis of the criminal's attitudes, motives, and rationalizations regarding criminality and would recognize that those characteristics depend upon the groups to which the

⁴ Cf. Dorwin Cartwright, "Achieving Change in People: Some Applications of Group Dynamics Theory," *Human Relations*, IV (1951), 381-92.

⁵ See Louis Wirth, "Clinical Sociology," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXVII (July, 1931), 49-66; and Saul D. Alinsky, "A Sociological Technique in Clinical Criminology," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, LXIV (1934), 167-78.

⁶ See the discussion by Robert G. Hinckley and Lydia Hermann, *Group Treatment in Psychotherapy* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1951), pp. 8-11.

⁷ See Donald R. Cressey, "Contradictory Theories in Correctional Group Therapy Programs," *Federal Probation*, XVIII (June, 1954), 20-26.

⁸ Edwin H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* (New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947), pp. 6-9, 595, 616-17.

criminal belongs. Then, if criminals are to be changed, either they must become members of anticriminal groups, or their present pro-criminal group relations must be changed.⁹

The following set of interrelated principles, adapted in part from a more general statement by Dorwin Cartwright,¹⁰ is intended as a guide to specific application of the differential association theory to correctional work. It is tentative and directs attention to areas where research and experimentation should prove fruitful. Two underlying assumptions are that small groups existing for the specific purpose of reforming criminals can be set up by correctional workers and that criminals can be induced to join them. The first five principles deal with the use of anticriminal groups as *media* of change, and the last principle emphasizes, further, the possibility of a criminal group's becoming the *target* of change.

1. If criminals are to be changed, they must be assimilated into groups which emphasize values conducive to law-abiding behavior and, concurrently, alienated from groups emphasizing values conducive to criminality. Since our experience has been that the majority of criminals experience great difficulty in securing intimate contacts in ordinary groups, special groups whose major common goal is the reformation of criminals must be created. This general principle, emphasized by Sutherland, has been recognized and used by Gersten, apparently with some success, in connection with a group therapy program in the New York Training School for Boys.¹¹

2. The more relevant the common purpose of the group to the reformation of

criminals, the greater will be its influence on the criminal members' attitudes and values. Just as a labor union exerts strong influence over its members' attitudes toward management but less influence on their attitudes toward say, Negroes, so a group organized for recreational or welfare purposes will have less success in influencing criminalistic attitudes and values than will one whose explicit purpose is to change criminals. Interesting recreational activities, employment possibilities, and material assistance may serve effectively to attract criminals away from pro-criminal groups temporarily and may give the group some control over the criminals. But merely inducing a criminal to join a group to satisfy his personal needs is not enough. Probably the failure to recognize this, more than anything else, was responsible for the failure of the efforts at rehabilitation of the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study workers.¹²

3. The more cohesive the group, the greater the members' readiness to influence others and the more relevant the problem of conformity to group norms. The criminals who are to be reformed and the persons expected to effect the change must, then, have a strong sense of belonging to one group: between them there must be a genuine "we" feeling. The reformers, consequently, should not be identifiable as correctional workers, probation or parole offi-

⁹ Cf. Donald R. Taft, "The Group and Community Organization Approach to Prison Administration," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, LXXII (1942), 275-84; and George B. Vold, "Discussion of *Guided Group Interaction in Correctional Work* by F. Lovell Bixby and Lloyd W. McCorkle," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 460-61.

¹⁰ *Op. cit.*

¹¹ Sutherland, *op. cit.*, p. 451; Charles Gersten, "An Experimental Evaluation of Group Therapy with Juvenile Delinquents," *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, I (November, 1951), 311-18.

¹² See Margaret G. Reilly and Robert A. Young, "Agency-initiated Treatment of a Potentially Delinquent Boy," *American Journal of Orthopsychiatry*, XVI (October, 1946), 697-706; Edwin Powers, "An Experiment in Prevention of Delinquency," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*, CCLXI (January, 1949), 77-88; Edwin Powers and Helen L. Witmer, *An Experiment in Prevention of Delinquency—the Cambridge-Somerville Youth Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951).

cers, or social workers. This principle has been extensively documented by Festinger and his co-workers.¹³

4. Both reformers and those to be reformed must achieve status within the group by exhibition of "pro-reform" or anticriminal values and behavior patterns. As a novitiate, the one to be reformed is likely to assign status according to social position outside the group, and part of the reformation process consists of influencing him both to assign and to achieve status on the basis of behavior patterns relevant to reformation. If he should assign status solely on the basis of social position in the community, he is likely to be influenced only slightly by the group. Even if he becomes better adjusted, socially and psychologically, by association with members having high status in the community, he is a therapeutic parasite and not actually a member until he accepts the group's own system for assigning status.

5. The most effective mechanism for exerting group pressure on members will be found in groups so organized that criminals are induced to join with noncriminals for the purpose of changing other criminals. A group in which criminal A joins with some noncriminals to change criminal B is probably most effective in changing criminal A, not B; in order to change criminal B, criminal A must necessarily share the values of the anticriminal members.

This process may be called "retroflexive reformation"; in attempting to reform others, the criminal almost automatically accepts the relevant common purpose of the group, identifies himself closely with other persons engaging in reformation, and assigns status on the basis of anticriminal behavior. He becomes a genuine member of this group, and at the same time he is alienated from his previous pro-criminal groups. This principle is used successfully

by Alcoholics Anonymous to "cure" alcoholism; it has been applied to the treatment of psychotics by McCann and Almada; and its usefulness in criminology has been demonstrated by Knopka.¹⁴ Ex-convicts have been used in the Chicago Area Projects, which, generally, are organized in accordance with this principle, but its effect on the ex-convicts, either in their roles as reformers or as objects of reform, appears not to have been evaluated.

6. When an entire group is the target of change, as in a prison or among delinquent gangs, strong pressure for change can be achieved by convincing the members of the need for a change, thus making the group itself the source of pressure for change. Rather than inducing criminals to become members of pre-established anticriminal groups, the problem here is to change anti-reform and pro-criminal subcultures, so that group leaders evolve from among those who show the most marked hospitality to anticriminal values, attitudes, and behavior. Neither mere lectures, sermons, or exhortations by correctional workers nor mere redirection of the activities of a group nor individual psychotherapy, academic education, vocational training, or counseling will necessarily change a group's culture. If the subculture is not changed, the person to be reformed is likely to exhibit two sets of attitudes and behaviors, one characteristic of the agency or person trying to change him, the other of the subculture.¹⁵ Changes in the subculture probably can best be insti-

¹⁴ Freed Bales, "Types of Social Structure as Factors in 'Cures' for Alcohol Addiction," *Applied Anthropology*, I (April-June, 1942), 1-13; Willis H. McCann and Albert A. Almada, "Round-Table Psychotherapy: A Technique in Group Psychotherapy," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XIV (December, 1950), 421-35; Gisela Knopka, "The Group Worker's Role in an Institution for Juvenile Delinquents," *Federal Probation*, XV (June, 1951), 15-23.

¹⁵ See Edwin A. Fleishman, "A Study in the Leadership Role of the Foreman in an Industrial Situation" (Columbus: Personnel Research Board, Ohio State University, 1951) (mimeographed).

¹³ L. Festinger *et al.*, *Theory and Experiment in Social Communication: Collected Papers* (Ann Arbor: Institute for Social Research, 1951).

gated by eliciting the co-operation of the type of criminal who, in prisons, is considered a "right guy."¹⁶ This principle has been demonstrated in a recent experiment with hospitalized drug addicts, whose essentially antireform culture was changed, under the guise of group therapy, to a pro-reform culture.¹⁷ To some extent, the principle was used in the experimental system

¹⁶ See Hans Riemer, "Socialization in the Prison Community," *Proceedings of the American Prison Association*, LXVII (1937), 151-55.

of prison administration developed by Gill in the Massachusetts State Prison Colony.¹⁸

¹⁷ James J. Thorpe and Bernard Smith, "Phases in Group Development in Treatment of Drug Addicts," *International Journal of Group Psychotherapy*, III (January, 1953), 66-78.

¹⁸ Howard B. Gill, "The Norfolk Prison Colony of Massachusetts," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXII (September, 1937), 389-95; see also Eric K. Clarke, "Group Therapy in Rehabilitation," *Federal Probation*, XVI (December, 1952), 28-32.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

THE SOCIOLOGY OF SECULARIZATION: RELIGIOUS GROUPS

HAROLD W. PFAUTZ

ABSTRACT

Five types representing increasing degrees of secularization are: the cult, the sect, the institutionalized sect, the church, and the denomination. The Christian Science church has of late taken on the character of an institutionalized sect, as evidenced by its demographic, ecological, associational, structural, and social-psychological features.

This paper will seek sociological criteria of types of religious social organization, and the resulting typology of religious groups will be presented as specifically sociological aspects of the secularization process.¹

Five types of religious groups will be considered. In order of increasing secularization they are, respectively, the *cult*, the *sect*,² the *institutionalized sect*, the *church*, and the *denomination*. The cult has most often denoted the most primitive form of religious organization and expression;³ similarly, the denomination represents the

other pole of the continuum.⁴ Only the concept "institutionalized sect" represents a neologistic addition.⁵

Figure 1 represents the development relationship among the types. The modal sequence involves a transition from cult through sect to denomination. The origin of cult groups is usually either a social movement or an internal schism in a previously existing religious organization or both.

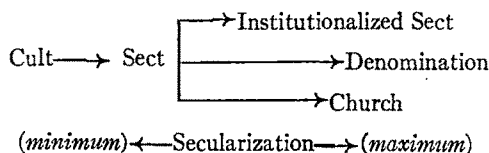


FIG. 1

Christian Science is an example of a group which developed as a specific social movement in the more general mental heal-

¹ The problem of specifying the sociological aspects of the secularization process was encountered in the course of a larger empirical study of the development of Christian Science (Harold W. Pfautz, "Christian Science: The Sociology of a Social Movement and Religious Group," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1954). The writer would like to acknowledge his debt to his colleague, Dr. Kurt B. Mayer, for his critical reading of the manuscript.

² Despite Troeltsch's position that the sect is not an undeveloped expression of the church type, later students posit a development relationship (Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teaching of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon [New York: Macmillan Co., 1931], I, 329; cf., e.g., Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* [New Haven: Yale University Press, 1942], and Earl D. C. Brewer, "Sect and Church in Methodism," *Social Forces*, XXX [1952], 400-408).

³ Cf., e.g., R. J. Jones, *A Comparative Study of Religious Cult Behavior among Negroes* ("Howard University Studies in Social Science," Vol. II, No. 2 [Washington, D.C.: Howard University, 1939]), and Allan W. Eister, *Drawing-Room Conversion* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950).

⁴ Cf. H. Richard Niebuhr, *The Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929), p. 6. Niebuhr actually speaks of "denominationalism" as a synonym for secularization, using church and sect as the polar forms (*ibid.*, p. 10).

⁵ This is an adaptation of Yinger's "established sect" and agrees with his criticism of Wiese-Becker for failing to include such an alternative developmental possibility beyond the sect stage. As Yinger notes, the established sect "shares many of the traits of a church of the 'lowest power.' It is more accurately classed as a sect, however, because it is still seen as a group apart" (J. Milton Yinger, *Religion and the Struggle for Power* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950], pp. 22-23). The inclusion of this form allows a place for ambiguous groups, as Christian Science, on the secularization scale.

ing movement rather than as a schism in a pre-existing religious body. The germinal phase of its career was during the years 1866-72, when, inspired by Phineas P. Quimby's success as a mental healer and her own miraculous cure after the famous "fall" in Lynn, Mary Baker Eddy turned increasingly away from her own personal difficulties as well as from the social life of the community.⁶ "Reborn" at the age of forty-five, she began to devote her time and energy to interpreting her religious cure, publishing the statement of it in the form of a textbook, *Science and Health*. Alone and in need of money, she was forced to barter her teachings for room and board at a variety of homes in numerous towns in the Boston area. Precisely, she had "students" rather than a "following."

As a basis for constructing types of religious social organization, five fairly distinct sociological frames of reference will be employed.⁷ Each is limited in its view, comprises a more or less unique conceptual apparatus, and abstracts a different order of data. These sociological perspectives are: (1) the demographic; (2) the ecological; (3) the associational; (4) the structural; and (5) the social-psychological.

The demographic and the ecological perspectives.—From the demographic point of view, social interaction involves merely a *population aggregate*, while, from the ecological, interaction is seen in the context of *relative location*.⁸ Three demographic di-

mensions have been selected for consideration: size, composition, and rate of growth; and two ecological: diffusion and segregation.

The associational perspective.—This is oriented to group organization. The first aspect to be considered is the degree of internal differentiation (i.e., whether or not explicit and observable densities of interaction have developed *within* the group). Second, the primary basis of interaction will be identified either as symbolic or as nonsymbolic (i.e., reciprocity and solidarity on the basis of common symbols or common feelings).⁹ In addition, the typical relationship between the religious and other groups, as well as the larger society, is to be described in traditional sociological terms: isolation, conflict, accommodation, or assimilation. Finally, the basis of recruitment—voluntary or traditional—must be examined.

The structural perspective.—The structural point of view seeks cultural organization.¹⁰ The initial focus is on the social differentiation within the group. In addition, leadership is classified as personal, charismatic, official, or professional. The normative system that informs both the internal and the external interaction must be considered as to its complexity (number),

⁶ The demographic and ecological *views* of interaction are not synonymous with the *disciplines* of demography (oriented to a theory of population) and human ecology (oriented to a theory of the community). Cf. Ernest W. Burgess' remarks in this connection in Howard W. Odum, *American Society* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1950), p. 353.

⁹ Cf. Herbert Blumer, "Social Psychology," in E. P. Schmidt (ed.), *Man and Society* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1938), pp. 144-98.

¹⁰ Associational and structural perspectives are distinguished in the same way as Robin Williams' social structure and social organization. The terms suggest the newer emphasis on structure epitomized by Parsons and the older concern with process by Park and Burgess. Both are equally necessary and complementary perspectives on social interaction (cf. Robin W. Williams, Jr., *American Society* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951], p. 34).

⁸ Cf., e.g., Julius A. Dresser, *The True History of Mental Science* (Boston: A. Mudge & Son, 1887), and Horatio W. Dresser (ed.), *The Quimby Manuscripts* (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1921).

⁷ This formulation merely extends a line of thought suggested by Wirth (cf. Louis Wirth, "Social Interaction: The Problem of the Individual and the Group," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV [1939], 967). Only as the "sociological" aspects are distinguished from the "cultural" (in the narrow sense of the term) can propositions with respect to the relationships between forms of social organization and types of theology—the focus of the sociology of religion—be adequately framed and tested.

type (implicit or explicit), content (general or specific), and range (broad or narrow). The group is to be ranked in relation to other groups in the larger society on the basis of power—whose function, whether it be defense, reform, or control is identified—and prestige.

The social-psychological perspective.—Heberle's concept of social-psychological texture is adapted to take account of the relative primacy of Weber's types of orientation to social action.¹¹ There are four types presented in order of increasing secularization: the fellowship, in which affectual motives are primary; the following, in which are combined affectual and value-rational motives; the community, in which a balance among the four motives is postulated; and the association, in which traditional and purposeful-rational orientations predominate.

In connection with the typology of religious groups in all cases, the analytic constructs are based on multiple criteria. At any moment in time, therefore, a concrete religious group will have some, but not necessarily all, of the defining traits. Second, the analytic dimensions are not considered to be theoretically exhaustive; future research must establish the relative functional importance of the postulated traits. Third, evidence for most of the characteristics exists in the literature and could be documented. The formulation is an attempt at codification in traditional sociological categories rather than an original development. Finally, despite the ideal character of the types, insofar as different orders of data are involved, more general hypothetical relationships (oriented to the ultimate problem of group viability) are implied.

The cult.—The cult, as previously noted, represents the most elementary form of religious organization. It is small, the theoretical limit being the size at which it is no longer possible for every member to be acquainted with every other member personally. It is typically heterogeneous in racial

and ethnic composition. Its growth is best described as sporadic—a matter of fits and starts, gains and losses. Ecologically, the cult is necessarily confined to the local community and is technically segregated due to its smallness.

From the associational point of view the cult typically lacks internal differentiation. It approaches the case of an inclusive and undivided social circle whose members, as such, interact with one another totally. Social interaction is primarily nonsymbolic, solidarity being largely a function of common feelings. This is not to say that symbolic elements are not present; rather, despite at least a primitive ideology (culture), orientation is more a matter of its "sound" than its content. The cult is typically isolated; that is to say, its members strive to minimize the importance and effect of their extra-cult social relationships. To rephrase Sumner, the cult is not so much "at war with the mores" as *outside* the mores. Recruitment is, of course, strictly voluntary.

Structurally speaking, little social (status) differentiation is present. Only the distinction between leader and followers exists. And leadership is personal, but not yet charismatic, residing more in the personal qualities of the leader per se rather than in social response and definition.¹² The rules defining the interaction of cult members apropos the goals of the group are typically implicit, few in number, general in content, but broad in scope; they contain a total way of life. Characteristically, cults have little or no power and prestige relative to other groups in the larger society, tending to be *déclassé*. The cult is a fellowship—a spiritual community whose solidarity is based primarily on the psychic dividends resulting from association per se, motivation being largely affectual.

¹¹ Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1951), pp. 13–14 and chap. viii, pp. 128–40.

¹² Cf. Hans Speier, *Social Order and the Risks of War* (New York: George W. Stewart, 1952), p. 113.

The various traits form a complex of small size, local distribution, undifferentiated association, and implicit normative structure. These traits appear to be inter-related; in any case, they help explain other characteristics of the cult.

The oft-noted ephemeral nature of cults is not unrelated to their sociological characteristics. Despite the high degree of *esprit de corps* (a function of the emphasis on nonsymbolic interaction), the lack of associational differentiation makes it possible for every crisis to threaten the viability of the entire organization. And the lack of specificity and explicitness in the norms leads to a minimum of predictability about the content of interaction and accounts, in part, for the sometimes idiosyncratic behavior of the members.¹³ Finally, to the extent that the leader's status has not been completely legitimized, it is often put to the test by rivals.

Many so-called "store-front churches" approximate cults.¹⁴ Christian Science from approximately 1872 to 1880 had the status of a cult. Whereas up to this point the relation between Mrs. Eddy and various individuals had been relatively inchoate and shifting, after 1872 a teaching and healing enterprise was set up in Lynn, Massachusetts, and a small group began to gather about her. They came to look upon her as their leader; they became identified by the local community as a special group; and they conceived of themselves accordingly.¹⁵ During these years the textbook was published, the first attempt at formal organization was made, and the group was con-

tinuously subject to rivalries within the circle.

The sect.—If the cult is to survive the contingencies inherent in this form of organization, it must necessarily change sociologically. If it does, it becomes in the present scheme a sect. As might be expected, the sect shares some of the characteristics of the cult but at the same time it differs. The sect increases in size to the point where secondary relationships are necessarily reached. Similar to the cult, it remains heterogeneous. More important, it is "on the move," being characterized by rapid growth and geographical diffusion. Owing not only to its relative smallness but also to its conflict ideology, the sect remains ecologically segregated, and, if it disperses, it does not do so at random.

Correlative with increasing size is the appearance of internal associational differentiation. An increase in symbolic elements in comparison with the nonsymbolic is primarily due to the fact that in the sect the goals (ideology) invariably become clarified and made more explicit. The sect is typically in conflict with the larger society, and recruitment remains primarily voluntary.

Social differentiation has increased. Not only can functionaries be identified but in particular the leadership has become charismatic. The norms governing interaction are more numerous, more explicit, more specific, in comparison with the cult, and similarly cover the entire range of social life. Whatever small amount of power is vested in the sect is employed for purposes

¹³ The amorphous character of cult organizations is functionally similar to that of social movements. Indeed, in the opinion of the writer, social movements of the specific type begin as cults which become the core of a social collective (Pfautz, *op. cit.*, pp. 165-68).

¹⁴ Cf., e.g., Jones, *op. cit.*, *passim*; cf. also Arthur H. Fauset, *Black Gods of the Metropolis* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1944), and Howard M. Brotz, "Negro 'Jews' in the United States," *Phylon*, V (Fourth Quarter) (1952), 324-37.

¹⁵ Pfautz, *op. cit.*, chap. x, "The Cult Stage of Christian Science," pp. 261-69. Eight of Mrs. Eddy's "students" banded together, appointed her their weekly preacher, and signed an agreement to contribute to her support in June, 1875. This attempt at formal organization was premature, and the "Association" which was formed a year later did not last. In August, 1879, a charter was granted in Massachusetts to the "Church of Christ, Scientist," which also disbanded. During the cult stage of Christian Science, almost all the original founding group became apostate, revolted, or were expelled from the core group.

of defense against the encroachments of other groups and the larger society. While it is not necessarily *déclassé*, the sect's prestige tends to be low. This type of religious social organization is best described as a following.

In the final analysis, however, the sect is not a highly viable form of social organization. Necessarily threatened with persecution from without, its relatively simple associational form and structural characteristics provide a minimum basis for effective defense. Its best chance for survival as a sect lies in spatial isolation from the rest of society—a solution which many sectarian groups have attempted. In addition, with the development of a more complex and explicit normative structure, the possibilities of internal conflict increase, and the sect may give rise to schismatic cults.

The Dunkers and the Amana Society are examples of religious organizations approximating the sect. When Mrs. Eddy moved her operations from Lynn to Boston, significant changes in the original Christian Science cult set in, leading toward the status of sect. In the first place, Christian Science not only began to grow rapidly but also began to move in space. In the years between 1880 and 1890, through press publicity and the activities of a relatively small group of highly mobile "spearhead" practitioner-missionaries (as well as academy and institute founders), Christian Science diffused rapidly throughout the United States. Its practitioners, distributed in 1883 in but four states and two divisions, were to be found in thirty-six states and all divisions of the country by 1890.¹⁶ Numerous committees took form. Relationships within the core group took on lowered emotional tone, just as idiosyncratic behavior began to be frowned on and actually decreased, whereas formerly it was defended.¹⁷ Perhaps the most valid index of the shift was the revolt of original members who were left behind in Lynn: of eight students who had originally agreed to sup-

port Mrs. Eddy as their preacher, seven either left the movement voluntarily, were forcibly expelled, or actively revolted. Moreover, Christian Science now came in direct and open conflict with the established ministry in Boston as well as with the American Medical Association.

An increase in formalization and in the pressure to control the movement centrally is indicated by the following events between 1880 and 1890: the establishment of Mrs. Eddy's Massachusetts Metaphysical College by a state charter in 1881;¹⁸ the publication of a number of new editions of the textbook, whose issue of 1886 had the benefit of a nonsectarian professional editor; the formation of a National Christian Science Association; and the appearance of the *Journal of Christian Science*. In 1886 a group of students purchased a plot of land in Boston with the ultimate purpose of erecting a church edifice. An effective charismatic element entered into Mrs. Eddy's leadership when she retired from Boston and moved to Vermont. The decade ended with a new revolt which shook the group to its foundations, climaxed ultimately by a purge of many of the former stalwarts and a complete reorganization of the "visible organization" of Christian Science.¹⁹

¹⁷ During the cult phase, the so-called Ipswich Witchcraft Case, involving a legal suit against a defecting colleague for practicing "malicious animal magnetism," was more or less officially approved by Christian Scientists. At a later date, however, the famous Corner Case, involving the death of a client in childbirth, as well as Mrs. Woodbury's announcement of her "immaculate conception," met with a cold reception (*ibid.*, pp. 50-74).

¹⁸ Here were trained an army of well-indoctrinated missionaries and publicists for Christian Science. Dakin estimates that some four thousand students took courses during its eight-year existence (Edwin F. Dakin, *Mrs. Eddy, the Biography of a Virginal Mind* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929], p. 163).

¹⁹ Mrs. Eddy is said to have confided to a student that, at the time of this second rebellion, she did not think she had "twelve loyal students left!" (Norman Beasley, *The Cross and the*

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, Table 45, p. 443, and Table 46, p. 444.

The institutionalized sect.—The institutionalized sect represents one of three possible types of organization following the sect phase. Just as the cult tends to change into a sect if it is to survive, so, too, must the sect undergo modification, especially if it does not choose isolation.

In the first place, the institutionalized sect is characteristically large enough for not all members to be known to one another, even in an impersonal way. It grows increasingly homogeneous, as a result of a more selective basis of recruitment. While it is a growing group, in comparison with the sect, the rate of growth tends to be decreasing. It tends to be national (and even international) in distribution, but it is, at the same time, highly segregated.

The group displays a high degree of internal differentiation: numerous formal groups develop within it to perform particular functions. There is a balance between symbolic and nonsymbolic elements. Similar to the sect, it remains essentially in conflict with the larger society, but such conflict has taken on an institutionalized character. It occurs in structured forms: legal, ceremonial, etc. Finally, while recruitment is still voluntary, traditional membership not only has made its appearance but also becomes significant.

The social structure of the institutionalized sect is characteristically more complex than that of the sect: social differentiation has proceeded apace, and formal status is commoner. Leadership has become official in many respects, although there is as yet little specific training for the highest positions, for it has not yet become fully professionalized. The directives for conduct continue to be highly specific and explicit. As compared with the sect and cult, the institutionalized sect's power and prestige have grown relative to other groups in the large society: the institutionalized sect is, above all, "respectable."

From the social-psychological point of view, the group approximates a "community," with a balanced motivational texture. The conflict element continues to promote emotional orientations; the increasingly complex social structure allows the self-interested to find careers within the group; and the presence of a second and third generation makes significant traditional motives for belonging. Finally, as a religious group, value-rational orientations are ubiquitous.

The institutionalized sect is a highly viable organization. On the one hand, conflict with the larger society and voluntary recruitment promote *esprit de corps*. On the other hand, its wider diffusion and more complex structure help it to survive crises, although it may be weakened in this phase by schisms.

The modern Quakers and Mormons, as well as contemporary Christian Scientists, provide examples of institutionalized sects. In the latter, after the upheaval which began in 1888, Mrs. Eddy undertook successfully the complete reorganization of her following. In 1895 The Mother Church edifice was dedicated. Though it held a congregation of five thousand, it was filled six times on the dedication day. The *Church Manual*, which continues in force to this day without change, then appeared.²⁰ By 1898 the number of Mother Church members was approximately ten thousand, almost double the total in 1895.

Yet the group continued to be the subject of public controversy²¹ and the object of attack by organized medicine. Rivalries between Mrs. Eddy and Mrs. Stetson, Mrs. Eddy and her foster-son, Colonel Sabin,

²⁰ Cf. Mary Baker Eddy, *Manual of The Mother Church* (89th ed.; Boston: Allison V. Stewart, 1916). The Bible and her textbook became the "pastors." The passages to be read each Sunday are scheduled in advance through The Mother Church, so that services are identical throughout the world.

²¹ E.g., Mark Twain, "Christian Science and the Book of Mrs. Eddy," *Cosmopolitan*, XXVII (1899), 585-94.

Crown [New York: Duell, Sloan & Pearce (Little-Brown), 1952], p. 185).

and others figure prominently from 1890 to 1910. The growth of the movement, however, continued to be rapid, so that by 1910 the American membership numbered around ninety thousand, and the present total must be as high as three hundred thousand or more. By 1910 there were Christian Science organizations in every state of the Union; and its foreign diffusion, beginning in England around 1890, soon spread to the Continent.²²

In 1907 attacks culminated in a legal suit against Mrs. Eddy's close advisers, brought by disaffected relatives who alleged Mrs. Eddy was held captive and her personal fortune mismanaged. Not only was the suit ultimately dismissed and Mrs. Eddy's mental competence established but, upon Mrs. Eddy's "passing" in 1910, the board of directors succeeded to the leadership despite numerous challenges.

The organization of Christian Science now became increasingly complex and rationalized. Its healing doctrines and practices continued, nevertheless, to bring it into conflict with the larger society and do so still. Conflict, however, has become clearly institutionalized. And the issues—e.g., to have their sanitariums declared hospitals under the law in order to receive benefits from insurance policies—are evidence of secularization. That the Committee on Publication was directed officially "to correct in a Christian manner impositions on the public in regard to Christian Science, etc.," is further evidence of institutionalization. Just as the bitter personal controversies of the early period served to promote *esprit de corps*, so, today, do the formal legal struggles.

The balance between symbolic and non-symbolic elements is demonstrated in the Wednesday Evening Testimonial Meeting, the middle-class religious revival. It takes the form of a revival, but the spirit is that

of a classroom, as intimate personal experiences are frankly but pedantically recited in the presence of the congregation.

The success of Scientists in their legal struggles attests their increased power. In 1949, through lobbying, Ohio became the last state in the Union to exempt Christian Science practitioners from its Medical Practice Act.²³ Moreover, the organization grew wealthy and middle-class.²⁴ This is a change from the earlier phases when quacks, *déclassé*, and lower-class people were important figures in it.

To sum up: beginning in the 1890's, Christian Science began to move toward becoming an institutionalized sect. The transition period between 1890 and 1930 saw the reorganization of the group, the death of the leader, and, finally, the establishment of an essentially official leadership and bureaucratic structure. Since 1930, however, the concept "institutionalized sect" best subsumes Christian Science.

The church.—The church is not only the most developed form of religious social organization but also the most able to survive. As previously noted, an example is the Catholic church of the thirteenth century.

Like the institutionalized sect, the church is large, but it is heterogeneous. By definition its rate of growth is commensurate with that of the larger society. Its members are scattered and not segregated.

The church, like the institutionalized sect and the denomination, is highly differentiated. The concept of assimilation best describes its relationship with the larger so-

²³ *Time*, LIV (July 18, 1949), 60. They have urged state legislation to excuse public school students whose parents are Christian Scientists from the study of "the spread of bacterial illness, public health measures, and medical cures" (*New York Times*, December 12, 1951, p. 39).

²⁴ Cf., e.g., Louis Bultena, "Church Membership and Church Attendance in Madison, Wisconsin," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (1949), 384-89; cf., also, Herbert W. Schneider, *Religion in 20th Century America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1952), "Appendix: Religion and the Class Structure," pp. 224-38.

²² Cf. Isador Thorner, "Christian Science and Ascetic Protestantism" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Social Relations, Harvard University, 1950).

ciety. Recruitment is primarily traditional rather than voluntary. The social structure is complex and formal, and the leadership is official and professionalized, while the normative system, like that of the institutionalized sect, is explicit, specific, and comprehensive. It has succeeded in becoming an institutional locus of control in the larger society. Further, its power is employed to control the larger structure, and membership in it conveys prestige.

Like the institutionalized sect, and for many of the same reasons, the church is prone to schisms. However, its universal diffusion, professional leadership, and high degree of differentiation, together with its balanced internal interaction, conspire to keep it alive in the face of both internal and external crises.

The denomination.—The denomination is one extreme of the secularization process. The more important among Protestant American religious bodies are denominations. The denomination is large yet typically homogeneous. Its growth is slow; it may be static. It is, relatively speaking, segregated. In other words, the denomination has ceased to "move."

Similar to other forms of religious organization beyond the sect stage, the denomination is characterized by a high degree of differentiation. However, it differs significantly with respect to its interactional characteristics: symbolic elements tend to outweigh the nonsymbolic. Its relationship

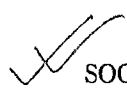
to the larger society is typically accommodative, and members belong because their parents belonged. The denomination has more power than the institutionalized sect but less than that of the church, and such power is typically employed for reform. Denominations are also "respectable," and their behavior, as institutions, is relatively rational. They are associations rather than communities.

Secularization is a general social process. Not only religious but other economic and political institutions grow secular, and propositions developed in the course of studying religious organizations may be tested on them.²⁵ So, too, dichotomies such as sacred and secular societies, folk culture and state civilization, the sequence from folk to feudal to urban society,²⁶ express largely similar processes, as are seen in religious organizations. Finally, the present formulation implies that the subsidiary form of social organization—for instance, the religious denomination—is functionally related to the more inclusive form, namely, urban society.

BROWN UNIVERSITY

²⁵ Cf. Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in Alfred McClung Lee (ed.), *New Outline of the Principles of Sociology* (New York: Barnes & Noble, Inc., 1946), p. 216.

²⁶ Cf. Howard Becker, "Sacred and Secular Societies," *Social Forces*, XXVIII (1950), 361-76; Howard Odum, "Folk Sociology," *Social Forces*, XXI (1953), 193-223.



SOCIOECONOMIC THEORY AND POPULATION POLICY

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

ABSTRACT

Socioeconomic analysis is facilitated when policy instruments and policy objectives are distinguished, when implicit and explicit population policies are differentiated, when the intended effects of these policies are separated from their unintended effects, and when effects in the short run are contrasted with effects in the long run. While it is difficult to assess the effect of population policies upon "welfare," it usually is possible to determine the direction of the effects of such policies upon a population's number, quality, and distribution.

Loe how a man ought to take heed, lest he overweeningly follow vulgar opinions, which should be measured by the rule of reason.—MONTAIGNE, "Des Cannibales."

At the World Population Conference held at Rome in 1954 legislative and administrative programs supposedly bearing upon population movements were discussed, and a number of papers treating of French, British, Scandinavian, Indian, and other national "population policies" were presented. "Population policy" is touched upon, too, in recent years in some of the many books and journal articles on "population." Close examination reveals, however, that their authors seldom if ever endeavor to define with care what they mean by population policy. The purpose of this note, therefore, is to make certain distinctions which, it is believed, ought to be attended to in treatments of what is called "population policy."

It is essential, in all treatments of "policy," to distinguish between policy objectives and policy instruments, that is, between avowed purposes and social instruments specifically contrived to realize these purposes or to make them realizable. Avowed purposes should be defined concretely and (if possible) operationally so that they may be recognized. Moreover, they must be distinguished from the actual effects of policy instruments in the event that these effects differ empirically and operationally from the purposes, though the

latter were not actually realized. Policy instruments should also be defined in terms of their operations, including rules and practices, together with the manner in which these rules and practices are administered and carried out.

It is best to confine the term "policy" to established institutional or social instruments, for then it is possible to say what an agency of the nation, say, the state, is doing and also to determine the effects of operations composing this "policy." The term "policy objective" may then be confined to the avowed purposes of the policy instruments. Policy objective usually is multiple and hence index-number-like in character and therefore not definable so concretely and with so much precision as are policy instruments and their actual effects.

Should one prefer to employ the term "policy" to represent either what we have called policy objective or both policy objective *and* policy instrument, the distinctions which we make below remain useful. For, however the term "population policy" is presently employed, these distinctions serve to clarify discussion.

The objectives of population policy must be defined in quantitative, spatial, and qualitative terms. If the objective be quan-

titative in character, it consists in an increase, or a decrease, or the prevention of any change, in the magnitude of a population, or in its rate of growth, or in one or both of the two governors of natural increase (i.e., mortality, natality), or in one or both of the two governors of increase (decrease) through migration (i.e., gross emigration, gross immigration). If the objective be spatial in character, it consists in a change, or in the prevention of change, in the distribution of a population in geographical space. If the objective be qualitative in character, it consists in a change, or in the prevention of change, in the qualitative composition of the population. Since there are possible as many compositions of a population as there are criteria of population classification, together with realizable combinations of these criteria, it is important that the meaning of the term "qualitative" be restricted. There is, in fact, strong argument for making the term "qualitative composition" synonymous with the term "genetical structure."¹ For so soon as the meaning of the term "qualitative composition," as employed by students of population, is made more inclusive than the term "genetical structure," bases for classification are introduced which, being economic, social, or political in order, are much more effectively dealt with in these terms. By contrast, the term "genetical structure," though biological in character, has long been conventionally a subject of demography or population study.²

Given these definitions of the objectives of population policy, a national population policy may be defined as including any and all actions on the part of agencies of a sovereign state which make the quantity, or the quality, or the spatial disposition of this state's population otherwise than it would

have been in the absence of the exercise of such action. Should lesser and nonpublic collectivities within the state—say, a confederation of trade-unions, or an association of employers, or an ecclesiastical organization—engage in activities that similarly affect a population, we should have a nonpublic population policy. But what is said concerning the national level is usually applicable to lower levels.

If population objectives and population policy are defined as above, it becomes evident that states always have population policies, since some actions on the part of some agencies of every state affect the quantity, the quality, or the spatial disposition of its population, and often in significant measure. This fact was stressed by the mercantilists and the cameralists; it was often recognized by classical and neo-classical economists; and it is taken for granted in this age of *étatisme*, mixed economies, and supposedly totalitarian societies.

It is necessary, therefore, to distinguish between *explicit* population policies, which reflect or are the products of conscious intent on the part of agencies of the state, and *implicit* population policies, which exercise similar influence, though not so designed or enacted. Papers treating of population policy usually are concerned with *explicit* population policy, although advocates of *explicit* population policies or objectives sometimes dwell upon the importance of suitably modifying *implicit* policies.

The effects associated with *explicit* population policies may be divided into those which are incident upon the quantity, the quality, or the spatial disposition of the population and those which exercise no

¹ "Two populations have the same genetical structure when: (a) each consists of the same set of genotypes; (b) the *frequencies* of the same genotypes are the same" (Lancelot Hogben, *An Introduction to Mathematical Genetics* [New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1946], p. 1).

² It is true that, if forms of population composition other than "genetical structure" are treated as lying outside the realm of demography or population study, changes within the demographic realm must be recognized as capable of producing changes in many nondemographic forms of population composition—just as changes in the latter may produce changes in modes of human behavior with which the demographer is particularly concerned.

such influence. The former may be called "population effects"; they alone are of significance for the present discussion. Population effects may be divided into effects that were *intended*—viz., some or all of the avowed purposes of the population policy in question—and effects that were *unintended*. Some or all of the latter may reinforce or run counter to the *intended* effects, thus serving to augment or to diminish the aggregate influence of the latter. The *net* effect of a population policy is the algebraic sum of its *intended* and its *unintended* effects.

Since the capacity of a population policy to produce *intended*, *unintended*, and *net* population effects is a function of time, it is essential to distinguish them into those which are long run and those which are short run. Insofar as both effects are similar, this distinction is not important unless we are attempting to depict the distribution in time of the net effect of a population policy. It may happen, however, that the long-run net effect of a population policy may be different from its short-run net effect. For example, a nation's rate of natural increase might be augmented in the short run by an income-equalization policy; and yet, if this policy sufficiently reduced the rate of capital formation, it would in time make that nation's population capacity less than it otherwise would have been.³ Or, again, a policy which stimulates natality in the short run may also operate in time significantly to diminish incentives to family formation and reproduction and so in the long run make population growth less than it otherwise would have been.

Having made the distinctions described in the preceding section, we may touch in

³ For a good brief analysis of the long-run effect exercised upon income-producing capacity by policies which both increase consumption and significantly diminish capital formation see Kenneth E. Boulding, "The Fruits of Progress and the Dynamics of Distribution," *American Economic Review*, XLIII, No. 2 (1953), 481-83.

this and the next section upon the task of appraising population policies. Explicit, or, for that matter, implicit, population policies may be appraised from two points of view: (a) that of their status as *ends* in the means-ends chain that terminates in the ultimate ends of a people as individuals and as a collectivity, respectively, and (b) that of their status as *means* to ends which are themselves but means in this means-end chain.

The former type of appraisal might be what a welfare economist would undertake. The latter might be undertaken by any social scientist who sought to ascertain the functional connection between elements of a population policy and the movements of particular population variables.

An appraisal of population policies from the point of view of their status as *ends* requires the use of a suitable welfare index in terms of which the policy may be evaluated. Various welfare indexes might be established for given nations, and it might then be determined, on the basis of each of these indexes, whether it would be better to use the resources supposedly being devoted to explicit population policy to carry out such a policy or to employ these resources for some other purpose. It could then be ascertained which of these welfare indexes best represented the tastes and the moral criteria of the population, and *explicit* population policy could be made compatible with this most representative index. Regnant explicit population policies may, of course, not be consonant either with a general welfare index or with a welfare index that is relatively heavily weighted with the tastes and moral criteria of one or several of the elites composing the relevant society.⁴

⁴ Concerning some of the issues involved see my "Welfare Economics and the Problem of Overpopulation," *Scientia*, XLVIII (1954), 128-38, 166-75; also my "Population Theory," in B. F. Haley (ed.), *A Survey of Contemporary Economics* (Homewood, Ill.: Richard D. Irwin, Inc., 1952), II, 110 ff. In the extensive literature on welfare indexes produced after World War I the

* The simpler the welfare index under consideration, the easier it is to appraise the significance of effects. It was fairly easy, for example, in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, when the parochial and ephemeral character of national sovereignty was not yet so manifest,⁵ to determine that certain population policies produced population effects which tended to augment the value of a simple military-power index. In a nuclear age, however, in which a suitable index of military power must embrace, among other things, many technological factors, together with vast geographical expanse, it is not so easy to determine the influence of population effects upon the index. The task necessarily becomes far more difficult when the index of appraisal becomes one embracing "general welfare" instead of but one dimension of welfare.

Even though it is determinable whether a population policy is increasing or decreasing the value of an assumed welfare index, it is not likely that population policy can be made to maximize the value of the index. It is relatively easy for an entrepreneur to maximize his welfare index (e.g., "profits") by increasing production to the point where marginal cost and marginal revenue coincide, since he has both the capacity and the desire to do this, together with the requisite information. But no individual member of a population has the capacity and many lack the desire, together with the requisite information, to maximize a general welfare index. At most, therefore, a population policy can be employed to increase the value of a chosen index.

It is easier to determine whether an explicit population policy is serving its avowed purpose than to discover whether such a policy is increasing the value of a

welfare index. For, as has been noted, a number of devices may be employed to change the distribution of a nation's population in geographical space while at least a half-dozen measures may be adopted to modify the quantity or the quality of a population. (1) denial (accentuation) of access to contraceptives, abortifacients, etc.; (2) modification of the structure of tastes in favor of (or against) reproduction; (3) alteration of the nation's price and/or income structure, setting up substitution and/or income effects in favor of (or against) reproduction; (4) improvement of conditions affecting health; (5) stimulation (retardation) of immigration (emigration); and (6) a combination of the measures listed under heads (1)–(5) for the purpose of improving the quality of the population.

Determination of the population effects of *explicit* population policies is hindered, of course, in at least three ways. First, economists have not worked out in detail the incidence of either the costs or the income changes that are occasioned by particular kinds of population policies. Thus it may be supposed that in the shorter run the cost of an employer-dominated family-wage system weighs much more heavily upon the working classes than does that of a policy financed out of public revenues, particularly when these revenues are raised through progressive taxes upon income. But the degree of difference obtaining in the shorter and in the longer runs remains to be discovered. Second, since population policies often are designed to produce both population effects and ordinary welfare effects,⁶ it is necessary to separate each of the two sets of effects. Third, the effects of *implicit* population policies must be allowed for. Nonetheless, statistical and other research techniques may be utilized to as-

difficulties attendant upon the construction and application of adequate welfare indexes were not generally remarked.

⁵ See A. J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London: Oxford University Press, 1939), IV, 156 ff., 414 ff.

⁶ It probably is not far off the mark to assert that in some degree an employer-dominated family-wage system is a right-wing, and a state-dominated family-subsidy system is a moderately left-wing, distributivist policy masquerading as a population policy.

sess the population effects produced by *explicit* population policies.

Even when statistical and related techniques appear inadequate, one may be able to use economic and sociological theory to isolate the direction, if not the extent, of the population effects of explicit population policies, since theoretical models usually have incorporated in them assumptions of empirical origin regarding certain functional relationships. It is evident, for example, that it costs less money to modify the price structure and set up a given substitution effect in favor of (or against) natural increase than to achieve the same result through a redistribution of money income in the form of money payments to mothers; or that payments in kind to mothers are, with possible exceptions, less practicable and more costly than alternative modes of payment; or that economy can be effected by dividing a population into relatively homogeneous groups and working out costs and allowances per child on a marginal basis for each group.⁷ Again sociological as well as economic theory suggests that a modification of the structure of tastes, though well suited to bring about persisting population effects, is difficult to achieve in practice. Yet, again, given a positive income elasticity of demand for popu-

lation and a need for continuing investment in industrial, economic overhead, and social capital, economic theory suggests that in the long run population growth is more likely to be stimulated by output-increasing investment than through redistribution of income for the purpose of accomplishing population effects.

Economic theory suggests that increases in population quantity may be purchased at the expense of population quality, and with untoward economic effects. For it is largely through technological progress and the automatization of industry that a population's gross national product may be increased, be a country more or less developed. But, with technological progress and automation, the relative demand for unskilled labor falls while that for skilled and professional labor increases. Furthermore, technological progress and the automatization of industry call initially for a great deal of industrial, public, and social capital for investment in industry, utilities, etc., and in the training and education of the population. It seems preferable, therefore, from most points of view in most parts of the world, that resources be devoted to equipping the given population and improving its quality and not to the multiplication of its relatively incompetent elements, as can easily happen under so-called "democratic" population policies.

⁷ On some of these points see my "Some Economic Aspects of the Subsidization by the State of the Formation of 'Human Capital,'" *Kyklos*, IV (1950), 316-43.

A SOCIOMETRIC ANALYSIS OF CONFLICTING ROLE-EXPECTANCIES¹

LAUREN G. WISPÉ

ABSTRACT

The salesmen of a life insurance district completed a seven-item sociometric questionnaire asking them to indicate individuals best fulfilling certain business functions and to judge certain traits in persons. The factor analysis showed a large general and three specific factors; *insurance intelligence*, *sociability*—*sympathy*, *aggressive salesmanship*. The general factor had highest loadings on "sympathy" and lowest on "aggressiveness." The factors were interpreted as revealing the stereotype of an aggressive agent, in whom technical knowledge and sympathy had little place. These results illuminate the paradox in which expectancies relating to success in business preclude acceptance as a friend.

Sociologists, among them Homans,² have advanced the idea that as an individual's behavior actualizes the norms of the group, his prestige in the group rises. And this notion has been implicit in most psychologies of "adjustment." On the other hand, many sociologists, when discussing social disorganization, emphasize the conflict of social norms. These writers not only have designated incompatible demands made upon the individual by society but also have suggested that the conflict in the social system has been responsible for much personal conflict. Riesman's recent provocative analysis of the character structure of the American middle class is a case in point.³ The latter contends that in the shift from "inner-" to "other-directedness" the individual has become not only an overconformist but at the same time a lonely member of a lonely crowd. Whereas the inner-directed individual internalized adult authorities, the other-directed person is completely dependent upon peer-group sanctions and is thus in the dilemma of seeking rewards and approbation from the very in-

dividuals with whom he is forced to compete. This paradoxical situation has led Riesman to suggest that increase in achievement in the group is made at the expense of peer-group affection.

The hypothesis that prestige in the group is a function of the degree to which one realizes the group's norms and that achievements are purchased at the expense of peer-group affection are not necessarily mutually exclusive. Granting that the terms "prestige" and "affection" are not synonymous, a *rapprochement* might be affected by relating it to the concepts of internal and external systems.⁴ The admiration in which an individual is held by his group is a function of his ability to realize both the expectancies which apply to the group's attempt to stabilize itself in the community and those which apply to the group's internal interaction. Although groups vary in the importance they attach to the two systems, in general the values of the external system take precedence over those of the internal system. We may thus rephrase our generalization to the effect that an individual's status in the group is a function of the degree to which he realizes, first, the

¹ The writer wishes to thank Professor Robert Wherry for his generous assistance with the factorial solution.

² C. G. Homans, *The Human Group* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1950), p. 442.

³ D. Riesman, R. Denney, and N. Glazer, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950).

⁴ Following Homans, *op. cit.*, pp. 90-94 and 109-10, the external system refers to the group's interaction with its environment, be this physical or social. The internal system refers to the group's elaboration of behavior deriving from and influencing the external system, but being primarily concerned with the interaction among members.

role-expectancies of the external system and, second, those of the internal system. The data presented in this paper provide an illuminating application, if not a crucial test, of these hypotheses.

The data reported here are one part of a larger study of the relationship between individual behavior and group structure. A district of a life insurance company was intensively studied to learn the organizational structure, procedures, and values. Several instruments were constructed, pre-tested, and revised, among which was a seven-item sociometric questionnaire, the results of which are reported here. The entire sales personnel of the district ($N = 43$)

for (1) "an assistant for a day on the debit," (2) "someone to present a new sales plan at their meeting," (3) "house guests for a social evening," and (4) "persons to whom they would turn for insurance information." These three items required the respondent to identify persons possessing in a high degree the traits of "aggressiveness," "sympathy," and "insurance intelligence." In brief, the sociometric items asked the agents to name the individuals in the group who, in their estimation, best fulfilled certain business functions and to judge particular individuals in terms of certain personal qualities. These data furnished important information indirectly about the role-expectancies of the group.

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS OF THE SEVEN SOCIOMETRIC ITEMS, ORTHOGONAL FACTOR LOADINGS, COMMUNALITIES, AND RESIDUALS ($N = 43$)
(Decimal Points Omitted)

ITEMS	INTERCORRELATIONS							FACTORS			R^2
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	I	II	III	
1.....	....	31	23	06	57	17	12	09	19	72	56
2.....	-04	....	30	39	30	37	40	32	38	35	37
3.....	03	05	....	-02	19	47	-08	-11	60	17	40
4.....	-05	01	-03	....	-08	42	95	97	20	-02	98
5.....	05	05	03	-03	....	03	-03	-05	05	71	51
6.....	-02	-05	-03	-03	01	..	36	28	88	-01	85
7.....	-02	04	-04	-01	-01	00	....	97	10	04	95
			RESIDUALS								

were first intensively interviewed about their expectancies toward the three principal positions in the organizational structure. Following the interview, the respondents filled out the sociometric questionnaire themselves.

The interviews were concerned with obtaining the agents' shared expectancies about the various positions. They were asked to consider the attributes of a particular position, holding in abeyance, in so far as possible, the characteristics of its occupants. These results, reported elsewhere,⁵ are impersonal. The sociometric data, by contrast, are highly personal. The items were aimed at the agents' most important on-the-job activities. The first four items of the questionnaire asked the respondents to give their first three choices

RESULTS

Table 1 presents the intercorrelation matrix of the seven sociometric items. In this matrix the number of times each individual was selected on each item was correlated with the number of selections on every other item. First, second, and third choices were counted equally.

In order to test the Riesman hypothesis as rigorously as possible, the matrix was factor-analyzed and rotated for simple structure. The three orthogonal factors, the

⁵L. G. Wispé and K. E. Lloyd, "Some Situational and Psychological Determinants of the Desire for Structured Interpersonal Relations," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. L (1955); L. G. Wispé and P. W. Thayer, "Role Ambiguity and Anxiety: An Empirical Investigation" (in preparation).

cantly, this factor has negative loadings with the insurance intelligence items 4 and 7.

The *general factor, g*, is the most important factor in terms of explained variance. It has particularly high loadings on items 3 and 6, which pertain to sociability and sympathy. It also has significant loadings on the insurance intelligence items, 4 and 7. Reflected in this factor is a general positive attitude, on which, significantly, item 5, aggressiveness, has the lowest loadings.

DISCUSSION

Clearly, in the agents' definition of the situation, a good salesman should be "aggressive" and "hard-hitting." Items 1 and 5, "an assistant for a day on the debit" and the trait of "aggressiveness," respectively, correlate $+0.57$, and they have the highest loadings on Factor C (aggressive salesmanship). The quality of "sympathy" (item 6), on the other hand, seems to have no place in the respondents' image of a successful salesman, for this item has a negative loading on Factor C, and it is not significantly related to the "choices for an assistant for a day on the debit." "Sympathy" has, however, a significant loading on Factor B, and a very high loading on the general factor, and it correlates $+0.47$ with "choices for a house guest" (item 3). Thus the paradoxical situation: the hard-driving agent, who may be a valuable asset on one's debit, is not the person to invite home for a relaxing evening, while the person with compassionate qualities, who makes a pleasant house guest, is not the person to select if you have to make your daily quota of sales.

This conflict of expectancies reveals the agents' dilemma. As insurance salesmen these men would like to be successful, and

as human beings they would like to be accepted. Yet, according to the analysis, the traits which make for success as an insurance salesman preclude acceptance as a friend! The issue is not that the respondents perceive sympathy and aggressiveness as mutually exclusive, since this is probably a veridical perception, but that the role-expectancies applying to the external system are antithetical to those related to the internal system. In order to meet the ideal patterns of the external system, a man must be hard-hitting and aggressive; but to conform to those of the internal system, he must be sympathetic and understanding. The situation thus engenders conflict, since few, if any, individuals can encompass such divergent behavior.

In the interviews there was no verbalized awareness of this conflict. However, these antagonistic expectancies are a potential source of trouble, the more so if they ever engage⁶ each other at a conscious level. Although we have no way of knowing how much of the general anxiety permeating this group is a function of this particular conflict, it is very likely that one of the manifestations of it is the widespread personal insecurity and the resulting desire for structured social relationships reported elsewhere.⁷ However, since the contrariety is clear, the lack of conscious conflict is itself of considerable interest. The answer to this problem has already been suggested. It is more important to be successful than to be accepted. And, since the men know this, there is, at least on the surface, no conflict.

OHIO STATE UNIVERSITY

⁶ M. B. Smith, "Personal Values as Determinants of Political Attitudes," *Journal of Psychology*, XXVIII (1949), 477-86.

⁷ Wispe and Lloyd, *op. cit.*

OCCUPATIONAL DIFFERENCES IN THE VALUE ATTACHED TO WORK

ELIZABETH L. LYMAN

ABSTRACT

Previous studies have shown differences between socioeconomic groups in the emphasis given to various aspects of work as reasons for satisfaction with a job. The present study suggests that these findings reflect differences in valuation and are not a consequence of unequal prevalence of job satisfaction.

Several recent studies have been concerned, directly or indirectly, with differences between socioeconomic groups in our society with respect to the value attached to various aspects of work.¹ While some of these studies are open to question on methodological grounds, they agree beyond doubt that persons at the lower end of the socioeconomic scale are more likely than those at the upper end to emphasize the economic aspects of work, whereas those at the upper end more typically stress the satisfaction they find in the work itself.

Hyman reports that in a nation-wide survey (made in 1947 by the National

Opinion Research Center in co-operation with Ohio State University), in answer to the question "What do you think is the most important *single* thing for a young man to consider when he is choosing his life's work," a larger proportion of respondents in the higher-income categories mentioned congeniality, and a smaller proportion mentioned economic benefits.² Hyman states that similar, though understandably less sharp, differences were obtained in a 1947 N.O.R.C. sampling of male college students.³

Centers found in a nation-wide study made in 1945 that, among those satisfied with their jobs, a larger proportion of business, professional, and other white-collar respondents than of manual workers mentioned a feature of the work itself as a reason for liking these jobs, and a smaller proportion mentioned the economic rewards.⁴ Centers also found that, when asked to choose from among ten hypothetical jobs, the business, professional, and other white-collar men were more likely than manual workers to select those described as "providing opportunities for self-expression, leadership, and interesting experience" and less likely to choose those pictured as offering security or high pay.⁵

Jurgensen asked 1,360 applicants for employment at the Minneapolis Gas Light

¹ Richard Centers, "Motivational Aspects of Occupational Stratification," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXVIII (November, 1948), 187-217; "The Fortune Survey: A Self-portrait of the American People, 1947," *Fortune*, XXXV (January, 1947), 5 ff.; "The Fortune Survey: A Self-portrait of Youth. Part II," *ibid.*, XXVI (December, 1942), 8 ff.; Eugene A. Friedmann and Robert J. Havighurst, *The Meaning of Work and Retirement* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954); Herbert H. Hyman, "The Value Systems of Different Classes: A Social-psychological Contribution to the Analysis of Stratification," in Reinhard Bendix and Seymour Martin Lipset (eds.), *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953), pp. 426-42; Clifford E. Jurgensen, "Selected Factors Which Influence Job Preferences," *Journal of Applied Psychology*, XXXI (December, 1947), 553-64; Lawrence G. Lindahl, "What Makes a Good Job," *Personnel*, XXV (January, 1949), 263-66; Seymour Martin Lipset and Reinhard Bendix, "Social Mobility and Occupational Career Patterns. II. Social Mobility," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 494-504; Sidney Selzer, "Studying Job Satisfaction among Hospital Attendants," *Public Personnel Review*, XI (January, 1950), 26-29.

² Hyman, *op. cit.*, pp. 433-34.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 437.

⁴ Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 192.

⁵ *Ibid.*, pp. 205-7.

Company during the year 1945-46 to rank ten job "factors." Comparisons were made between the mean ranks assigned to the factors by male sales, clerical, and mechanical personnel. The mechanical workers assigned the highest mean rank to security, second highest to advancement, and third highest to type of work. The sales and clerical workers (combined) assigned the highest rank to type of work, second highest to advancement, and third highest to security. Pay received a higher rank among the mechanical than among the sales and clerical workers.⁶

In a similar 1947-48 study (based, however, on a much smaller sample), Lindahl asked office and factory workers to make paired comparisons of ten job factors. Among the office workers the highest average rank was assigned to interesting work; the factory workers chose security.⁷

Can these differences in emphasis be taken at their face value to mean that persons at the upper end of the socioeconomic scale attach a lower relative value to economic considerations, i.e., that they would be more willing, on the average, than those at the lower end of the scale to forego a given increment in economic advantage in exchange for a given increment in satisfaction derivable from their work itself? Do the differences, instead, reflect a higher incidence of dissatisfaction with income on the part of those at the lower end? Or do they mean that those at the upper end of the scale are more likely to take for granted reasonably adequate economic rewards and less likely, therefore, to mention this aspect of work? A fourth possibility is that those at the upper end are the most anxious not to appear materialistic.

Data on the role of job satisfaction in accounting for the differences are presented later.⁸ Analyses pertinent to the other questions just raised can be found in the writer's unpublished doctoral dissertation.⁹ The data were derived from interviews with

250 employed men, of whom 179 were residents of Chicago and 71 were residents of Belvidere, Byron, Durand, Freeport, or Pecatonica—all of which are in the vicinity of Rockford, Illinois. The design of the sample was a compromise between probability and quota methods.¹⁰

⁶ Permission to use the data, which were collected by the National Opinion Research Center in the spring of 1951 for use in a pilot study, was generously given by the center's client—the National Council of the Churches of Christ in the United States of America. The writer gratefully acknowledges her indebtedness to A. Dudley Ward and Howard R. Bowen, director and economic consultant, respectively, of the National Council of Churches' study of the role of ethics in economic life; to Clyde W. Hart, director of the National Opinion Research Center; and to Josephine J. Williams, formerly a study director at the center and in immediate charge of the work under contract from the National Council of Churches.

⁷ "Similarities and Differences in Relative Valuation of Aspects of Work" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1954).

¹⁰ The procedure was as follows:

"In Chicago sample blocks were selected by probability methods and sides of the blocks were randomly chosen, but the selection of the respondents on an assigned side was left up to the interviewers, subject to restrictions mentioned below.

"Only one family was to be interviewed on any one assigned side.

"Half the respondents were to be men.

"Interviews were to be conducted only with the husband or wife in families where the man and wife lived together, the man was under sixty, and the man was the main support of the family, that is, not unemployable, although possibly unemployed at the moment.

"In Belvidere and Freeport the block sample was selected by probability methods from a list of blocks. Two sides were assigned in each sample block. The directions for selecting respondents on a side were the same as for Chicago. Approximately 100 interviews were obtained from these two towns together.

"In Byron, Durand, and Pecatonica, no map or list of blocks was available. About fifty interviews were obtained, subject only to the quota controls mentioned above" (memorandum by Josephine J. Williams, entitled "290 Sample," in the files of the National Opinion Research Center). See also the memorandum by William Cobb reproduced in the present writer's dissertation, pp. 108-10.

⁸ Jurgensen, *op. cit.*, p. 560.

⁷ Lindahl, *op. cit.*, p. 265.

In comparison with 1950 census data, the sample is somewhat biased in the direction of white-collar occupations, higher educational level, American nativity, higher family income; and older age level. With respect to the occupational bias, the largest difference, of 7 percentage points, is found in the operatives and kindred workers, of whom the sample contains too few. The sample contains, too, an excess of nearly 6 percentage points in managers, officials, and proprietors.

The questions in the interview schedule concerned with work were open-ended and designed to elicit the respondent's reasons for liking or disliking his job and, if he preferred a different one, his reasons. If inferences are to be drawn regarding aspects of work *valued* (as opposed to *emphasized*), it is necessary to know, among other things, whether the respondents are satisfied with their jobs.¹¹ The reasoning behind this conclusion is as follows: Consider the case of a person *dissatisfied* with his job who is asked what he *likes* about it. He can probably think of *something* he likes, but may name aspects to which he attaches a low value relative to the ones with respect to which he thinks his job deficient. The things he says he *likes* are therefore not a good basis for inferences regarding what he values. In his case, one needs to know what he dislikes or his reasons for wanting to do something else.

The situation is just the opposite in the case of the person *satisfied* with his job. Even though he is satisfied, the chances are that he can think of something he dislikes. The aspects he names, however, are likely to be those to which he attaches a low value relative to others. In order to draw inferences about what he values, one needs to know what he likes.

Accordingly, the respondents were classified as satisfied or dissatisfied, depending

¹¹ As will become apparent, this requirement is automatically met in the case of the questions regarding reasons for preferring different work; but this is not so with respect to the questions concerning reasons for liking and/or disliking the present job.

on the combination of replies they made to these questions:

1. If you could start over, would you go into the *same kind* of work again, or what would you like to do? (PROBE: This is the "are-there-any-regrets?" question.)
2. Suppose you could get the *same pay*, no matter *what* kind of work you did. Of all the kinds of work you can think of, what would you like best?
3. How would you feel about a son of yours going into your kind of work?¹²

A respondent was classified as satisfied if he gave the following combination of answers:

1. Would go into the same kind of work again, if he could start over, and gives no indication of dissatisfaction with present *job*, as opposed to *kind of work*.
2. Would like best the same kind of work he is now doing, if he could get the same pay no matter what kind of work done.
3. Approves of having a son go into his (respondent's) kind of work, *or* says a son should do what he likes.

Any other combination of answers placed a person in the "dissatisfied" category. (Sixty-nine per cent of the sample were classified as dissatisfied. This is undoubtedly a higher percentage than would have been obtained if the respondents had been asked to state whether they were satisfied. Only 15 per cent of Centers' sample said they were dissatisfied).¹³

As shown in Tables 1, 2, and 3, comparisons were made between two broad occupational categories¹⁴ of *satisfied* respondents

¹² Some respondents may have recognized differences between their sons' and their own abilities or tastes. This would present no problems if they stated that a son should choose his own occupation and gave no reasons why he would be wise to choose one over others. If, however, they gave reasons which were not also their own reasons for preferring some other occupation, the findings are by this much distorted.

¹³ Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

¹⁴ Both are composites of occupational categories used by the United States Bureau of the Census. "White-collar" includes (1) professional, technical, and kindred workers; (2) managers, officials, and proprietors, except farm; (3) clerical and kindred workers; and (4) sales workers. "Blue-collar" includes (1) craftsmen, foremen,

with respect to the reasons given for *liking* their present jobs, *dissatisfied* respondents with respect to reasons for disliking their present jobs, and *dissatisfied* respondents with respect to their reasons for preferring some other kind of work.¹⁵ With a few exceptions, the *direction* of the differences with respect to each aspect of work is the same in all three.¹⁶ In Table 4 the signs of the comparable differences in the three tables have been placed parallel to one another. These data lend support to the hypothesis that the differences between occupational groups reported by other investi-

the differential in the emphasis on economic rewards and on the nature of the work itself (as well as on other aspects) is unlikely to be a function of differences in the prevalence of job satisfaction. The pattern

TABLE 2

DISSATISFIED RESPONDENTS GIVING SELECTED
REASONS FOR DISLIKING PRESENT JOB
BY OCCUPATION (PER CENT)

Selected Reasons for Disliking Present Job (1)	White- Collar (2)	Blue- Collar (3)	Difference (3) Minus (2) (4)
Lack of easiness, physical, due to nature of work.....	7	22	+15*
Some characteristic of the work per se†... (Some characteristic of the work per se—nothing else mentioned).....	38 (26)	20 (8)	-18‡ (-18)*
Economic rewards... (Economic rewards—nothing else mentioned).....	29 (9)	33 (15)	+ 4 (+ 6)
Conditions of work...	30	29	- 1
Lack of freedom.....	1	1	0
Lack of cleanliness...	3	6	+ 3
No. respondents§	69	99	

* Significant at the 1 per cent level.

† See note * to Table 1.

‡ Significant at the 5 per cent level.

§ Excludes three unclassifiable with respect to reasons for disliking present job and one unclassifiable on occupation.

TABLE 1
SATISFIED RESPONDENTS GIVING SELECTED
REASONS FOR LIKING PRESENT JOB
BY OCCUPATION (PER CENT)

Selected Reasons for Liking Present Job (1)	White- Collar (2)	Blue- Collar (3)	Difference: (3) Minus (2) (4)
Easiness, physical, due to nature of work.....	0	7	+ 7
Some characteristic of the work per se*... (Some characteristic of the work per se—nothing else mentioned).....	87 (49)	80 (27)	- 7 (-22)
Economic rewards... (Economic rewards—nothing else mentioned).....	19 (2)	53 (3)	+34† (+ 1)
Conditions of work...	17	47	+30†
Freedom.....	26	17	- 9
Cleanliness.....	0	7	+ 7
No. respondents...	47	30	

* Other than easiness, freedom, or cleanliness. This somewhat illogical rubric is used on the ground that comments concerning the interesting, challenging nature of the work, its service aspects, etc., should be distinguished from those regarding the other "intrinsic" features just referred to. A further justification is the fact that freedom and cleanliness (or their opposites) need not be "intrinsic" characteristics of the work.

† Significant at the 1 per cent level.

gators are reflections of differences in the value attached to aspects of work. Since satisfaction has here been held constant,

and kindred workers; (2) operatives and kindred workers; (3) service workers (including private household); and (4) laborers. For definitions see U.S. Bureau of the Census, *1950 Census of Population: Alphabetical Index of Occupations and Industries* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1950), pp. xv-xx.

remained substantially the same when earnings were held constant.

With very few exceptions, the pattern of difference between occupational categories

¹⁵ The code for the aspects of work mentioned as reasons for liking and/or disliking present job and for preferring a different one was also constructed by the present writer. To test the reliability of this classification, L. Margaret Kraemer was asked to classify responses of two successive 5 per cent random samples of respondents to the questions pertaining to work. Percentages of agreement with the writer's classification were 85 and 88, respectively. In the case of all other questions, the codes constructed by Josephine J. Williams for the National Council of Churches study were used. The coding of these other questions was done, under the supervision of Patricia Collette, by Patricia Hume and May Frank.

¹⁶ In the tables, since the sample involved clustering, the standard errors and probabilities are likely to be underestimates.

persisted when the following other factors were held constant: race, education, age, nativity of parents, and father's occupation. They also persisted when the "own bosses" were removed from the sample and comparison was made within the category "wage and salary workers." Further evidence of the connection between occupation

TABLE 3

DISSATISFIED RESPONDENTS GIVING SELECTED REASONS FOR PREFERRING SOME OTHER KIND OF WORK, BY OCCUPATION (PER CENT)

Selected Reasons for Preferring Some Other Kind of Work (1)	White-Collar (2)	Blue-Collar (3)	Difference (3) Minus (2) (4)
Easiness, physical, due to nature of work...	5	16	+11*
Some characteristic of the work per se†... (Some characteristic of the work per se—nothing else mentioned).....	73 (22)	56 (9)	-17* (-13)*
Economic rewards... (Economic rewards—nothing else mentioned).....	40 (6)	53 (5)	+13 (-1)
Conditions of work...	6	5	-1
Freedom.....	8	12	+4
Cleanliness.....	2	6	+4
No. respondents†..	63	97	

* Significant at the 5 per cent level.

† See note * to Table 1.

† Excludes eleven respondents unclassifiable with respect to reasons for preferring some other kind of work, and one unclassifiable on occupation.

and emphasis given to aspects of work is the fact that comparison between occupational categories (holding nothing constant) produced statistically significant differences on more aspects of work than did corresponding comparisons based on job satisfaction, class of worker (own boss or employee), income (both family income and individual earnings), age, residence (Chicago or near Rockford), education, nativity of parents, father's occupation, father's education, religious denomination, and importance attached to religion.

What is the proper interpretation of the discrepancies in the pattern shown in Table 4? For reasons too complicated to present in full here, it was decided that the pattern

of differences shown in column 2 is the most likely to be valid, i.e., that white-collar workers give greater emphasis to the character of the work itself and to freedom, while blue-collar workers give greater emphasis to the physically easy nature of the work, the economic rewards, the conditions of work, and cleanliness. A basis for this conclusion is the fact that, in so far as they are comparable, Centers' data on reasons for liking present job give the same pattern of differences.¹⁷

One item in Centers' findings is inconsistent with the conclusions he draws from

TABLE 4

SIGNS OF BLUE-COLLAR MINUS WHITE-COLLAR PERCENTAGES SHOWN IN TABLES 1, 2, AND 3

Aspects of Work (1)	From Table 1, Satisfieds' Reasons for Liking Present Job (2)	From Table 2, Dissatisfieds' Reasons for Disliking Present Job (3)	From Table 3, Dissatisfieds' Reasons for Preferring Other Work (4)
Easiness, physical, due to nature of work...	+	+	+
Some characteristic of the work per se..... (Some characteristic of the work per se—nothing else mentioned)	-	-	-
Economic rewards..... (Economic rewards—nothing else mentioned)	+	+	+
Conditions of work.....	+	+	-
Freedom.....	+	-	-
Cleanliness.....	+	+	+

data collected for another part of his study. His satisfied business, professional, and other white-collar respondents emphasize freedom more than do his manual workers. This fact suggests that business, professional, and other white-collar workers, taken as

¹⁷ See author's dissertation, Table 6, p. 36.

a whole, are slightly more likely than those doing manual labor to attach value to freedom on the job.

However, the opposite conclusion might be drawn (as it was by Centers) from the choices made by his respondents from among the ten hypothetical jobs described to them as follows:

- A. A job where you could be a leader.
- B. A very interesting job.
- C. A job where you would be looked upon very highly by your fellow-men.
- D. A job where you could be boss.
- E. A job which you were absolutely sure of keeping.
- F. A job where you could express your feelings, ideas, talent, or skill.
- G. A very highly paid job.
- H. A job where you could make a name for yourself—or become famous.
- I. A job where you could help other people.
- J. A job where you could work more or less on your own.¹⁸

In Centers' analysis these ten jobs are designated as exemplifying, respectively, leadership, interesting experience, esteem, power, security, self-expression, profit, fame, social service, and independence. From his comparison of the replies of his two major occupational categories, Centers concludes that "there are distinct differences in the desires or value preferences of the various occupational strata." With reference to the differences on the choice of "a job where you could work more or less on your own," he reports that "the lower [occupational] groups strongly emphasize . . . a desire for independence, autonomy, or freedom."¹⁹

Centers' conclusion here conflicts with his previous finding that a significantly larger proportion of satisfied business, professional, and other white-collar respondents than of manual workers mention freedom as a reason for liking the jobs they have. The explanation of this inconsistency between the two sets of data may lie in the respondents' interpretation of the phrase "a job where you could work more or less

on your own." One may reason from the raw data analyzed in the present study that some of Centers' respondents interpreted this phrase to mean "a job where you could be your own boss." As Peterson has pointed out²⁰ and as the present writer's data indicate, being one's own boss may be desired on grounds of security rather than of freedom: a man who is his own boss cannot be fired, and the economic rewards of the business are his. If so, then the differences Centers obtained with respect to what he calls "independence," "autonomy," or "freedom" are really a reflection of occupational differences in emphasis on security. Consistent with this interpretation are the findings of Lipset and Bendix that manual workers are more likely than white-collar and sales workers (combined) to have aspired to own their own businesses.²¹ Hyman interprets these Lipset and Bendix data as *inconsistent* with his hypothesis that the lower occupational groups attach a higher value to security.²² One may argue that, on the contrary, they *do* conform and that what they reveal is increased emphasis on security.

Even after having established a pattern of differences which is apparently not due to differences in the prevalence of job sat-

²⁰ Warren Peterson, "A Study of Occupational Evaluation: Comparative Preference for Independent and Non-independent Occupations" (unpublished M.A. thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, 1949), p. 98.

²¹ Lipset and Bendix, *op. cit.*, p. 502. But, of the sales workers, taken alone, a higher proportion acknowledge such aspirations than of the manual workers or any subcategory of them. Centers found that almost identical percentages of white-collar and manual workers (54.3 and 54.5, respectively) answered affirmatively to the question "Do you sometime hope or expect to own your own business?" (See Centers, *op. cit.*, p. 200.) The inconsistency between the findings of the two studies may, of course, be a function of differences in the occupational classifications or in the phrasing of the questions. Lipset's and Bendix' question was put in the present perfect tense: "Have you ever thought of going into business for yourself?"

²² Hyman, *op. cit.*, p. 697, n. 19.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 204-5. ¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 217.

isfaction, one is not warranted in immediately drawing the inference that the pattern reflects occupational differences in valuation. It may, instead, be a function of differences either in what is taken for granted or in the wish to conceal a high valuation of certain aspects of work. The data for this study do not permit a clear choice from among these possibilities. An analysis which cannot be reported here gave results which, though consistent with the hypothesis of differences in valuation, do not preclude the other interpretations.

The question as to how such occupational differences in valuation, if they exist, are to be accounted for cannot be answered by the data available for this study. In an attempt to assess the role of parental influence, comparisons were made between white-collar workers whose fathers were also in white-collar occupations and white-collar respondents whose fathers were blue-collar workers; the pattern of differences remained substantially the same as in the comparison between white- and blue-collar

respondents.²³ This was not so, however, in the corresponding comparison within the category of blue-collar workers.

In summary, the evidence here presented is consistent with the hypothesis that there are occupational differences in the value attached to aspects of work. It indicates that the differences in emphasis on aspects of work (white-collar respondents emphasizing the nature of the work itself and freedom, blue-collar respondents emphasizing the physically easy nature of the work, the economic rewards, the conditions of work, and cleanliness) are not likely to be a function of differences in the prevalence of job satisfaction. When satisfaction is held constant, a relatively consistent pattern of differences with respect to reasons for liking and/or disliking present job and for preferring another one is found. There is some admittedly inconclusive evidence, not reported here, that the differences are not due to differences in what is taken for granted or in the wish to conceal valuations.

It has been found that white-collar workers with white-collar fathers are more "white-collar-like" in the emphasis given to aspects of work than those with blue-collar fathers. Ambiguous results were obtained in the comparison of blue-collar workers who had white-collar fathers with blue-collar workers whose fathers were in the same occupational category.

CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

²³ Consistent with these findings is Hyman's report that the 1947 National Opinion Research Center data show (1) 65 per cent of the professional or business respondents with professional or business fathers, compared with 62 per cent of those with fathers who were skilled or semi-skilled workers, mentioning congeniality of the work as the most important single thing for a young man to consider when choosing his life's work, and (2) 15 per cent and 19 per cent, respectively, mentioning the economic benefits.

SOCIAL CLASS DIFFERENCES IN THE USES OF LEISURE

R. CLYDE WHITE

ABSTRACT

Study of a random sample of families in Cuyahoga County, Ohio, shows that the uses of leisure are conditioned by social class and to some extent by age and sex. The upper middle class selects libraries, home diversions, and lecture-study groups more often than other classes, whereas the two lowest classes use parks and playgrounds, community chest agencies, church, museums, and commercial entertainment relatively more often.

Studies have been made of the kinds of activities in which people engage at leisure, and some effort has been made to relate the use of leisure to broad occupational groups.¹ Recent developments in social class theory, however, have not been related to the subject. Does the class position of an individual affect his choice of leisure activities? Is his class position reflected in what he does in his leisure?

In a given district most children go to the same or similar schools. The same machines for communication are available to all people. These things make for uniformity. But there are a range of choice in schools and a very wide range of choice in communication. Ways of using leisure are matters partly of free choice and partly of obligations recognized, and the conditions for making the choices or recognizing the obligations exist in the individual's subculture.

The thesis of this paper is that the use of leisure is a function of class position and that the differentiation increases with age up to maturity.

Leisure is defined as all the time in a day when the individual is not sleeping, eating, or working. Attending school is equivalent to work for children or young people. Nine principal categories were used: leisure spent in parks and playgrounds; in group-work agencies financed by the community chest; in church; in museums; in libraries; at home; in ethnic groups; and in commercial amuse-

ments. These were broken down into thirty-one specific choices; remaining items (amounting to 6.6 per cent of the total) were put into the category "Other."

In addition to information on what people did at their leisure during the week preceding the interview, information on the occupation of the head of the family, the sources of family income, and the kind of residential neighborhood was obtained for computing an Index of Status Characteristics (ISC).²

THE SAMPLE

The sample was a number of census tracts in Cuyahoga County, representative as to income, education, racial composition, distribution of occupations, condition of housing, and the age distribution of the population. Census tracts in which the median income was \$5,000 or more were not used. Within each census tract the families to be interviewed were selected by a random method. Fourteen census tracts were chosen, and 673 usable schedules were obtained. The households contained 1,741 persons over six years of age.

Some use has been made of data obtained in another study of how junior high school students use their leisure. This study was based upon matched pairs of upper-middle- and upper-lower-class students and con-

¹ George A. Lundberg, Mirra Komarovsky, and Mary Alice McLinery, *Leisure: A Suburban Study* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1934), esp. chap. iv.

² W. Lloyd Warner, Marchia Meeker, and Kenneth Eells, *Social Class in America* (New York: Science Research Associates, 1949), esp. chap. x. Graduate students in the School of Applied Social Sciences of Western Reserve University did the field work on this study and assisted with the tabulation in the spring, 1953.

tained five pairs of boys and fourteen pairs of girls. It provided information on the amount of time students gave to various leisure pursuits in a given four days.

Table 1 gives the social class distribution of the families in the primary sample. This sample probably has too many lower-class families: to represent the population more accurately, there should be about 2 per cent in the upper class and about 10 per cent in the upper middle class.

TABLE 1
SOCIAL CLASS DISTRIBUTION
OF FAMILIES

Social Class	Families	Per Cent
Upper Middle.....	46	6.8
Lower Middle.....	184	27.3
Upper Lower.....	360	53.5
Lower Lower.....	83	12.3
Total.....	673	99.9

In the following analysis the data will be dealt with in four classes: upper middle, lower middle, upper lower, and lower lower.

GENERAL PATTERNS IN THE USE OF LEISURE

The number of activities per person during the week ranged as follows: for males, 5.1 for the upper middle class to 4.7 for the upper lower; for females, 5.5 for the upper middle to 4.3 for the lower lower. The difference in number of activities for males is small and may have no significance, but that for females is large and might be found in larger samples. This may reflect the amount of leisure when both sexes and all ages are considered together. If so, the upper middle class is likely to have more leisure. This possibility, however, is not supported by data from junior high school students. The amount of leisure per day in this study was found to be 8.5 hours for upper-lower-class boys and 8.1 for upper-middle-class boys; and for the girls the corresponding figures were 8.4 for the upper lower class and 7.1 for the upper middle. The difference for the girls is statistically significant.

The percentage of persons who engage in a particular kind of leisure activity varies

widely among the social classes. Table 2 gives the use rates per 100 persons in each class.

The rate of use of parks and playgrounds by class rises sharply from the upper-middle-class rate through other classes for both males and females. The same regular progression is shown in attendance at church services and, with slight variations, for a single class in rates for community-chest services, museums, and ethnic-racial organizations. For libraries, home activities, and lecture-study courses the trend is reversed and decreases from the upper middle downward. The rates for commercial amusements differ: low for upper-middle-class males and on a higher level for the other three classes; for females exactly the reverse, indicating a high rate for upper-middle-class females and a lower and almost even rate for the others.

The analysis was carried further by the discovery of certain patterns of leisure in the analysis by sex in the age groups six to seventeen and eighteen and over. These are shown in the use of parks and playgrounds, community-chest-agency activities, church, libraries, home games, radio, television, phonograph, reading, lecture-study, movies, and all other commercial amusements added together.

Chi-square tests of correspondence between observation and expectancy were made for male and female series separately, first by comparing the upper-middle pattern with the pattern of each of the other classes, then the lower middle with upper lower, and lower lower, and, finally, upper lower with lower lower. In only one pair of patterns for the younger age group, the LM-LL, was there a significant difference. Consequently, these are not presented. The inference is that children and adolescents are less aware of or habituated to social class behavior than those eighteen years of age and older. The general patterns of the younger groups are similar for all classes except the male LM-LL pattern.

In the older groups the behavior of the several classes is markedly divergent. Table 3 shows the chi squares with the correspond-

ing values of P for 10 degrees of freedom in each pattern. (Any P larger than 0.05 is considered in this study to be too large to indicate statistical significance.)

For the six patterns chi square increases regularly with the spread between the two classes being compared. There is less regularity in female patterns: UM-LM and LM-LL differences are not significant at the 5 per cent level, but in all other comparisons the differences are significant beyond the 5 or 1 per cent level, though the patterns show unevenness in direction of size of differences. The data demonstrate a clear tendency toward divergence in the use of leisure among the classes for males and considerable evidence of such among the females.

reading, and movies proportionately more than do the boys of any of the other social classes. The same tendency exists for females except in the case of television. This form of entertainment or education is used with about the same frequency among females in all social classes. For males the value of P for television is .05—, which means it is barely significant. The lower-middle-class boys tend to use leisure in the same way, except that they use the school library more than boys of the upper lower and lower lower classes; but differences are much less marked among females of all classes.

The tests of difference in a single activity for persons eighteen years of age or older, like the general patterns in Table 3, show

TABLE 2
RATES OF USE OF LEISURE PER 100 PERSONS
OF ALL AGES, BY SOCIAL CLASS

MEANS OF USING LEISURE	USE OF LEISURE PER 100 BY SEX AND SOCIAL CLASS							
	Male				Female			
	UM	LM	UL	LL	UM	LM	UL	LL
Parks and playgrounds.....	1.6	7.0	12.2	23.0	1.9	6.7	6.8	16.4
Community-chest services.....	9.8	12.7	11.4	18.6	7.7	11.2	8.8	12.3
Church.....	49.2	68.4	66.2	76.1	53.8	73.8	81.1	82.8
Museums.....	1.6	3.1	1.2	7.1	0	4.1	1.6	4.9
Libraries.....	21.3	20.6	13.7	11.5	17.3	25.1	19.1	12.3
Home.....	339.3	274.6	272.8	254.0	374.5	298.9	288.1	258.2
Ethnic-racial organizations.....	4.9	6.1	8.5	0.9	3.8	3.7	9.4	0.8
Lecture-study.....	9.8	4.8	3.3	5.3	19.2	7.5	2.5	4.1
Commercial amusements.....	68.9	82.9	82.0	82.0	76.9	56.9	58.0	56.0

SPECIFIC PATTERNS IN THE USE OF LEISURE

The behavior of two classes of the same age and sex group with respect to a single leisure-time activity was compared in two-by-two contingency tables.

Comparisons were made first for the younger part of the sample, that is, ages six to seventeen, by sex, as shown in Table 4. Of 23 pairs for the males, 22 show significant differences, and in 14 pairs out of 23 for females the differences in frequency of a specified use of leisure are significantly different from chance variations.

The patterns for these young people are clear but somewhat irregular, like the blurred general patterns for young people mentioned above. Yet upper-middle-class boys use the phonograph, radio, television,

much more regularly than they do for the young people, as seen in Table 5. The evidence in this table that leisure activities are a function of social class is much stronger than in Table 4. Comparisons for males show significant differences in 34 out of 41

TABLE 3
CLASS PAIRS AND THE CHI SQUARES FOR DIS-
CREPANCIES OF PATTERNS, BY SEX
AGE EIGHTEEN AND OVER

CLASS PAIRS	MALE		FEMALE	
	Chi Square	P	Chi Square	P
UM-LM....	19.86	.05—	14.55	.05+
UM-UL....	38.05	.01—	39.04	.01—
UM-LL....	43.26	.01—	30.86	.01—
LM-UL....	21.19	.05—	20.35	.05—
LM-LL....	60.83	.01—	17.98	.05+
UL-LL....	20.67	.05—	22.13	.05—

pairs, and among females the differences are significant in 28 out of 41 pairs. As shown by the size of chi square, the differences in descending order from upper middle class toward lower lower-class for men are regular in the case of the use of home games, reading, theater, and tavern. Again the patterns are less clear for females. Taverns as a place to spend leisure are used by rising proportions of males when one moves from the upper middle class to each of the others.

was predominantly upper middle class and the other predominantly upper lower class. These two classes gave the tone and atmosphere to the schools. Random samples of twenty boys and twenty girls were taken at each school, and then in so far as possible matched pairs were used. Matching was done on sex, age, I.Q., and grade. Many cases were lost in the matching process, and in the end there were only five pairs of boys and fourteen pairs of girls. Two interviews

TABLE 4
COMPARISON OF CLASS DIFFERENCES IN A SINGLE ACTIVITY
AGES 6-17, BY SEX (df-1)

CLASS	MEANS OF USING LEISURE	MALE		FEMALE	
		Chi Square	P	Chi Square	P
+UM-LM*	Home games	—†	—	5.39	.05-†
+UM-LM	Phonograph	10.67	.01-	15.39	.01-
+UM-UL	Phonograph	4.98	.05-	13.79	.01-
+UM-LL	Phonograph	7.88	.01-	19.04	.01-
+UM-LM	Radio	7.78	.01-	6.17	.05-
+UM-LL	Radio	4.13	.05-	7.91	.01-
+UM-LM	Television	6.40	.05-	3.30	.05+
+UM-UL	Television	5.02	.05-	2.89	.05+
+UM-LL	Television	4.56	.05-	3.46	.05+
+UM-LM	Reading	—	—	4.06	.05-
+UM-LL	Reading	4.05	.05-	5.67	.05-
+UM-LM	Movies	6.73	.01-	7.92	.01-
-LM-LL	Parks—playground	5.66	.05-	6.31	.05-
-LM-UL	Church	6.61	.01	—	—
-LM-UL	Home games	8.62	.01-	—	—
-LM-LL	Home games	12.33	.01-	—	—
-LM-UL	Television	7.25	.01-	—	—
+LM-LL	School library	5.83	.05-	7.10	.01-
-LM-UL	Reading	5.12	.05-	—	—
-LM-UL	Movies	6.28	.05-	4.74	.05-
-LM-LL	Movies	5.57	.05-	3.98	.05-
-UL-LL	Parks—playground	4.24	.05-	—	—

* A plus or minus sign to the left of the symbols in the "Class" column indicates that the first symbol had more participation than expectancy or less.

† Dash indicates "obviously not significant."

‡ Minus sign indicates beyond the level stipulated—a plus after .05 indicates that *P* is greater than .05 and that difference is not significant.

TIME GIVEN TO VARIOUS USES OF LEISURE

The amount of time which individuals devote to specific activity in their leisure is probably as important as the choice of activity, providing as it does information on intensity of informal education.

While it proved impracticable to get estimates of time for specific activities from persons interviewed for the primary sample, the information was obtained in the more restricted junior high school study. One school

were held with each child, and the home was visited. Table 6 gives some of the time averages. The total number of hours for each sex is almost the same for upper-lower-class children as it is for those of the upper middle class, but the children of the upper lower class had about three hours more leisure during the four-day period than did those of the upper middle class; they devoted almost twice as many hours to radio, television, movies, and sports as did the

TABLE 5
COMPARISON OF CLASS DIFFERENCES IN A SINGLE ACTIVITY
AGE EIGHTEEN AND OVER, BY SEX

CLASS	MEANS OF USING LEISURE	MALE		FEMALE	
		Chi Square	P	Chi Square	P
+UM-UL*	Public library	4.12†	.05-‡	—§	—
+UM-LM	Home games	6.34	.05-	6.97	.01-
+UM-UL	Home games	9.51	.01-	7.30	.01-
+UM-LL	Home games	24.62	.01-	22.88	.01-
+UM-LM	Phonograph	10.94	.01-	6.52	.05-
+UM-UL	Phonograph	18.93	.01-	17.76	.01-
+UM-LL	Phonograph	9.47	.01-	16.78	.01-
+UM-LM	Radio	14.01	.01-	—	—
+UM-UL	Radio	22.21	.01-	20.97	.01-
+UM-LL	Radio	21.81	.01-	27.06	.01-
+UM-LL	Television	8.80	.01-	—	—
+UM-LM	Reading	6.12	.05-	—	—
+UM-UL	Reading	8.15	.01-	11.88	.01-
+UM-LL	Reading	11.67	.01-	3.22	.05+
+UM-LM	Lectures	14.99	.01-	3.51	.05+
+UM-UL	Lectures	25.87	.01-	17.58†	.01-
+UM-LL	Lectures	11.78	.01-	3.15	.05+
+UM-UL	Movies	8.13	.01-	4.87	.05-
+UM-LL	Movies	6.75	.01-	7.05	.01-
+UM-UL	Theater	4.56†	.05-	14.50†	.01-
+UM-LL	Theater	7.27†	.01-	4.19†	.05-
-UM-UL	Tavern	4.33	.05-	—	—
-UM-LL	Tavern	10.97	.01-	—	—
+LM-UL	Public library	7.84	.01-	4.18	.05-
+LM-LL	Public library	2.73	.05+	4.35	.05-
+LM-LL	Home games	11.05	.01-	9.89	.01-
+LM-UL	Phonograph	—	—	4.12	.05-
+LM-LL	Phonograph	—	—	5.50	.05-
+LM-UL	Radio	3.50	.05+	29.89	.01-
+LM-LL	Radio	3.31	.05+	32.48	.01-
+LM-LL	Television	18.19	.01-	30.57	.01-
+LM-UL	Reading	—	—	23.48	.01-
+LM-UL	Movies	6.23	.05-	2.79	.05+
+LM-LL	Movies	4.00	.05-	4.54	.05-
+LM-UL	Theater	3.73	.05+	8.13	.01-
+LM-LL	Theater	75.09†	.01-	15.75†	.01-
-LM-UL	Tavern	10.03	.01-	—	—
-LM-LL	Tavern	25.26	.01-	—	—
+UL-LL	Home games	10.01	.01-	9.95	.01-
+UL-LL	Television	4.37	.05-	56.42	.01-
-UL-LL	Tavern	8.15	.01-	3.14	.05+

* A plus or minus sign to the left of the symbols in the "Class" column indicates that the first symbol had more participation than expectancy or less.

† Number of persons in the two classes participating in this activity is 10 or less. Chi square was computed only to show direction of the present data which are believed to hold for larger samples.

‡ Minus sign indicates beyond the level stipulated—a plus after .05 indicates that *P* is greater than .05 and that the difference is not significant.

§ Dash indicates "obviously not significant."

TABLE 6
MEAN AMOUNT OF TIME SPENT IN CERTAIN LEISURE ACTIVITIES

MEANS OF USING LEISURE	MEAN NUMBER OF HOURS			
	Male		Female	
	UM	UL	UM	UL
Church, reading, and school homework	5.3	1.0	4.7	4.1
Radio, TV, movies, and sports	12.0	21.7	7.7	14.1
Remunerative work and home duty	5.0	3.0	9.7	8.1
Total	22.3	25.7	22.1	26.3

upper middle class and correspondingly less to each of the other activities. The fact that the upper middle class spent more time on remunerative work and home duties than did the upper lower is a little surprising. However, the large difference in use of time was in recreation.

Recreation of various sorts was divided into four categories, and chi squares for two-by-four tables were computed for each matched pair to determine whether the patterns for the use of time by the two classes were significantly different. In only one of the matched pairs of the boys were the differences not significant, and in three of them the differences were significant beyond the 1 per cent level. The time patterns for pairs of girls were not significantly different for six pairs, but for the other eight the differences were significant beyond the 1 per cent level in five and beyond the 5 per cent level in three.

AGE AND SEX DISCREPANCIES

Why do the leisure activities of young people show such irregular patterns between social classes? And is there any way of accounting for the less-well-defined patterns of leisure activities among adult females?

It is clear that the tendency to choose leisure activities on the grounds of membership in a particular social class begins in adolescence and becomes more pronounced in maturity. To test this hypothesis, the two middle classes were put together and the two lower classes were also put together to produce relatively large numbers of cases. Then chi-square tests for nine types (8 degrees of freedom) of activities were made for

persons six to eleven years of age, twelve to seventeen years of age, and eighteen years of age and over. The chi squares were, respectively, as follows: 12.65, 17.01, and 51.83. As people get older and settle into the ways of the class to which they belong, they choose leisure activities which are congenial to their class.³ The growing divergence between the uses of leisure by the middle class and lower classes is clear. Class differences are reflected by young people but are not fixed until maturity.

A reasonable explanation of the irregular variations in leisure activities of adult females is that most of them were housewives. The class of the family was determined on the basis of the head of the family, generally a man. While there is a strong tendency for men to marry within their own social class, some marry outside it, and the women bring their own family background into the new family. Hence, greater heterogeneity among the females of the sample is to be expected. Yet the class of the husbands is attributed to them, which results in an apparent confusion in the selection of leisure pursuits but which actually are probably inconsistent with their original family background.

In concluding, it may be observed that these findings have practical import for the planning of leisure services by both public and private agencies. They might also be taken into account by the manufacturers of communication equipment in planning marketing procedures.

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³ It would have been desirable to run a similar test for persons eighteen to twenty-four years of age had the sample lent itself to that test.

ADDITIONAL HIGHER DEGREES IN SOCIOLOGY CONFERRED IN 1954 AND DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1954

The following names were submitted subsequent to the listing in our July, 1955, issue of the census of degrees granted and theses in progress in 1954.

DOCTOR'S DEGREES

- Morris Axelrod, A.B. Michigan, 1948. "A Study of Formal and Informal Group Participation in a Large Urban Community." *Michigan*.
Charles N. Lebeaux, A.B. Dartmouth College, 1935; M.S.W. Michigan, 1947. "Rural and Urban Background as Factors in the Behavior of Factory Workers." *Michigan*.
Ruth Riemer, A.B., M.A. California (Los Angeles), 1943, 1946. "Social Mobility and Mobility Aspiration in Relation to Fertility Planning and Fertility." *Michigan*.
Sam Schulman, B.A., M.A., University of New Mexico, 1948, 1949. "A Sociological Study of Latin Tenure Systems in Latin America." *Florida*.
Basil G. Zimmer, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1947, 1949. "Adjustment of Migrants in the Urban Area: A Study of Participation in the Urban Community in Relation to Migration Experience." *Michigan*.

MASTER'S DEGREES

- Helen Bothfeld, A.B. Huntington College, 1939. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Richard Curtis, A.B. Oberlin College, 1953. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Lois L. Davis, B.A. Wisconsin, 1949. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Albert Friedman, A.B. Michigan, 1952. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Oscar Grusky, A.B. Union College, 1953. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Lois A. Harzfeld, A.B. Michigan, 1953. *Michigan*.
Maria Mihopoulou. Graduate of Law—The National and Capodistria, Athens, 1946. "Case-Study Evidence of the Function of the Children's Service of the Neuropsychiatric Institute of the University of Michigan in Relation to the Juvenile Courts of Michigan." *Michigan*.
Julian Morrisette, A.B. Antioch College, 1950. No thesis. *Michigan*.
James Pifer, A.B. Cornell, 1953. No thesis. *Michigan*.

- Sol Plafkin, A.B. Wayne, 1952. No thesis. *Michigan*.
Barbara Trask, A.B. Tufts College, 1949. No thesis *Michigan*.

DOCTORAL DISSERTATIONS IN PROGRESS, 1954

- John S. Aird, A.B. Oberlin College, 1946; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Fertility and Marriage in Rural Bengal." *Michigan*.
Thelma W. Batten, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1951, 1953. "Relationship of the Population Size to Labor-Force Distribution within Metropolitan Communities." *Michigan*.
Leonard Blumberg, B.A., M.A. Wayne, 1947, 1949. "Community Leaders: The Social Bases and Social Psychological Concomitants of Community Power." *Michigan*.
William T. Delany, B.A. California, 1948. "Citizen and Administrator: A Study of Public Relations Aspects of Administrative Behavior in an American Metropolis." *Michigan*.
Harry Dillingham, B.A. Texas, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Relationship between Vertical Mobility and Anomie." *Michigan*.
Alex Fanelli, A.B., A.M. Dartmouth College, 1946, 1948. "Patterns of Communication in a Small Community." *Michigan*.
David Goldberg, A.B. Wayne, 1952; A.M. Michigan, 1953. "Relationship of Selected Family Characteristics to Ideal Number of Children, Actual Number of Children, and Expected Number of Children." *Michigan*.
Bartlett Hague, B.A. Yale, 1950; M.S. Michigan, 1951. "Role of Primary Groups in the Adoption of Soil Conservatives and Forestry Practices." *Michigan*.
Robert L. Hamblin, B.S. Utah, 1951. "An Experimental Study of the Relationship of Communication Power Relations, Specialization, and Social Atmosphere to Group Size." *Michigan*.
Yoshiko Kasahara, A.M. Texas, 1952. "Study of Migration in Japan." *Michigan*.
Richard LeBlond, B.A., M.A. Cincinnati, 1950,

1950. "The Italian Military Elite: A Sociological Analysis." *Michigan*.
- Leonard Moss, B.S., A.M. Wayne, 1947, 1950. "The Master-Plumber in Detroit: A Study of Role Adjustment and Structural Adaptation in a Handicraft Occupation Undergoing Technological Change." *Michigan*.
- Lois Pratt, B.S. Connecticut, 1946; M.A. Michigan State College, 1948. "Relationship of Non-familial Activities of Wives to Some Aspects of Family Life." *Michigan*.
- James A. Randall, A.B., A.M. Michigan, 1947, 1949. "Social Participation among Detroit Negroes with Particular Reference to Migratory Status." *Michigan*.
- Melvin J. Ravitz, B.A. Wayne, 1948; M.A. New School for Social Research, 1949. "Factors Associated with the Selection of Nursing or Teaching as a Career." *Michigan*.
- Leo F. Schnore, A.B. Miami, 1950; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Patterns of Decentralization: A Study of Differential Growth in the Metropolitan Areas of the United States, 1900-1950." *Michigan*.
- Robert O. Schulze, A.B. Michigan, 1947; A.M. Columbia, 1952. "Power and Influence in an Urban Community." *Michigan*.
- Harry P. Sharp, A.B. Michigan State College, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "Migration and Social Participation in the Detroit Area." *Michigan*.
- Yuzuru John Takeshita, A.B. Park College, 1951; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Structure and Function of Japanese Urban Families." *Michigan*.
- David W. Varley, A.B. Oberlin College, 1948; A.M. Michigan, 1951. "A Quantitative Analysis of Regional Differences in the United States, 1940 and 1950." *Michigan*.
- Robert S. Weiss, A.B. Buffalo, 1949; A.M. Michigan, 1952. "Patterns of Organization." *Michigan*.
- Neil Jack Weller, Ph.B., A.M. Chicago, 1945, 1950. "Socially Stratified Patterns of Acceptance and Rejection of the Governmental Administrative Process." *Michigan*.

ERRATUM

The following item appeared under Master's Degrees in our July, 1954, issue, page 68. It should have been listed under Doctor's Degrees: Leo Arthur Suslow, A.M., M.A. Colgate, 1948, 1949. "Social Security in Guatemala: A Case Study in Bureaucracy and Social Welfare Planning." *Connecticut*.

NEWS AND NOTES

Adult Education Association.—A national conference on community development will be held November 11–13 at the Jefferson Hotel, St. Louis, Missouri, under the auspices of the Adult Education Association of the United States, of which Paul L. Essert is president. The conference will bring together a forum of social scientists and community planners to assess the impact of adult education on community growth and will focus on four chief topics: "Criteria of a Good Community," "Obstacles Affecting the Development of the Community," "The Role of Adult Education and Allied Interests in Contributing to the Growth of the Community," and "The Implications of World Affairs on the Community."

The conference will feature a continuing panel of experts, both theorists and practitioners, in community organization. Scheduled speakers include: C. Wright Mills, Columbia University; John Ivey, director, Southern Regional Educational Board; Everett C. Preston, director, Adult Education, New Jersey State Department of Education; Leo Perlis, director, National CIO Community Services Committee; Robert Montgomery, University of Texas; Richard Poston, University of Southern Illinois; William F. Russell, deputy director for technical services, Foreign Operations Administration; Howard Y. McClusky, University of Michigan; Cyril O. Houle, University of Chicago.

American Group Psychotherapy Association, Inc.—The thirteenth annual conference of the American Group Psychotherapy Association will be held Friday and Saturday, January 13 and 14, 1956, at the Henry Hudson Hotel, 353 West Fifty-seventh Street, New York, N.Y.

Six all-day workshops requiring special registration will discuss "The Dynamics of Group Psychotherapy," "Parallel Individual and Group Psychotherapy," "Counterindications for Group Psychotherapy," and "Research," under the leadership of Drs. Lewis H. Loeser, Helen Durkin, Maurice E. Linden, and Jerome D. Frank. Scientific sessions and round tables will also be held.

For further information contact the association's office, 228 East Nineteenth Street, New York 3, N.Y.

American University at Cairo.—The Social Research Center of the American University at Cairo was established in June, 1953, with assistance from the Ford Foundation, to conduct social science research and to gather, appraise, and make available accurate and objective information about social and cultural conditions in the countries of the Middle East; to train, or promote the training of, students and workers in the methods and techniques of social research; and to encourage, guide, and give assistance to scholars or organizations engaged in social research work in Middle East countries.

The center hopes to become a useful clearing-house for social research carried on in the Middle East and to establish liaison relationships with persons or institutions engaged in Middle East research work in the social science field. To this end it will welcome communications or publications dealing with such research.

In its first year of activity the center initiated, among other projects, a Social Fact Book for the city of Cairo, a Population Study of Egypt, and a Social Agencies Directory and service analysis of the eleven hundred private and public social agencies in Cairo.

Staff members offered courses on social research methods in other departments of the university and assisted in the conduct of three seminars on research methods attended by interested workers from several countries of the Middle East.

Further inquiries concerning the work of the center should be addressed to the Director, Social Research Center, American University at Cairo, Cairo, Egypt.

University of Chicago.—David Riesman has been elected a member of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. A Japanese edition of *The Lonely Crowd* has just been published, with a new Introduction by him.

Rolf B. Meyersohn, who has been for five

years at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia, comes to the department of sociology in September as the first appointee of the new Center for Studies in Leisure. He will be working on a survey of the longer week end and its consequences for the media of communication and family life.

Leo A. Goodman has been promoted from associate professor to professor of sociology and statistics.

Hedda Bolgar and Dan C. Lortie have joined the Committee on Human Development. They will be responsible for the conduct of the research on adult personality and successful aging in connection with the University of Chicago studies in Kansas City. This study is under the over-all direction of William E. Henry, Robert J. Havighurst, and Bernice L. Newgarten.

De Paul University.—James E. McKeown has been promoted to associate professor of sociology. Since completing his doctorate at the University of Chicago in 1949, he has been pursuing research in mental health, criminology, and social theory.

Delta Gamma Foundation.—Announcement is made of a Delta Gamma Memorial Social Service Fellowship of \$1,500 to be awarded in 1956-57. It is open to any woman in the United States or Canada who has completed one year of graduate study at an accredited school of social work and who has had some experience in the field. Applications and supporting materials must be submitted by March 1, 1956. The fellowship will be awarded by April 1, 1956.

For application blanks write to the chairman of the Delta Gamma Grants and Loans Committee, Mrs. Paul J. Daugherty, 2257 Abington Road, Columbus 21, Ohio.

Duke University.—An Interdisciplinary Council on Gerontology has recently been organized, with the co-operation of fifteen departments and divisions of the university, to co-ordinate their research; to conduct a continuing series of seminars, institutes, and conferences; and to arrange guest lectureships to provide public information concerning developments in the field. Ewald W. Busse, psychiatry; Eliot Rodnick, psychology; and Howard E. Jensen, sociology, constitute the steering committee.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The twenty-fifth anniversary meeting was held in New

York City on April 2 and 3. Former presidents—Harold A. Phelps, Frank H. Hankins, Henry P. Fairchild, Manuel C. Elmer, Robert M. MacIver, and James H. S. Bossard—addressed the annual dinner with informal remarks on "Sociology since 1930." Alfred McClung Lee, president, spoke on "The Clinical Study of Society."

The newly elected officers of the society are president, Mirra Komarovsky; vice-president, Charles H. Page; representative to the council of the American Sociological Society, Alfred McClung Lee; members of the executive committee, Theodore Abel and Ruby Jo Reeves Kennedy. Leo W. Simmons was appointed to fill a vacancy on the executive committee.

The 1956 annual meeting will be held in New York City on March 24 and 25. Papers for the program, limited to fifteen minutes of oral presentation, will be accepted for consideration on any topics of interest to sociologists in the fields of theory, research methods, and analyses of empirical data. The title of one or more alternative sections which the author believes appropriate for scheduling his paper should be clearly indicated on the manuscript. Papers should be sent to the chairman of the Papers Committee: Professor W. C. Waterman, Department of Sociology and Anthropology, Brooklyn College, Brooklyn 10, New York. The deadline for receiving papers is January 1, 1956.

Educational Testing Service.—The service is offering for 1956-57 its ninth series of research fellowships in psychometrics leading to the Ph.D. degree at Princeton University. Open to men who are acceptable to the graduate school of the university, the two fellowships carry stipends of \$2,500 a year and are normally renewable. Fellows will be engaged in part-time research in the general area of psychological measurement at the offices of the Educational Testing Service and will, in addition, carry a normal program of studies in the graduate school.

The closing date for completing applications is January 12, 1956. Information and application blanks will be available about October 1 and may be obtained from: Director of Psychometric Fellowship Program, Educational Testing Service, 20 Nassau Street, Princeton, N.J.

Ford Foundation.—The Ford Foundation again offers fellowships for the academic

year 1956-57 for study and research on foreign areas.

The fellowships will be available to persons under forty years of age for graduate or post-doctoral work in the social sciences or humanities that pertains to Africa, Asia, the Near East, the Soviet Union or eastern Europe. Study and research may be undertaken in the United States or abroad, beginning as early as the summer of 1956.

The purpose of the fellowship program, which is beginning its fifth year, is to help create a more adequate supply of Americans trained to deal professionally with matters regarding the selected foreign areas. It is part of a broader foundation program to increase international understanding and enable the United States to better discharge its international responsibilities.

Applications will be accepted through December 15, 1955. Details and application forms may be obtained by writing to The Ford Foundation, Foreign-Area Fellowship Programs, 477 Madison Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Fordham University.—During the academic year 1955-56, Professor N. S. Timasheff will be on sabbatical leave, having been granted a Fulbright lectureship in general sociology and the sociology of law at the University of Groningen, Netherlands.

University of Illinois.—Donald R. Taft, retiring after twenty-eight years, was honored at a banquet given for him by the Illinois Academy of Criminology. He will spend the first year of his retirement in Turkey, teaching and doing research in criminology, at the invitation of the Turkish government. Upon his return from Turkey, Professor Taft will be available for a teaching or research position for the 1956-57 academic year.

The department's work in the criminology-penology-delinquency field will be carried on by Daniel Glaser and by Ralph W. England, of the University of Pennsylvania, who joins the staff in September, 1955, with the rank of assistant professor. He has also served as expert consultant on prison labor for the UN and attended the summer, 1955, Geneva meetings on the treatment of offenders.

Joseph R. Gusfield has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in the department and in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, replacing Ruth Hudson Rosen, who has resigned.

Eleanor Godfrey has returned as assistant professor of sociology after an absence of two years.

Robert W. Janes returns after a year on leave to conduct a restudy of the community of Shawneetown, Illinois, which he first studied twelve years ago.

Edward H. Winter has been appointed assistant professor of anthropology. He comes to the department after four years of field research in Africa, where he was senior research fellow in the East African Institute of Social Research.

Victor Barnouw, Charles J. Erasmus, and Louis Charles Faron have been appointed research associates in anthropology.

The department institutes this month a program of studies leading to the Master of Arts degree in anthropology.

University of Kansas.—Carroll D. Clark has resumed the chairmanship of the department of sociology and anthropology, after a year's sabbatical leave devoted to research under a grant from the Fund for Adult Education.

William Delaney, who receives his Ph.D. degree from the University of Michigan in October, has joined the staff as instructor in sociology.

Toshio Yatsushiro has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and anthropology. He has been a research associate working with Alexander Leighton at Cornell University for several years, most recently on the Nova Scotia mental-health project.

John Gullahorn has joined the department as visiting assistant professor and will teach courses in human relations and industrial sociology for E. Gordon Ericksen, who remains on leave as a consultant in community organization with the State Department, stationed in the British West Indies. Dr. Gullahorn comes from a year of State Department-sponsored research in Paris in collaboration with Georges Friedmann on "The American Student in France."

Howard Baumgartel has been appointed chairman of the department of human relations to fill the vacancy created by the death of Hilden Gibson. Mr. Baumgartel comes from the Survey Research Center at the University of Michigan and receives his Ph.D. degree from that university in October.

Waldo Burchard has resigned, to accept a position as assistant professor of sociology at Hollins College, Roanoke, Virginia.

University of Michigan.—Lowell J. Carr, professor of sociology, has retired after thirty-four years on the university staff. He served from 1937 to 1943 as director of the Michigan Child Guidance Institute.

G. E. Swanson will spend the fall term on leave at Harvard University, writing on the general theory of social organization, and the spring term teaching social psychology at the University of California (Berkeley).

David J. Bordua, a doctoral candidate in the department of social relations at Harvard University, has been appointed instructor in the fields of deviant behavior and social psychology.

David Varley has been appointed instructor in the introductory course and in population and ecology. Richard LeBlond and Neil Weller have been appointed predoctoral instructors.

Leslie Kish, sampling chief, Institute for Social Research, has been appointed associate professor in the department.

Robert Blood is offering a new course on the social roles of men and women. A course on institutional forms of health practices has been introduced by Benjamin Darsky in the School of Public Health and department of sociology.

Harold Wilensky has received a grant from the Michigan Memorial Phoenix Project for a study of occupational choice and career development among nuclear scientists.

Gerhard Lenski has received a grant from the Social Science Research Council for a study of recent membership trends in the Roman Catholic church in the United States.

Theodore Newcomb is supervising two studies of the development of groups in a controlled natural setting by Alice Goldsmith and Harry Scarr on undergraduate research grants from the Social Science Research Council.

Amos H. Hawley has been appointed to a second term of five years as chairman of the department.

John Takeshita, a doctoral candidate in the department, has received a Fulbright scholarship to make a study of the urban Japanese family.

Rensis Libert is a member of the planning committee of the international conference of social scientists and industrial officials to be held in Rome on the subject of industrial productivity.

The Survey Research Center is studying the science reading needs and practices of the American public on behalf of the Science Writers' Association.

The Survey Research Center is undertaking its first study of a voluntary association, with emphasis on the individual's motivation for joining and participating and on the factors involved in the organization and growth of local chapters.

Michigan State University.—Graduate assistantships available in 1956-57 in teaching and research include special research assistantships in connection with the Area Research Center program in Latin America and the "Border" project, which deals with intercultural relations along the United States-Mexican border. Inquiries and applications should be addressed to the head of the department of sociology and anthropology.

As part of the centennial program of the university, the School of Science and Arts held a symposium on "The New View of Man: A Synthesis and a Forecast," on May 16-20. Talcott Parsons, of Harvard University, gave the principal lecture at the social science division section. He also conducted an informal seminar for members of the departments.

A chapter of Alpha Kappa Delta was established at the university in April, 1955. Dr. Everett C. Hughes, University of Chicago, gave the address at the initiation ceremonies.

The Agricultural Marketing Service, U.S. Department of Agriculture, has made a grant of \$20,000 to the department for a study of the social factors affecting the decision-making of farmers in the marketing of agricultural products.

The Michigan State Board of Alcoholism has granted the Social Research Service a sum of \$12,500 to study the social factors associated with drinking and nondrinking among high-school students.

Edward Moe was appointed professor of sociology and anthropology (extension and research), effective July, 1955.

Duane L. Gibson was a staff member of the Institute of Group Dynamics at Bethel, Maine, in the summer of 1955.

J. C. McKinney was on sabbatical leave last spring quarter. He collaborated with Howard Becker (University of Wisconsin) on a book entitled *Constructive Typology: Theory and Application*.

William Form has returned from his sabbatical leave, a part of which was spent studying in Mexico. Kenneth E. Tiedke returned April 1 from a leave spent in Cuba working under con-

tract between the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences and Michigan State University.

Paul A. Miller was appointed director of the Agricultural Extension Service in April, 1955. His place in the department as rural sociological and anthropological extension specialist has been taken by Glen L. Taggart.

Christopher Sower is spending his sabbatical leave in Ceylon on a Fulbright grant. He will be associated with the University of Ceylon, working as a member of a research team conducting an evaluation study of the Rural Development Program sponsored by the national government.

Joe D. Mills is working this year in Austria on a Fulbright grant.

Olen Leonard has been granted an additional year's leave to continue as leader in the Northern Zone of the program sponsored by the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences under contract with Michigan State University.

Donald F. Rieder is spending the current year doing research on the United States-Mexican border in connection with a grant to the Area Research Center from the Carnegie Corporation. He will be located in Sonora, Mexico.

Roy A. Clifford transferred last July from the "Border" project, where he directed the Rio Grande disaster study with headquarters at Austin, Texas, to Havana, Cuba, to assist Olen Leonard in the program of the Northern Zone.

John Useem has been appointed an adviser on research to the Committee on International Exchange of Persons of the Conference Board of the Associated Research Councils.

Glen L. Taggart was named to succeed John Useem as departmental representative on the six-department seminar in co-operation with the American Universities Field Staff. Useem was chairman of this committee last year.

A Sociology of Education, by W. B. Brookover, was published last spring by the American Book Company. J. F. Thaden and Orden Smucker each wrote a chapter for this book.

The following promotions became effective July 1, 1955: Duane L. Gibson to professor, John C. McKinney to associate professor, Joel Smith and Joe D. Mills to assistant professor.

Two grants were received, totaling \$5,100, from the National Academy of Sciences-National Research Council (Committee on Disaster Studies) to study the human aspects of the tornado disaster in Flint, Michigan, and the flood disaster along the Rio Grande River. On

the Flint study the following were active: W. H. Form, G. P. Stone, C. M. Westie, Sigmund Nosow, and C. P. Loomis. W. H. Form, R. A. Clifford, Arturo de Hoyos, William d'Antonio, C. P. Loomis, as well as Harry Moore, of the University of Texas, worked on the Rio Grande study.

University of North Carolina.—Gordon W. Blackwell, recently promoted to a Kenan professorship in sociology, delivered a series of lectures on American social institutions at the Conference on American Studies at Oxford University, England, from July 12 to August 13. Dr. Blackwell was one of eight American scholars making the trip under a Fulbright award. He also lectured at the Cambridge Institute of Education at Selwyn College on the social scene in America, with particular reference to the impact of current trends on the growing child.

Lee M. Brooks taught at the University of Hawaii during the spring semester and is teaching this year at Whittier College, California.

Joffre Coe was made director of the Roanoke Rapids Basin Archaeological Survey, a joint project of the Virginia Power and Light Company and the University of North Carolina, financed by the former. University assistants on the project are Stanley South and Lewis Spinford.

John Gillin has returned to the department from a year at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences at Stanford.

Harriet Herring finished her assignment as a member of the late Governor Umstead's Committee on Reorganization of State Government in time to accept a new one on Governor Hodges' Committee on State Income.

Reuben Hill spent the summer on the staff of the Social Science Research Center of the University of Puerto Rico, completing the analysis of the verification stage of the Family and Fertility Project. He is associated in this project with Kurt Back and J. Mayone Stycos.

Following up research begun in 1947-48, John J. Honigmann spent the summer studying the Cree Indians of Attawapiskat, Ontario, with emphasis on collecting personality, child-rearing, and later socialization data. Co-operating in the research were Hans Hoffman, Elizabeth Hoffman, and Irma Honigmann. The project was financed by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research.

Harold D. Meyer is director of a Study of Recreation for the Aging in North Carolina, financed by insurance companies domiciled in North Carolina. He is being assisted by S. H. Hobbs, Jr., and Al Norman. Dr. Meyer is also director of the new curriculum leading to a Master of Science degree in recreation administration.

Douglas Sessoms has joined the department as instructor in the recreation administration curriculum.

George L. Simpson, Jr., has been granted a Guggenheim Foundation fellowship to complete "Mid-century South: The New Southern Regions of the United States," a book begun by the late Howard W. Odum. He will be assisted by Katharine Jocher and Majorie Tallant.

E. A. T. Barth and Robert Garren, part-time instructors in the department last year, have taken up their duties at the University of Washington and Alabama Polytechnic Institute, respectively, each at the rank of assistant professor.

William L. Kolb, of Tulane University, and Manford H. Kuhn, of the State University of Iowa, were visiting professors during the first term of summer school.

A small-groups research laboratory has been built adjacent to the departmental library.

Northern California Occupational Therapy Association.—The thirty-eighth annual occupational therapy convention will be held in San Francisco, California, October 22–28, at the Sheraton-Palace Hotel. The theme of the convention is "Bridges to the Future." Outstanding leaders in various medical and allied fields will present current trends and problems in the fields of orthopedics, neurology, and psychiatry, as well as tuberculosis, geriatrics, and pediatrics.

Preceding the convention there will be a Workshop Institute (October 22–25) stressing "The Patient's Point of View." A panel of speakers representing various social-medical-educational fields will open the meeting.

Interested individuals or groups may obtain further program and convention information by writing to Northern California Occupational Therapy Association, 1680 Mission Street, San Francisco, California.

University of Notre Dame.—The university announces the appointment of an advisory committee for its graduate curriculum in correctional administration. Members of the com-

mittee are Frank T. Flynn, professor of social service administration, University of Chicago; Thomas J. McHugh, commissioner, New York Department of Correction; Hugh P. O'Brien, chairman, Indiana Board of Correction; Russell G. Oswald, director, Division of Corrections, Wisconsin Department of Public Welfare; J. P. Shalloo, associate professor of sociology, University of Pennsylvania.

Robert E. Pollitt, most recently casework supervisor in the Wisconsin Bureau of Probation and Parole, has been appointed director of the curriculum in correctional administration which offers graduate training leading to the M.A. degree in the correctional field.

Further information may be obtained by writing to: Director, Curriculum in Correctional Administration, Department of Sociology, University of Notre Dame, Notre Dame, Indiana.

Oberlin College.—Gilbert Shapiro has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The 1955 annual meeting of the society was held at Fenn College, Cleveland, April 29–30. Bewton Berry, president, addressed the group on "The Refugee—Symbol of the Twentieth Century." Donald Young, president of the American Sociological Society, spoke informally on "Bridging Social Science and Social Practice." Newly elected officers of the society are M. C. Elmer, University of Pittsburgh, president; Frank C. Hartung, Wayne University, vice-president; Gerald R. Leslie, Purdue University, secretary-treasurer; Raymond F. Sletto, Ohio State University, representative on the council of the American Sociological Society; and Christen T. Jonassen, Ohio State University, editor of the *Ohio Valley Sociologist*. The 1956 annual meeting of the society will be held at the University of Pittsburgh.

Pennsylvania State University.—William G. Mather has been appointed the new chairman of the department of sociology.

Maurice A. Mook was promoted to professor of anthropology; Duane V. Ramsey to assistant professor; and Margaret B. Matson to part-time assistant professor.

Arnold W. Green will be on leave for the first semester of 1955–56.

Joseph C. Lagey gave a series of papers on population at the four-week session of the Steelworkers Educational Conference held at the university from July 10 to August 6.

Duane V. Ramsey acted as program chairman for the Pennsylvania Welfare Forum conference on "The Multiplicity of Welfare Drives."

Saint Louis University.—The Human Relations Center for Training and Research has underwritten a field-work program in social anthropology to study the social organization of tradition, initiated by Dr. Allen Spitzer, and has allocated \$2,000 for publication costs. Dr. Spitzer, who is in charge of the graduate program in social anthropology and is serving as consultant to the center and its workshop at Mexico City College, has been promoted to the rank of associate professor of anthropology in the department of sociology. The long-range program has three objectives: to study the life, works, and contribution of Robert Redfield; to investigate the approach which Redfield describes as the "social organization of tradition"; and to elaborate on the possibilities of a conceptual scheme involving a continuum in terms of formal, nominal, cultural, and folk Catholicism, in connection with the urban-folk polarities. Dr. Spitzer will be aided in the field by Mary Lillian Spitzer and is inviting current aspirants toward the graduate degrees at Saint Louis and other universities to cooperate in terms of their special interests.

Syracuse University.—Professor Emeritus William C. Lehmann, who retired in June, 1954, after twenty-seven years in the department and for the past year was John Hay Whitney visiting professor in sociology at Centre College, Danville, Kentucky, has now been awarded a Fulbright assignment as visiting lecturer in sociology at the University of Muenster, Muenster/Westf., Germany. He will lecture in German and conduct a seminar and a colloquium in both winter and summer semesters on various aspects of American sociology. He planned to spend part of the summer in Scotland working on a prospective volume on John Miller, eighteenth-century law professor and "historical sociologist."

University of Tennessee.—William F. Ogburn gave the W. I. Thomas memorial lectures in sociology in April on "Technology in Its Relation to the Standard of Living," "A Sociologist Looks at India," and "Technology and the Changing Family."

W. B. Jones, Jr., returns to the department after two years' leave of absence, during which

time he served as American program director for Save the Children Federation.

William E. Cole, serving his fifth year as chairman of the Advisory Committee of the Tennessee Department of Public Welfare, spent the summer in Arizona on the Navajo Indian Reservation, where he made an appraisal of the Navajo program of Save the Children Federation.

The department is preparing to release a volume on what appears to be the first sociological journal published in the United States, *The Sociologist*, published in Knoxville by Albert Chavannes. Dr. John B. Knox will edit the volume.

University of Texas.—The two-year study of the Waco-San Angelo tornado disaster, financed by the Committee on Disaster Study, National Research Council, and the Research Institute and the Hogg Foundation of the University of Texas, has been released by Harry E. Moore. Fred R. Crawford was field director on the project.

Ivan C. Belknap has completed the field research and analysis on the first part of his consulting assignment with the Texas Research League in the study of the organization of the Texas state mental hospital system. He has had published in the league's series a volume dealing with the social organization and problems of manpower supply in psychiatric services and is now completing a study of the administrative organization of state hospitals and one on the organization of geriatric services. He has also been appointed a consultant to the Texas State Hospital Advisory Committee and is presently serving as a member of the Advisory Committee for the Russell Sage Foundation project in medical sociology at the Medical Branch of the University of Texas in Galveston. Mr. Belknap was promoted to associate professor during the year.

E. Gartly Jaco resigned from his position in the department of sociology to become associate professor of sociology in the department of neuropsychiatry of the University of Texas Medical Branch in Galveston, where he is teaching, conducting research in social psychiatry, and serving as adviser to the social service department. The research project is supported by the Russell Sage Foundation and the Hogg Foundation for Mental Hygiene, University of Texas.

Fred R. Crawford, for two years field director

of the Waco-San Angelo Disaster Study, has accepted an appointment as assistant professor of sociology at Texas Technological College, Lubbock.

Claude B. Boren will fill the same post at Lamar Technological College, Beaumont, Texas.

Russell Middleton, Jr., candidate for the Ph.D. degree and for three years holder of a university fellowship, has received a Fulbright award for further graduate study at Oxford University next year.

John M. Ellis, university fellow for the last two years, has had his fellowship renewed for 1955-56. He also received a scholarship to the Population Reference Bureau Workshop, Washington, D.C., for the summer of 1955.

Tulane University.—Oswald Hall, professor and chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology at McGill University, Montreal, and an international authority on the study of the professions and social organizations, has been named as the first occupant of the Favrot Professorship in Human Relations at the university. The Charles A. and Leo M. Favrot Professorship in Human Relations was established at the university in 1952 in the department of sociology with a \$110,000 endowment from the families of the late Charles A. and Leo M. Favrot. The fund at present amounts to \$155,000.

Vanderbilt University.—Andrew F. Henry, of the Laboratory of Social Relations, has been appointed associate professor of sociology, offering work in social psychology and methodology.

Professor Wayland J. Hayes is a staff member of the Institute of Economic Development sponsored by the FOA and Vanderbilt University. A program of training is being given at Vanderbilt during the summer term.

Professor Jay W. Artis and Ernest Q. Campbell, research assistant, have received a grant from the local Carnegie Committee on Education Inquiry to undertake further investigation of the determinants of student values and value change.

A program of research in racial desegregation of public schools has been undertaken by staff members and graduate students in the department. Ernest Q. Campbell and James A. Sartain are the field staff for studies of the Oak Ridge, Tennessee, public schools.

Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri.—David B. Carpenter will be on leave of absence in 1955-56, serving as visiting associate professor at the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Stanley Spector will join the staff in September to teach courses primarily on the Far East. He has spent the last year and a half in Malaya on a Ford Foundation grant.

Preston Holder has received a continuing research grant from the university for his study of pre-Columbian Indians in the St. Louis area.

Jules Henry returns in September after two years of research work at the Orthogenic School of the University of Chicago.

University of Washington (Seattle).—Clarence C. Schrag, who for the past year has been in charge of adult correctional institutions in the state of Washington, has been granted an additional year's leave of absence from the department of sociology to head the Department of Public Institutions in the state.

Norman Hayner has been appointed chairman of the Board of Prison Terms and Paroles for the year 1955-56. He plans to return to full-time teaching in September, 1956.

Sanford M. Dornbusch, assistant professor of sociology since 1952, has resigned to accept a position in the department of social relations at Harvard University, beginning September, 1955.

Martin Martel has been appointed as an instructor to take over the courses formerly taught by Sanford Dornbusch. Dr. Martel did his graduate work at Cornell University and has held a postdoctoral Ford Foundation fellowship at the University of Illinois for the past year.

Ernest A. T. Barth, of the University of North Carolina, joins the department in September as instructor in sociology, to teach courses in race relations and social stratification.

Richard Hill has accepted a position as director of a research project in the School of Nursing of the University of Washington for the next two years.

Louis Orzack and L. Wesley Wager will also be engaged in a study for the School of Nursing under a grant from the U.S. Public Health Service.

Calvin F. Schmid has been appointed to the Dental Survey Advisory Committee of the Western Interstate Commission on Higher

Education. The survey will attempt to evaluate current and future dental manpower resources, needs, and training facilities in the eleven western states and in Hawaii and Alaska. The U.S. Public Health Service and the Kellogg Foundation are active participants in the undertaking.

The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory is publishing a report summarizing its work for

the last seven years. Copies are available without charge from the department of sociology.

A revision of *Social Disorganization*, by Robert E. L. Faris, appeared in March of this year.

A *Primer of Social Statistics* by Sanford Dornbusch and Calvin F. Schmid was scheduled for publication during the summer.

BOOK REVIEWS

Child Training and Personality: A Cross-cultural Study. By JOHN WHITING and IRWIN L. CHILD. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1953. Pp. vi+353. \$5.00.

The resolute effort of Whiting and Child to resolve personality and culture theory into a set of causal hypotheses which can be tested against correlations of observed data distinguishes their study from most previous ones. They start with Kardiner's formulation of the causal sequence as one in which certain aspects of culture (especially the child-training practices and, more remotely, the features of economic, political, and social organization antecedent to these) determine characteristic personality processes, and these in turn shape other aspects of culture ("the projective systems"). But, unlike Kardiner, they try to break this chain down into very definite component links and to test each one separately in a variety of cultures. Specifically their study takes the effects of child-training practices on child personality as one set of variables, the effects of adult personality on customary responses to illness as another set of variables, and the effects that personality characteristics established in childhood have upon the same people when they grow to adulthood as an "intervening" set of hypothetical personality variables relating and explaining the other two. Using the psychoanalytic principles of fixation, projection, displacement, and identification as the hypothetical principles of personality development, the assumption is made that the satisfactions and anxieties created in the child by specific types of child-training practices will develop into adult personality traits which will find expression in customary explanations of illness and therapeutic practices.

The authors believe this theory can be tested by seeing whether appropriate correlations between the two sets of variables—the effects of training practices on children and the effects of adult personality traits on illness customs—exist in different cultures. They have therefore run statistical correlations from seventy-five primitive societies, sixty-five of which are in the Yale cross-cultural files and ten in other sources, to test the theory.

The major findings of the study are roughly as follows (more precise quantitative formulations are given in the study):

1. That American middle-class child-rearing practices are, when compared to those of primitive (adults), nonindulgent during infancy and severe in the general socialization of the child. They are most different from the primitive groups in toilet training and most like them in the training of aggression.

2. That there is no consistent relation between the way one system of behavior is socialized and the way any other system is socialized, so that the training of oral activities, for example, may be severe and the training of sexual activities may be indulgent. From this Whiting and Child draw the very challenging conclusion that "the aspects of child training practices . . . do not grow out of cultural attitudes towards children such as might produce general laxity or general strictness, but grow rather out of antecedents specific to each system of behavior" (p. 117).

3. That customary explanations of illness referring to oral, anal, sexual, dependent, or aggressive objects or actions tend to be positively correlated with the severity of training of the child's oral, anal, sexual, dependent, and aggressive activities respectively. Cultures for example, in which children are abruptly weaned tend also to be the ones in which illness is blamed on magically poisoned food.

The authors regard this conclusion as confirming the psychoanalytic principle of "fixation" (i.e., the principle that the indulgence or frustration of a particular activity in childhood creates "fixation" of interest in that activity throughout life). They claim, however, to find much more evidence for "negative fixation" (i.e., fixations created by frustration) than for "positive fixation" (i.e., fixations created by indulgence). And fixation is found to be more strongly confirmed for oral, aggressive, and dependency activities than for sexual or anal. This finding calls, in their opinion, for some modification in the psychoanalytic theory of fixation.

4. That customary explanations of illness in which the patient is considered responsible for

his illness tend to be positively correlated with early socialization and "love-oriented" disciplines which threaten denial of love or reward rather than physical punishment or ridicule.

This is interpreted as confirming the psychoanalytic principle that the child's identification with his parents is a source of guilt, on the theory that explanations of illness stressing patient responsibility are a cultural index of guilt in the adult and that the child is especially likely to incorporate parental approval and disapproval when the withdrawal of parental love is threatened in the early stages of socialization.

5. That the unrealistic fear of others (as measured by beliefs about agents responsible for illness) tends to be positively correlated with child-training practices which are most severe in punishing children for aggressive behavior. This is interpreted as confirming the psychoanalytic principle of displacement or projection of a "fixated" anxiety about aggression onto others.

Whiting and Child look upon these results as a substantial confirmation of certain principles of personality development—particularly negative fixation, identification, displacement, and projection—and as an exemplary vindication of the "correlation method" of testing general hypotheses about human behavior. They are especially impressed by the superiority of their method to personality and culture studies which apply hypotheses to specific cultures without first testing the validity of the hypotheses in question. Yet one wonders whether their "testing-orientated" study offers a method of validating personality and culture hypotheses superior to the use of specific cases. The correlations in the Whiting and Child study are after all not correlations between observed psychological effects of child-training practices on children and the observed adult personality traits; they are rather correlations between magnitudes inferred and estimated from qualitative ethnographic accounts of child-rearing practices and illness customs. The standardization, quantification, and psychological interpretation of these data require rather complex, indirect inferences and assumptions which are not themselves tested in the study. The question of validity therefore rests finally not with the size of the coefficients of correlation between the two sets of variables but with the methods used for inferring these variables from the ethnographic materials.

MILTON B. SINGER

University of Chicago

Symbolic Wounds: Puberty Rites and the Envious Male. By BRUNO BETTELHEIM. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 286. \$4.75.

This is a fascinating book. Combining the rich insights of depth psychology (with many of whose conclusions he disagrees) and of his own clinical experience, Professor Bettelheim has attempted to discover the motives for the performance of primitive initiation rites; and in the process he has indirectly underscored the oft-committed fallacy of confusing motives and functions. Although the social function of initiation rites may be the transmission of tribal lore, as Malinowski, for example, argues, the motives for their performance must be sought in the needs of the actors, initiators and initiates alike.

It is Bettelheim's thesis that each sex is envious of the sexual organs and functions of the other. Agreeing with the Freudian theory of "penis envy" on the part of females, he goes further and asserts the existence of a "vagina envy" on the part of males, a syndrome which includes a general male envy of the reproductive and life-giving powers of the female. Hence, he interprets male initiation rites as both an expression and a sublimation of this envy. Having experienced these rites, the initiate is prepared to play his culturally required adult sexual role. Circumcision and subincision, for example, represent symbolic attempts on the part of males to simulate menstruation and to acquire a vulva, respectively, and thus to achieve the ability to bear children. That the initiators have this ability symbolically is represented by the widespread notion that initiation is a rebirth.

This is an intriguing theory, and one which merits investigation. Not only does it account for the motives of the rites, but it attempts to explain their specific content as well, a task which the older sociocultural theories neglected. For, even if these rites do serve to transmit tribal lore, why does this transmission take the form, as it so often does, of bodily (and specifically sexual) mutilations?

But, however intriguing the theory, the evidence offered in its support is not convincing; for this study employs three methodological procedures which are open to serious criticism. First, all primitive peoples are lumped together, and the existence of a generic primitive personality structure is postulated, which is characterized (among other things) by a "relatively undeveloped ego," relatively simple defenses, lack of efficient techniques to "meet and change

external reality," and "autoplastic rather than alloplastic manipulation." Second, the psychic equivalence of the children of civilized, and the adults of primitive, societies is postulated (the psychological analogue to the old biogenetic law). Thus, when Bettelheim discovered among a group of boys and girls a secret pact, the features of which were similar to certain aspects of certain primitive initiation rites, and when he discovered the sexual motives of this pact, he concluded that the same motives are to be found in the postulated generic primitive personality structure. Third, these motives having been postulated, the theory is then tested by the examination of initiation rites in various primitive societies. But the use of these ethnographic data is in the tradition of the comparative method in which a thesis is established by pointing to those data which are consistent with it. Hence, though this method can (and, in this case, does) show that the data are congruent with the theory, it cannot test the theory, since the sample is highly selective.

Despite these methodological strictures, this is a stimulating and important book. With the growing anthropological interests in social structure, on the one hand, and in problems of applied and area research, on the other, there has been a progressive—and, in this reviewer's opinion, a greatly to be lamented—diminution of interest in the esoteric. We are to be grateful to Bettelheim for stepping in where contemporary anthropologists have either feared or disdained to tread.

MELFORD E. SPIRO

University of Connecticut

The Structure of Society. By MARION J. LEVY, JR. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1952. Pp. xvi+584.

Published before Parsons' work on *The Social System* but based to a large extent on Parsons' analyses, Levy's volume has much to recommend it. In contrast with Parsons' higher-level concern with a theory of social systems, that is, with any kind of social interaction, Levy's analysis centers on a more limited type of group, the society. His work has a commendable candor concerning the extent to which he fails to resolve certain major theoretical issues. For example, he deliberately defines "social action" as a residual concept, that is, as human

action which "cannot be explained and analyzed adequately for the purposes intended in terms of the factors of human heredity and non-human environment" (p. 8). Levy's analysis is distinguished above all, however, not so much by its attempt to deal with high-level issues and macroscopic problems as by a serious effort at their *formalized* treatment. His method is at least as noteworthy as his objective. If his is not a deductive theory, it is, nonetheless, alert to the requirements of a rigorously formal analysis. There is rarely any doubt, for example, about the connotation of a concept, except where Levy himself frankly acknowledges his own uncertainty. Indeed, this reviewer finds Levy's treatment of the "pattern variables" less ambiguous and more readily operationalized than most others he has seen.

There are times, however, when his formulation proceeds as if it were desirable as an end in itself and without justification in terms of gains that it might provide for empirical investigation. Thus, for example, Levy notes that there is presently no general concept under which both "function" and "dysfunction" can be subsumed. He therefore proposes to call "function" a "eufunction." Both eufunction and dysfunction are then placed under the rubric of "function," now newly defined as "a condition or state of affairs resultant from the operation . . . of a structure" (p. 56). It is at such a point, when devoid of empirical utility, that formalization becomes an elegant form of "plonking."

The greatest danger of highly formalized theory is its insensitivity to the extra-logical canons of relevance and especially its neglect of empirical criteria of relevance. Successful theory construction would seem to require an accentuated treatment of those of its components which are presently testable or whose strategic position makes possible the development of crucial experiments. There is every reason, especially for *nondeductive* systems such as Levy's and Parsons', to mobilize available empirical data, in order to appraise the validity of its key assumptions as well as of its inferences, rather than to use data only to illustrate conceptual distinctions. When a theorist invokes the heuristic function of his assumptions, he does not thereby absolve himself of all responsibility to appraise their empirical status in terms of present knowledge. It is the neglect of such canons of empirical relevance that, perhaps even more than differences between middle-range and upper-range theorists, effectively distinguishes

theorists today. Scholasticism is no more preferable than radical empiricism in present-day social science.

Sociological theory is fruitfully regarded as theory-making behavior; as such it is organized into going concerns, the most dominant of which are at Harvard, Columbia, and Chicago universities. The cleavages that separate these schools from one another are practical obstacles to the development of cumulative sociological theory. The identification and resolution of such cleavages is therefore a major responsibility of the theorist. These cleavages invest certain theoretical issues and concepts with a far greater importance than would be suggested by a purely formal analysis. In Levy's work such critical elements are often noted, but their strategic extra-formal significance is frequently neglected. For example, Levy formalizes Merton's and Arthur K. Davis' concept of "latent social structure," that is, the unrecognized and unintended action patterns yielding functional consequences. It might have been noted, in this connection, that latent social structures are involved in basic concepts of the Chicago school of ecology, such as "dominance," "concentration," or "centralization." Other examples of latent social structures would be oligarchical power patterns and social classes in a democratic culture, around which many of Columbia's research efforts are organized. Harvard, for its part, has given its greatest stress to manifest social structures, that is, to culturally prescribed and institutionalized structures.

The point then is that significant differences among sociological theorists may be defined in terms of their differing interest in manifest and latent social structures. These concepts enable us to identify divergent strategies employed by working sociologists and thus deserve much more than the passing comment which might suffice for purely formal purposes. In short, formalism often misses the point that not all elements in a theory are of equal significance, in empirical or professional contexts, at a given point in its development.

ALVIN W. GOULDNER

University of Illinois

The Appeals of Communism. By GABRIEL A. ALMOND. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xix+415. \$6.00.

In the twenty-five years that have passed since Harold Lasswell wrote *Psychopathology and Politics*, he, the doyen now of a definable movement in American social science, has been joined by other researchers who have enlarged the juncture of psychology, sociology, and politics to its present amplitude. Gabriel Almond is, with Nathan Leites, the most gifted among those who, guided by the original work of Lasswell but with a catholic taste for supplementally useful methods, have advanced the new style of political analysis. The book of Almond and his collaborators, *The Appeals of Communism*, takes this mode of analysis as far as it reasonably can go. It is not only the completest empirical study yet published of why people join the Communist party and why they leave; it is also the best.

Of the 221 nonprofessional ex-Communists sampled in this study, 64 were American, 50 British, 56 French, and 51 Italian. The national groupings were, in turn, broken down into social class levels; the subjects were located in their periods of joining and defection and interviewed extensively to elicit their retrospective assessment of past motives. To this group, 35 psychoanalytic cases were added, to reach even further behind creedal motives to their emotional genesis. These are familiar faces but painted in cubist detail—double-faced, triple-faced. We get the Italian Communist intellectual, the French worker-Communist, the Communist American neurotic: to go Communist may mean to go for a job, to accept a family tradition, or to seek a strong father. The varieties of Communist experience dissolve into the misery of everyday life, expressed politically.

But, with all the rich variety of social and psychological analyses, Almond's study advances to a perhaps overunified theory in order to resolve the mystery of Communist appeal. Communism is a secular religion. This is the familiar master-theme that runs through these concrete appraisals. The motives of political idealism, economic resentment, affective displacements; the failure to understand the party (illusions of exoteric members) or the understanding of the party all too well (the hardened disillusionment of the ideal militant, with a grasp of esoteric communications)—all these compulsions are found insufficient to sum up the Communist appeal. Behind the model of the Communist "militant" the original model shows through: the party is depicted as holding a convert in much the same way that one is held in

the stricter Orders of the Church Militant. We learn that the party is a church militant without God but complete with eschatology, holy canon, and a holy land.

The author puts himself in somewhat the same position as a liberal but deeply grained Protestant, striving to explain, for the edification of other Protestants, the agony of being a sensitive Catholic. It is not the case-hardened type or the dupe which *The Appeals of Communism* finds psychologically most interesting but the type of believer to be met in other priest-hoods. Belief in the party is constantly rung in as the chief mystery, "belief in its unambiguous goodness and wisdom." This is "the core of Communist faith. The 'goodness' of the party results from the fact that it is the sole avenue to the ultimate good society." Although exoteric communicants (rank-and-filers) may be sustained in the party by a confluence of objective interests (trade-union or nationalist, for example), and although even the esoteric communicant may have been originally impelled into the party by some personal disorder (a motive Almond finds prevalent among American and British former members), "what sustains the fully initiated Communist . . . is his abiding faith in the party, which in principle is incapable of evil" (p. 378). Thus, "because of the danger of disbelief, the fully initiated Communist clings to the party even though he is deeply troubled by its actions. He escapes from these risks by taking cover within the party's system of ethical and political perception (we-truth-good vs. they-falsehood-evil), rejoices in the enormity of the evils in the world outside since it renders more bearable the evils of his own world, fingers his ideological beads, and walks forward soberly cultivating the tactical virtues" (p. 379). Anti-Jesuit literature is full of descriptions much like these.

And what is the alternative to the appeals of communism? Plainly, the author is not comforted by the fact that the ex-Communist is logically liable to "join the extreme right, or become a Catholic, or both" (p. 390), a conclusion in my opinion not entirely warranted by his evidence, by the religiosity of the better-publicized American informers, or by Roman Catholic social movements. Balancing the party on the left, the secular liberal has been for some time unhappily aware of the church on the right. But this distaste for extremes does not of course provide a liberal counterappeal, and it is in the implication of counterappeals that *The Appeals of Com-*

munism is questionable. It is probable that the politics of Communist belief cannot be fought with a politics of liberal disbelief. (Unbelief is another, more rational, matter.) We need something more than a social psychology of secular religiosity to meet comprehendingly the appeals of communism. Liberals who hope to discover ways of exciting communicants to abandon the Sure Ark of the party had better look at the Protestant appeal, which only succeeded by offering something more radically enthusiastic than the Roman church.

Further, it may be argued that communism is so far from being a secular religion that an analysis in these terms runs the risk of not closing with its final and deadliest appeal—the appeal to reason. Probably in its most compelling aspect, communism is not a secular version of the Roman church but the troubling heir of an unambiguously secular rationalist tradition. This secular fanaticism of reason *The Appeals of Communism* scarcely touches. Almond writes loyally in this critical period of democratic disbelief, but he cannot help recognizing how, despite the transparency of the Communist appeal—its manifest corruption, its cruelty and cynicism—the movement does not necessarily lose in attractiveness. Surely this is not simply the blind compulsion of religious faith, as he implies in his section on "The Decline of Ideology," when he acknowledges the vulnerability of other attempts to organize the good—nationalism, liberalism, socialism, fascism. The painful concluding chapter of this thoughtful book suggests that the conscious corruption of the party may be a positive advantage in a culture suspicious of all "faith." Far from being seriously weakened, the party seems among all Western political formations the most able to keep moving within a more general trajectory of indifference and disillusion. It is a pity that Almond ends so lamely, with an invocation to the Marshall Plan plus a call to encourage social-democratic growth in Europe. In this he exhibits how difficult it is to extricate ourselves from our own trajectories of disbelief.

PHILIP RIEFF

Brandeis University

The Self-made Man in America: The Myth of Rags to Riches. By IRVIN G. WYLLIE. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1954. Pp. 210. \$4.00.

Professor Wyllie has given us one of the best in what has become, in recent years, a growing series of books devoted to the subject of success in America. In nine brief, swift-moving chapters he presents his findings concerning the relationship of the idea of success to religious thought, to business enterprise, to doctrines of social responsibility, and to notions of educational methods and content. We are presented with a series of essays which, in effect, are examinations of some facets of the cult of success; but, though Wyllie has succeeded in isolating several strands of the idea of success and in deftly performing a kind of post mortem surgery upon them, it must not be assumed that his research has made further work unnecessary or even that he has exhausted the possibilities of his own technique.

Wyllie's decision to pursue his investigation by means of topical studies might perhaps have created no real difficulties, if the evidence, including some of the material he, himself, presents, did not show that between the seventeenth and twentieth centuries the success-mongers appreciably altered their attitudes toward such decisive matters as the reasons for success, the approved modes of achieving success, and the relative importance of such variables as personal qualities and social setting in the explanation given for the attainment of success. It is true that in his final chapters he recognizes some of these changes, and he attempts, in some measure, to evaluate their significance; but in his substantive chapters he moves with such rapidity from Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin to Andrew Carnegie and Orison Swett Marden and then back again to Ralph Waldo Emerson that appreciation of the importance of change through time is blurred by the implication that in all essentials the cult of success is as it was.

Perhaps an even more important limitation upon the book is suggested by its own subtitle, "The Myth of Rags to Riches." The very use of the word "myth" suggests that Wyllie is convinced of the essential falsity of the doctrines it proclaimed. There can be no quarrel with him for taking that view, but surely analysis of the importance of the cult of success requires more than a demonstration of its falsity and an exposure of its internal inconsistencies. What is required is an explanation of the functional relationship between that cult and other aspects of American society; and, indeed, it might be added that, precisely because the cult was so intensely mythical, such a functional explanation

is all the more necessary. Myths require myth-makers, they are told to audiences, and they are told to audiences by means of different forms of communication. Would not Wyllie's analysis have proved more fruitful if he had considered, for example, whether discussions of the idea of success directed toward an audience of the manifestly unsuccessful differed markedly from a discussion of the same problem carried on in the columns of the *Bulletin of the American Iron and Steel Institute*? Finally, certain matters of definition and methodological refinement ought to be raised. Are all manifestations of self-help and self-improvement—vocational guidance and literature appealing to the desire for a better life, for example, as well as manuals on "How To Sell Yourself"—to be considered as part of the success myth? Perhaps so; but in that case the definition is in danger of becoming so broad as to define nothing. And with respect to an assumption that seems implicit in Wyllie's book—as it is in much of the work of other historians and sociologists dealing with the same subject—that in understanding the cult of success and the myth of the self-made man we have the key to the uniqueness of American history, a word of caution seems to be in order. French historians have commented on the greater flexibility and opportunity offered to men of business talent by English society than by their own, and many Englishmen have remarked similarly on the difference between their own and American society. Surely the time has now arrived when comparative studies of the success ideology in different societies should be made prior to generalizations concerning American uniqueness, and surely an analysis of American uniqueness will require more than an exposure of its myths.

SIGMUND DIAMOND

*Harvard University Research Center in
Entrepreneurial History*

The Study of Behavior: Q-Technique and Its Methodology. By WILLIAM STEPHENSON. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1953. Pp. ix+376. \$7.50.

In spite of a misplaced contentiousness, a proneness to leave ideas and illustrations incompletely developed, a repetitiousness, and a repeated tendency to confuse the main argument by dwelling on irrelevancies, this volume will be very rewarding reading for people with many

interests. Especially those sociologists concerned with analysis of the self, with individual role conceptions, and with other phases of microsociology will want to consider Stephenson's methods among the alternatives available for their purposes. And the effective way in which Stephenson exposes the implicit assumptions in much standard correlational thinking will be stimulating, whether the reader accepts his solutions or not.

The book is divided into two parts, the first presenting the procedures and logic of "Q-methodology," and the second presenting abundant illustrations of the method's application to several areas of investigation. Stephenson initially differentiates "Q-technique" from "Q-methodology," the former being "only one of many operational procedures that may subservise the wider methodology." Q-technique consists of securing several "Q-sorts" (a ranking procedure in which the subject places items in categories so as to approximate a normal curve of distribution) and then reducing the sorts through centroid-factor analysis. Q-methodology is harder to define, but it seems to involve the following major emphases. First, in spite of the author's disavowal, Q-methodology as developed in this book centers about Q-technique. Second, Q-methodology insists on the intensive analysis of single cases, contending that there can be no true generalizations about large numbers of cases. Repeatedly Stephenson attacks "R-methodology" (the methodology of ordinary factor analysis and correlational analysis) for dealing crudely with large numbers of cases. One of his major claims for his work is that he has provided, for the first time, a method whereby intensive analysis of the individual case can be done with the same statistical rigor as the more superficial analysis of mass data. Third, dependency factor analysis is contrasted to independence analysis. As many others have argued, matrices are to be rotated according to a hypothesized set of factors. Along with the dependency principle, it is necessary to employ a "balanced design" sampling procedure in selecting items to be used in the Q-sort operation. Statements rather than people are the sampling units, and the statements are to be selected so as to represent equally the theoretically defined components of the phenomenon under study. Finally, Q-methodology includes an argument against strict behaviorism and a technique which is particularly suited to the analysis of so-called "subjective" data.

Certain difficulties in the book reflect the author's excessive claims and apparent unfamiliarity with much work others have done. He adds no arguments to the traditional defense of the objective treatment of verbal data. Furthermore, his claim that only "Q-methodologists" rotate their factor matrices according to hypotheses which they hold in advance is belied by a casual perusal of the work of factor analysts. Seeming to imply that there are no other techniques available for answering the questions he raises, Stephenson is content merely to show that his method works.

He introduces considerable confusion by lumping together the identification of variables at work in a given individual with the identification of types of individuals. The true "Q-methodology," upon which the book stands or falls, is a procedure in which a single individual makes several Q-sorts of a given set of items under different conditions of instruction, and the Q-sorts are intercorrelated and factored into the basic types of sorting operations underlying the several individual sorts. In spite of exaggerated claims that it is the *only* method, Stephenson does make a major contribution in defense of the procedure centering upon the treatment of a single case—perhaps the most concrete exemplification yet available of what can actually be done along the lines vaguely laid down by Gordon Allport in *The Use of Personal Documents in Psychological Science*. In this context, too, his argument with Burt that he is getting something different from ordinary factors has strength. However, while condemning the investigation of individual differences, he suggests and exemplifies use of his method to identify *types* of individuals, based on intercorrelating and factoring the Q-sorts of several individuals. His further claim that such types of individuals may be established perfectly soundly on the basis of a small number of cases is then either circular, provided that types are only intended to apply to the sample from which they are drawn, or a denial of his principle that generalizations cannot validly apply to large numbers of cases.

Some of Stephenson's insistence on the "singular proposition"—the generalization about a single case only—reflects a confusion between classification and a statement of relations. But it may also reflect the fact that he seems not to have been interested in carrying through any research to completion. A strong case is indirectly made through the book for the use of Q-

methodology, not as the ultimate method, but as a step in the refinement of variables which may then be used in hypotheses dealing with individual differences. In a valuable chapter on "The Prior Analysis of Questionnaires" Stephenson does suggest such an operation, but, in doing so, he appears to depart from his own conceptions of Q-methodology. It is clear from the examples throughout the book that as many problems of interpretation remain after a Q-analysis as after any other procedure, and the very speculations which the author uses for interpretation are drawn from other methodologies which he rejects.

Placed in perspective, Stephenson's methods will be seen as an important addition to the techniques for dealing with attitudinal questions, particularly in the area of the self. His analysis of the "structured sample" procedure, a sort of stratified sample in which statements rather than individuals make up the universe, should be noted by everyone working in attitude study. And Q-technique will undoubtedly stand with Guttman scaling as one of the two most important recent contributions to technique in this area.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Integration of Behavior, Vol. II: The Integrative Process in Dreams. By THOMAS M. FRENCH, M.D. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xi+367. \$6.50.

In this second of a five-volume series Dr. French analyzes the cognitive structure of dreams in terms of the following six steps: (1) fitting the dream into the person's life-scheme; (2) determining the processes by which the person's conflicts become manifest in dream imagery and action; (3) tracing the historical sequence of a present dream from past dreams; (4) isolating the biological drives and "inherited reaction patterns" of the dream; (5) analyzing the dream symbolism; and (6) comparing the person's particular dream with his other dreams.

In this sequence the author traces the dreams of a single patient. He demonstrates a familiarity with the patient's problems and reveals an intensity of reflection that are decidedly impressive. His analytic design, however, is an amalgam of research and psychotherapy or of

research operating within, and for the benefit of, the psychotherapeutic process. Thus, his subject, whose dreams have been activated in part by his emotional transference to the therapist, represents a person in a specified emotional social context. The dreams of the psychoanalyzed person are not altogether similar to the person who is not in treatment.

Nonetheless, the psychodynamics of dream behavior as implemented by the author would be basic to persons in both situations. In tracing the reaction patterns and specified experiences which affect the subject's dream imagery and action, the author carefully and perceptively analyzes the workings of his inner life. Still, his findings are not conclusive, because he deals with areas of experience that are not amenable to rigorous demonstration. Consistent with this methodological reasoning, the author regards plausibility of a given conception as depending upon its internal consistency with the subject's emotional context and recurrent behavior.

The author's conceptual scheme rests upon the premises that dreams emerge from (1) the personality as a relatively permanent constellation of reaction patterns and (2) the particular situation to which he responds. Dream behavior, like waking behavior, expresses meaningful integration. In this sense, dynamisms such as condensation, identification, compensation, and displacement operating in the dream reveal the basic personality patterns and conflicts of the subject.

Some social scientists may emphasize that each interpersonal relationship is unique, exists in the present, and has no symbolic meaning. Hence a series of relationships which seem alike could not be reduced to a single basic pattern. In similar measure, they might also deny the process of transference which would make mother and analyst equivalent figures. But this point of view sacrifices a continuity and a depth in the analysis of human behavior. Furthermore, it does appear that, given the premises of the author, many of his interpretations seem plausible.

The problem of symbol interpretation, however, is not solved as easily. As yet, there seems to be no scientific way of deriving interpretations of symbols that would find complete agreement among investigators from different schools. The cultural school, for example, would hesitate to accept the universality of symbol interpretation. Furthermore, the steps for arriving at one interpretation of symbols are not explicit

and are not operationally conceived. But, again, according to the criteria which the author has set up, he does a commendable job, although some might question the symbolic relation of a boxcar and a pregnant woman based on the fact that they both contain something.

This work is written primarily for psychoanalysts and in the idiom of the therapeutic practitioner. It lacks the appeal requisite for students of the behavioral sciences in general. Despite these limitations, it contributes many suggestive hypotheses to the psychodynamics of dream behavior.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

A Theory of Social Control. By RICHARD T. LA-PIERE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954. Pp. xi+568. \$7.50.

This volume, intended both as a textbook and as a theoretical treatise, should prove useful to several groups of social scientists. Students of small groups, many of whom have been content merely to append *ad hoc* interpretations to their ingenious experiments, will find a discussion of theories that may provide a sounder basis for their work. Psychoanalysts, who have long recognized the inhibiting functions of the ego, will find a sociological treatment of the resistances that give man some of his distinctive characteristics. Students of social solidarity and of social change will find a lengthy analysis of the subjective aspects of stability and transformation.

Interest centers upon the problem of the persistence of collective action patterns. Why do men conform to group norms, especially in situations in which such conformity involves deprivations? The general thesis developed is that men act to preserve and enhance their status in the eyes of persons with whom they identify, especially those in their primary groups. Following a consideration of the structure of small groups is a brief discussion of the procedures through which deviants are handled, the standard subject matter of textbooks on social control. The last third of the book is devoted to "counter-control," the techniques whereby men gain ascendancy by effecting changes in group norms. In this connection, various tactics of interpersonal influence—the use of force, seduction, trickery, persuasion—are thoughtfully treated with ample illustrations.

As a theoretical treatise, the work has some

shortcomings. The theory itself is not always clearly presented, and extraneous material is frequently introduced. Perhaps this is inevitable in a volume also intended as a textbook. The work is also marred by unfair, and often unnecessary, criticisms directed against various writers. In the first chapter alone, for example, Durkheim, Freud, and McDougall are attacked for taking positions that none of them would avow. Indeed, these three men would probably agree more with the stand taken by the author than they would with the views he has attributed to them. Nonetheless, LaPiere is to be commended for bringing together and organizing in an interesting manner materials scattered through the literature of several conventional fields of study. This book should prove useful as a textbook for courses on social control, small groups, and collective behavior.

TAMOTSU SHIBUTANI

University of California

Industrial Conflict. Edited by ARTHUR KORNGAUSSER, ROBERT DUBIN, and ARTHUR M. ROSS. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954. Pp. xi+551. \$6.00.

Nearly fifty scholars, economists, psychologists, and sociologists, co-operated in the production of this book. The result is a remarkably well-integrated volume. How this was achieved so far as the mechanics are concerned is described in the Preface; how it was achieved in fact is to be explained only in terms of the quality of the editors and their advisory board. Praise is due also to the Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues, under whose auspices this symposium was undertaken, particularly high praise since its decision sprang from a recognition of weakness rather than from the confidence of strength. "There is extremely little writing or research by psychologists that seriously gets into the matters here examined. This we believe to be both unfortunate and temporary" (p. 4). One may hope that the modesty of the psychologists will be matched by that of the economists and sociologists, who, though they have done much in this field, have much to do. The tone of the book is one of inquiry, not of dogma. It should prove stimulating to those actively engaged in industrial relations, whether in government, management, or union; or, should one say, to those who can still be stimulated in spite of the appalling pressure of their

work. And one should perhaps add that the more these men and women are still capable of stimulation, the more optimistic one can be about the future of industrial society.

The book opens with a chapter by the editors on "viewpoints," in which there is an important section on "the moral foundations of union and management positions." There follow chapters raising basic issues on the strike, on "constructive aspects" of conflict, and on "harmony as a goal." Part II contains fifteen chapters on the "roots" of industrial conflict; attention is paid to the psychology of the worker, the role of the union and the union leader, the "bureaucratization" of industry, and the general social and economic context. In Part III there are fifteen chapters on methods of dealing with industrial conflict: on accommodation to conflict, on attempts to remove the sources of conflict, and on social control of conflict. Part IV consists of four chapters dealing with the experience of other countries. In the final part the editors first jointly and then severally discuss "present trends, alternative roads ahead and social policy decisions that are still in the making."

One general comment may be made. The book is about "conflict." It is important, the editors say, for the public to ask "What price harmony?" This concern with conflict may be considered a mark of a more mature industrial society. Peace is not enough, whether in international or industrial relations; we are concerned with the justice of the settlement and with the accommodation rather than suppression of conflicting interests, and we are concerned with conflict as a source of change, as new conditions make change necessary. What one hopes is that violent, destructive conflict can be avoided. "Modern war," says Arthur Ross, "is pathological not because it represents international conflict but because of the carnage and destruction. Most strikes are not pathological for the reason that the resulting damage is ordinarily tolerable" (p. 531). "A healthy society," he further remarks, "will act to prevent itself from being destroyed, but should not conclude too hastily that destruction is threatened." All those concerned may perhaps be more relaxed in dealing with industrial conflict in the next decade than in the last; this, indeed, may prove to be the surest means of reducing the violence of conflict.

V. W. BLADEN

University of Toronto

Dynamics of Groups at Work. By HERBERT A. THELEN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. ix+379. \$6.00.

The first part of the book, entitled "Six Technologies," deals with (1) citizen participation to prevent the deterioration of a section of Chicago; (2) classroom teaching; (3) faculty self-training in schools; (4) administration and management; (5) human relations training for group leaders; and (6) effective meetings: principles and procedures. In the second part, entitled "Explanations," concepts are discussed which apply to group activity regardless of its purpose or membership.

"This whole book attempts to answer the question: How can we take account of the facts of social interdependence to live better lives?" (p. 190). Lists play an important role in this attempt, for instance:

- 8 principles for neighborhood leadership
- 3 basic aspects of experience
- 34 generalizations about organizing activities for specific purposes
- 9 specifications for in-service training

From the propositions and principles the reviewer has selected two for illustration: Proposition I, for administration and management (p. 114), and Basic principle 1 of social technology: the principle of external demand (p. 181).

There is heavy emphasis on the problems arising in groups from membership conflicts and anxieties, and Thelen is influenced by the thinking of such people as the members of the National Training Laboratory for Group Development and W. R. Bion. There is, at the same time, a lack of emphasis on the structural and institutional components of groups and how these affect behavior. The value of propositions and concepts depends in large part on whether they indicate further research, or useful application, if there is good supporting evidence to suggest their validity. Unfortunately, many of the propositions and concepts in the book do not meet these requirements. They are too general and are lacking in limiting qualifications. This has resulted, in places, in uncritical transfer of generalizations derived from specific groups and applied to groups in which very different conditions may prevail.

This reviewer found most interesting those sections of the book where the author gives critical accounts of his experiences in group work; for example, his description of organizing citizens in the Hyde Park-Kenwood area of

Chicago to deal with community problems, a case study of a training course for group participation, and a description of techniques for running meetings. In these sections the basis for the point of view is explicit. The reader can compare Thelen's evaluations with his own and, whether agreeing or disagreeing, can obtain provocative ideas.

STEPHEN A. RICHARDSON

Center for Advanced Studies
Stanford, California

Prosperity and Parenthood: A Study of Family Planning among the Victorian Middle Classes.
By J. A. BANKS. New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. vi+240. \$4.50.

This sophisticated volume should be read by all in this country who want to learn about the potentialities of modern British sociology. Within London University the contemplative European tradition in sociology as exemplified by L. T. Hobhouse, M. Ginsberg, and T. H. Marshall is joined to the empirical approach of the United States. However, in Great Britain grants adequate for large-scale field studies are almost unknown, and the empirical wing of sociology often works on a different range of problems from that current here.

Banks sets out to test the thesis that the causal factor in the adoption of family-limitation practices by the British middle classes was a desire to safeguard the rise in the standard of living. This is a problem which belongs to the past, and his source material is the copious supply of contemporary pamphlets which gave advice to young men and women about to marry, good housekeeping books, government reports, and articles in journals. As a setting for the inquiry he traces the demographic facts for nineteenth-century England with exceptional skill and clarity, showing that family size did not begin to decrease until around 1880. The central core of the book consists of six chapters dealing with the ideals of engagement and married life, household budgets, the employment of servants, and the "proper" use of menservants, of a coach and horses. From this exposition it is clear that, if lack of funds prevents an empirical study of contemporary society, such a re-examination of the library shelves by a sociologist rather than by a historian can be a very acceptable substitute.

In the thirty years from 1851 to 1881 the

middle classes experienced in each successive decade an increasingly rapid expansion in real wealth. After 1881 this expansion ceased, and the trend was in the opposite direction. Books and pamphlets on birth-control methods had appeared as early in the century as 1823 but attracted little attention. With the onset of an economic depression around 1875, the public trials of Bradlaugh and Besant for circulating a book on birth control, the *Fruits of Philosophy*, quite suddenly created a national awareness of the techniques. Granted, as the author shows, that the middle-class way of life was based on the maintenance of status, involving the lavish use of domestic servants, coaches, and increasingly expensive boarding-school education, the sudden spread of family limitation within the middle class in face of steadily narrowing opportunities after 1880 is easily explained. When the Bradlaugh-Besant trial failed to brand birth-control writings as indecent, a continuous flood of pamphlets and books on the methods of contraception was produced: over a million copies were sold between 1876 and 1891.

The book is by no means purely descriptive. Banks's use of family budgets, income-tax returns, employment in white-collar occupations, increases in the number of boarding schools and in their fees, and decreases in the employment of menservants and in the number of coach horses is admirable. None of these tables sustains any statistical tests, and none is attempted, but they themselves strongly support the basic thesis. Apart from the use of historical sources as a mine for tabular data, the book also includes an interesting case study of a middle-class engagement and marriage, that of Anthony Trollope, the novelist.

The behavior of the Victorian middle-class English family man when faced with a threat to his standard of living has some lessons for modern America in regard to the repercussions of prosperity; for withstanding prosperity calls for new, rather than traditional, social skills. *Prosperity and Parenthood* marks a contribution to a most interesting field of study: the effect on intimate family behavior of a threat to the maintenance of a hardly won social position. Looked at as an analysis of a class defending its consumption patterns, this book makes a worth-while contribution to sociological literature.

JOHN MOGEY

New York City

Symbols and Values: An Initial Study. Edited by LYMAN BRYSON, LOUIS FINKELSTEIN, R. M. MACIVER, and RICHARD MCKEON. (Thirteenth Symposium of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion.) New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xviii+827. \$6.00.

This volume includes about fifty papers, with discussions of some, from the four-day sessions of the conference held at Columbia University in September, 1952. The range of topics is indicated by the subject matter of the sectional meetings: "The Nature of Symbolism," "Symbolism and the Arts," "Symbolism and Science," "Symbolism and Society," and "Symbolism and Morals and Religion." There is a foreword by MacIver.

The range is so great and there are so many diverse interests and fields represented that it is possible to say about the book as a whole only that it is concerned with communication, values, and symbols. Many of the papers are of a specialized nature, dealing descriptively with special problems. Others are general and discursive or theoretical and speculative. Social scientists are likely to find some papers of interest and to be disappointed or disinterested in most. The following titles, for example, are not likely to arouse general interest, although some may appeal to specialized interests: "Buddhist Symbolism," "Myth and Symbol in the New Testament," "Judaism as a System of Symbols," "Symbols and Signs in the Indian Election," "The Three Dimensions of Architecture—Their Symbolic Significance," "Symbols and the Socialist Movement," "The Symbolic Significance of Management Decisions," and "On Understanding and Misunderstanding Business."

The thoughtful and closely reasoned papers by Ernest Nagel and Talcott Parsons were of special interest to the reviewer. Nagel's paper is an analysis of some aspects of theory construction and the use of symbols in contemporary physical science. Parsons discusses "The Father Symbol," seeking to synthesize psychoanalytic and sociological viewpoints. C. D. Michener's paper on communication among insects is provocative of thought. Others of possible interest to sociologists or social psychologists are: "Symbolization and Value," by D. D. Lee; "Non-scientific Symbols in Science," by P. G. Frank; "Psychoanalysis and Symbols," by S. G. Margolin; and "The Reconstruction of Hidden Value Judgements," by Felix S. Cohen.

The work as a whole serves very well to indicate the ramifications of the symbolic process and to stress the need for more systematic examination of its basic aspects. The very diversity of topics and viewpoints is an indication that the problem of symbolism is wider than the scope of any single discipline and is a fundamental aspect of ethical, religious, artistic, and scientific activity—indeed, of all distinctively human behavior.

ALFRED R. LINDESMITH

Indiana University

Realms of Value: A Critique of Human Civilization. By RALPH BARTON PERRY. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. xii+497. \$7.50.

In this work Ralph Barton Perry continues his earlier analysis (*General Theory of Value* [Harvard University Press, 1926, 1950]), defining "value" as that character which things acquire by becoming the "objects" of human "interests." Interest is mediated through cognition, which in turn is defined as "expectation," which may be confirmed or upset by further cognition (p. 299). The "object of interest" is a "problematic object": It is not simply the stimulus but what the stimulus means to the subject (p. 37). Cognition is "intentional" in the sense of Brentano and his predecessors. "Modes of interest" are defined and analyzed, and current psychology is subjected to a pertinent criticism. Here Perry criticizes the "Atavistic Fallacy," which holds that "man remains at heart a fetus or a rat" (p. 21), in both its Freudian and its behavioristic varieties.

More important to sociologists are the chapters on social organization based upon "inter-cognition," "community of objects," and "communication" (p. 139) and on "social institutions," the leading configurations of interests and persons (chaps. ix and x, pp. 136-67). Equally to the point is the analysis of morality and the moral institutions—conscience, polity, law, and economy—and the special sciences which study them—ethics, political science, jurisprudence, and economics. Perry's exposition of the "explanatory," "normative," and "technological" aspects of social sciences generally is worth serious consideration. His theory of morality is basically eudaimonistic and is concerned with "man's endeavor to harmonize conflicting interests" (p. 90), removing and preventing con-

flict, and advancing "from the negative harmony of non-conflict to the positive harmony of cooperation." This reconciliation of interests in terms most propitious to each and to the whole applies both to the person and to society. This is not far from other main trends in Western thought, whether Plato's "justice," Aristotle's "happiness," or the Freudian "where id was, there shall ego be." Perry, however, does not seem to indicate what kind of relation prevails between the interests and their harmony and structural limitations or requirements of man as man and society as society. Perhaps his qualified optimism leads him to hope for substantial changes in man's capacities. He does not, however, fall into the organismic fallacy, for, while the analogy of society and person is clearly grasped, the distinction is never lost sight of (pp. 147-48, 213). His examination of the claims of democracy is an intelligent American position which commends itself to European critics (chap. xvi, pp. 273-95).

Perry's challenge to sociology merits professional attention:

The branch of knowledge which corresponds to culture and civilization is, or should be, sociology, but sociology tends, especially in America, to suffer from a timidity engendered by methodological scruples. To it belongs the role of surveying the totality of man's life and keeping it in view amidst the partial and one-sided glimpses which suffice for other branches of social inquiry. With certain notable exceptions sociologists shrink from this role because of the impossibility of applying to so comprehensive a whole the more precise methods which can be successfully applied to the parts. So, fearful of being criticized as "unscientific," it sells its birthright for a mess of positivism, and may by so doing end by destroying itself pp. [356-57].

There are interesting critical chapters on "Science and the Science of Science" (chap. xvii, pp. 298-322) and "The History of History" (chap. xx, pp. 380-410).

The final chapters give the author's metaphysical presuppositions—"neutralism," "realism," "empiricism," "naturalism," "freedomism," "temporalism," and "pluralism" (pp. 444-62)—and his attitude toward religion. Perry is the authentic voice of one important and autochthonous strand in American thought, a stream in which the master William James and the disciple Ralph Barton Perry present monumental figures. Yet there seems at times a not quite contemporary quality to the underlying presuppositions and nowhere perhaps more than where they are explicitly set forth, defined, and

defended. But even to the reader who would disagree on many fundamental philosophical axioms, as is the case with the present reviewer, the work is worth the time and labor required to go through its discursive pages. This is particularly true when the reader is a sociologist.

THOMAS F. O'DEA

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

A Dynamic Psychopathology of Childhood. Edited by LAURETTA BENDER, M.D. Springfield, Ill.: Charles C Thomas, 1954. Pp. xi+275. \$7.50.

This is a collection of papers written by Paul Schilder, Lauretta Bender, and a number of associates at the Psychiatric Division of Bellevue Hospital. The papers deal with facets of the behavior and experience of children—symbolism, hallucinations, and imaginary companions, notions of what is inside the body, compulsions and obsessions, genital sexual experience, experience of the death of siblings and parents, the meaning of *Alice in Wonderland*, comic books, and children's reactions to war.

The major emphasis of the papers is one that will be welcomed by sociologists and social psychologists. It consists in attempting to discern how the child orients himself in the world; how he learns what social reality is and the manner in which he may cope with it. In the case of "psychopathology" Bender assumes that social reality has become excessively difficult to cope with and asks how the child's "psychopathological" behavior is designed to grapple with that difficulty.

The essence of the authors' approach may be summed up by the word "constructive." Where many psychiatrists and child psychologists have viewed children's fantasy (manifested in hallucinations, imaginary companions, and indulgence in reading comic books) as unhealthily regressive or a morbid retreat from reality, Lauretta Bender sees it to be "a positive and healthy mechanism called forth during a time of need but immediately given up when the need no longer exists." Fantasy is seen as only "a near reality" that the child can clearly and spontaneously distinguish from reality itself. Such fantasy can be merely "compensation," a crutch to help support the weight of threatening social reality; but it can as well be an active and constructive method of exploring possible solutions

to problems posed by reality. Bender's follow-up studies tended to belie the contention that such fantasy is necessarily a preliminary symptom of schizophrenia.

The papers are interesting and provocative but, in their very nature, do not furnish an objective basis for acceptance or rejection. The occasional specification of the population under study and the follow-up data are indeed welcome additions to the usual psychiatric document, but they constitute at best a budding, rather than blooming, of material that may be assessed objectively. The inclusion of obvious checks on the writer's presentation can contribute greatly to the more-informed use of the psychiatrist's work by the social scientist. Bender and her associates err far less than other psychiatrists, but there is still a great distance to travel before psychiatric reports in general can be useful as data rather than as ideas and scattered, more or less reliable observations.

ELIOT FREIDSON

U.S. National Student Association
Philadelphia

American Income and Its Use. By ELIZABETH E. HOYT, MARGARET G. REID, JOSEPH L. MCCONNELL, and JANET M. HOOKS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xxi+362. \$4.00.

This fourth volume of the "Series on the Ethics and Economics of Society" is part of the first comprehensive study of ethics in relation to modern economic life ever undertaken by an associated body of churches. The series is sponsored by the Federal Council of Churches—now merged with the National Council of Churches of Christ in the U.S.A.—its purpose being to formulate ethical principles for economic life that will be consistent with Christian doctrine, realistic in terms of present-day conditions, and helpful to individuals and groups in making their economic decision. However, the National Council of Churches has taken no official position and assumed no responsibility regarding the content of any of the volumes.

The book is divided into five distinct parts. In Part I Miss Hoyt discusses "The Ethics of Consumption." In her chapter on "Wealth and the Good Life" she points out that the problem of the best uses of resources is especially acute today, because our power to multiply them is

increasing so rapidly. She distinguishes between the problems of distribution and consumption. Distribution is concerned with how much people get; consumption, with what people use and to what purposes. The concept of welfare is discussed from three aspects—those relating to physical necessities, to psychic necessities, and to goods and service not regarded as necessities. An excellent case study on consumption is included.

In Part II, "Distribution of Income and Consumption," Margaret Reid gives a very succinct discussion of national income, patterns of income distribution, changing income patterns, consumption of welfare levels, and standards and costs of living. Here one finds a compilation of the most recent statistical facts.

In Part III, "The Changing Family and Its Dependents," Joseph L. McConnell and Janet M. Hooks are concerned with income distribution from the point of view of the family sociologist. They see the form of the family and the nature of its obligations changing as the economic structure changes. They are especially concerned with three groups: large families with children not yet ready to earn, children from homes broken by death, divorce, and separation, and the aged. With regard to the latter, they discuss the evolution of the Old Age Survivor's Insurance and its strength and weakness. They outline a universal pension program.

In Part IV, "What Lies before Us," Miss Hoyt summarizes briefly the preceding sections and points out that what we need to achieve is equilibrium, which, in a culture, means a balance of the different types of values by which men live. Miss Hoyt then develops her theory of how equilibrium can be achieved.

In Part V, "Ethical Aspects of Income Distribution and Consumption," Walter Muelder makes a critical analysis of the presentation of the four authors. He then attempts to relate these presentations to the ethics of modern living. His suggestions to the churches on programs of consumer education give rise to many specific topics for discussion.

This penetrating discussion of economic conditions and trends as they relate to human welfare should be a thought-provoking sourcebook not only for the clergy but for all who are concerned with family welfare, particularly sociologists, family economists, and social workers.

DOROTHY GREY VAN BORTEL

Chicago, Illinois

The Human Enterprise Process and Its Administration. By WILLIAM BROWNRIGG. University: University of Alabama Press, 1954. Pp. 232. \$4.50.

The worth of any scholarly work, it may be assumed, is to be judged in terms of the nature of its contribution to theoretical and substantive knowledge. This book proposes to make a substantial addition on both counts.

The author states his thesis as follows: "First, our basic problem is how to effect greater efficiency in the conduct of human enterprise. . . . Second, to accomplish this end, it is necessary that we gain a thorough understanding of the entire human enterprise process as a generic entity. Third, this will require a sound inductive analysis of the human enterprise process, and the identification and application of the series of steps or thoughts or actions which are necessary for the successful conduct of cooperative human enterprises." While the study does not profess to produce any new laws or principles of administration, it does claim to synthesize present knowledge into a "more rational, understandable, consistent whole." The result of such a synthesis, the author feels, provides a necessary perspective or understanding which will be of use (1) in dealing with practical problems of co-operative human enterprises; (2) in research, through focusing attention upon certain phenomena in which further research is needed and in de-emphasizing the need for further research in others; and (3) in education.

The "human enterprise process" is defined as any undertaking by an individual or group regardless of its size, importance, or complexity. It can consist of a single and simple activity by an individual or be as large and complex as operating a business. In any event, it universally consists of three interrelated parts or aspects, namely, enterprise determination, enterprise administration, and enterprise utilization. The successful operation of the total process "requires the effective performance of the specific tasks of each function, and also the close cooperation or teamwork among those performing the tasks of each of the three functional parts of the process." Each executive or supervisor must serve in all three capacities, performing all the duties and carrying all the responsibilities of each of them. The author devotes the major part of the work to the description of each of these three elements. For each of them he sets forth the several steps which must be performed by responsible individuals in order that the

enterprise may be successful.

Brownrigg is right in pointing out that administration should be studied in its total setting and that all too frequently responsible administrators lose sight of larger organizational goals and the other essential elements of the total process. However, little is given in this volume, on either a theoretical or a substantive level, which is not already known by informed students and executives. Knowledge, both pure and applied, can develop only through systematic and careful research—by the formulation of an adequate conceptual scheme, by repeated observations of parallel or related enterprises, and by the exercise of experimental controls. While Brownrigg, in developing his generalizations, has no doubt drawn from extensive personal experience, he gives no evidence in his presentation of having followed the basic axioms of scientific work.

NORMAN H. MARTIN

University of Chicago

The Six Schizophrenias: Reaction Patterns in Children and Adults. By SAMUEL J. BECK. New York: American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1954. Pp. viii+238. \$5.00.

Beck's study sets out to describe schizophrenia(s), a still essential task in an obscure field. In the thirty years between Freud's formulation of psychosis as the id-overwhelmed ego's break with and remodeling of a painful reality and Sullivan's proposition that paranoid and hebephrenic adjustments are defenses against the panic in schizophrenic process, numerous organic, psychic, and social explanations of schizophrenia were offered. By comparison, efforts at systematic and inclusive description of schizophrenics—or of the shared tendencies, outer limits, sequence of development, and other relationships of schizophrenic traits—have been rare. Sociological theories of schizophrenia have, nevertheless, repeatedly rested upon assumptions of adequate description and accurate diagnosis. If, moreover, the socially disintegrative forces of urban life or low occupational status, etc., are frequent factors in the schizophrenic's social world, biologists and psychologists must still describe whatever intra-integumental conditions differentiate him from his nonschizophrenic siblings, neighbors, and peers. Or are they also schizophrenic, merely so to a lesser degree, less frequently, less manifestly? For the

basic question, "What is schizophrenia?" is incompletely answered.

This is the question Beck and his associates in psychiatry, psychology, and social work struggle to resolve. In the course of their investigation a group of psychiatrists thoughtfully develop an outline of schizophrenic behaviors which become for this study "a design to follow in terms of a psychodynamics of personality" (p. 65). Rorschach test equivalents of these items are worked out. Stephenson's Q-technique is used, with a trait universe of a hundred and twenty items. Experimental subjects are Michael Reese Hospital patients, adults and children some years earlier diagnosed as "schizophrenic"; "controls" are "neurotic" and "normal" persons. Retests of the former patients provide data for developmental as well as cross-sectional analyses.

One cannot in summary do justice to the six patterns factored out of the available data. Salient traits are: "intellectual disruption" of the S-1 pattern; "affect-dominated behavior" of the S-2 pattern, like S-1 an advanced stage of schizophrenia; coherent thinking (*sic*) in the S-3 pattern, part of a highly defended exterior covering a brittle, overworking ego; great mixture, flux, and contradiction of traits in the SR-1 pattern, found only in initial Rorschachs of some of the children and not in their retests; withdrawal and fantasy in pattern SR-2; and "thinking dysfunction" in the second children's pattern, S-G.

The problem with the essentially idiographic approach used in this study—the appropriateness of which Stephenson argues for in his own chapter viii of this report—is that one must not assume, as Beck warns, that "the patterns traced out are the only possible ones; or universally applicable, i.e., to all schizophrenics, and in any setting" (p. 72). For example, we are told (in the concluding chapter, for the first time), "Our case material was picked from a population at disadvantaged social strata" (p. 200). For this reason, perhaps, and perhaps because of limitations in the conceptual framework underlying the social workers' trait universe, the "environmental uniformities" factored out of sortings based on the social histories deal primarily with parents' affective orientations toward their children and reveal no differential relationships to the six patterns of schizophrenia. In conclusion, Beck states: "The question [What is schizophrenia?] has remained unanswered. . . . We have patterned out the behavior of schizo-

phrenics. . . . These behaviors are our definitions. Schizophrenia is as schizophrenia does. It is out and out operational!" (p. 202).

One has no reason to expect more from an inquiry which "started with no concept of schizophrenia which the researches were to confirm or refute" (p. vii). Pure operationism requires no reconciliation of varying conceptualizations of schizophrenia: "a dynamic process of adjustment" (p. 6) or "a permanent character structure. Once schizophrenic, always schizophrenic" (p. 143), or what is implicit in Beck's question about a patient, "Was he schizophrenic at the time of the first Rorschach?" (p. 49). Operationism fosters a trait approach but provides no guidance for the dynamic reintegration of assorted traits, assuming, moreover, that trait X is a constant in differing constellations. Finally, it may or may not be operational thinking which leads to the selection of persons earlier diagnosed as "schizophrenic" for a study aimed at answering the question posed for this inquiry. Out of such diagnostic thinking, or hunches, the trait universe is drawn. Does it, as Beck assumes, identify schizophrenia and only schizophrenia?

Despite its patent shortcomings, this report deserves careful study by students of psychopathology. It makes all too clear some of the internal complexity and multiple forms of schizophrenia which, as a dependent variable in sociological research, have often seemed painfully oversimplified.

HENRY S. MAAS

University of California, Berkeley

Military Organization and Society. By STANISLAW ANDRZEJEWSKI. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954. Pp. xiv+195. \$4.50.

Dr. Andrzejewski's book introduces some interesting quantitative concepts but contains no quantitative data. If there still are social scientists in this field who have ample data but few ideas and who need the stimulus of writings with many ideas but few data, then the author's ideas may yet contribute to our understanding of the relation of military organization to society. This presupposes, however, their being critically sifted and measured against the detailed factual background, which they thus far lack.

The task is not made easier by the rather for-

midable new vocabulary which the author has invented. Andrzejewski introduces five major concepts on which he bases an attempted typology of military organizations in society. The first of these is the "military participation ratio" (M.P.R.), that is, the ratio of the number of individuals participating in the military organization to the total population. The second concept is "subordination," that is, the steepness of the hierarchical inequality that prevails within the military institutions. The third is "cohesion," by which the author means merely the degree of centralization of the military command and not, as one might have expected from the more usual meaning of the word, the solidarity or morale of the warriors or possibly of warriors and the general population. The author holds that by definition no military organization with a high degree of subordination can lack cohesiveness but that cohesiveness, on the other hand, does not necessarily imply subordination.

From the combination of the first three concepts, six "ideal types" of military organization are derived: (1) the *ritlerian*, in which military participation, subordination, and cohesion all are low; (2) the *tallenic*, with high military participation but low subordination and cohesion, as among American frontiersmen or the Tallensic tribes; (3) the *homoic*, with low military participation and subordination but high cohesion, as in ancient Sparta; (4) the *masaic*, with high military participation and cohesion but low subordination, as with the Masai tribe or the Cossacks in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries; (5) the *mortalazic*, with low participation but high subordination and cohesion, as among eighteenth-century European mercenary armies; and (6) the *neferic*, in which military participation, subordination, and cohesion are all extremely high, as in the mass armies and highly mobilized war economies of most of the great powers in the twentieth century and particularly in the totalitarianism of the U.S.S.R. and of the corresponding "garrison states" in the West, which Andrzejewski expects to be characteristic of our future.

The fourth basic concept is called by the author "biataxy" and is defined as the extent to which mere force determines the distribution of valued goods, services, prestige, and opportunities in the society. The fifth concept, "polemity," designates the ratio of the energy resources (presumably in horsepower, or similar units) devoted to military purposes, as against total

energy consumption. Generally, Andrzejewski thinks, biataxy and polemity are inversely related: the more military force is used to rule the society at home, the less energy can be devoted to military undertakings against outsiders.

All these "ideal types" may indeed, as the author hopes, be of some service as points of orientation in the welter of actual military institutions which historians and anthropologists have found, but their usefulness is not established in the present book. Andrzejewski neglects such important factors as economic institutions and technology, as well as politics and problems of consent, group psychology and morale, values and culture. He relies heavily on the Malthusian doctrine of population in its crudest form and shows no awareness of the work of Frank Notestein or of other recent investigators. Neither does he indicate any awareness of the classic ideas of Clausewitz, of the recent work of Samuel A. Stouffer, Paul Lazarsfeld, and others on the American soldier, or of the study by Edward Shils and Morris Janowitz of German Wehrmacht morale in World War II—all of which appeared several years before his book.

As a result, his treatment offers little or nothing on guerrilla warfare or on the combination of regular and irregular military operations which the Western powers have been facing in Asia since World War II; it says little or nothing of political or psychological warfare and of the conditions for the will to fight. Its confusion of cohesion with centralization of command bars it from saying anything relevant of the military discomfitures of Austria-Hungary in World War I or of France in 1939 or more recent events in Asia. Altogether, one is left with a very uneven sketchbook of ideas, based in large part on the intellectual equipment of twenty or thirty years ago. An adequate treatment of the subject remains to be written.

KARL W. DEUTSCH

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Fruit of an Impulse: Forty-five Years of the Carnegie Foundation, 1905-1950. By HOWARD J. SAVAGE. New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1953. Pp. viii+407. \$6.00.

This history of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching does not pretend to be a formal study of power or of social

change, but it sheds much light on precisely those factors. Occasionally, the details of the life of the institution, which the author knows as a veteran officer, are poured out so copiously that one loses trace of underlying patterns. One of those patterns is described by a dictum which appears in the last paragraph of the book and is the theme of many of the preceding pages: "Find the man." Evidence of the relevance of this exhortation is the impression made upon the Foundation by its first president, Henry S. Pritchett, one of our great architects of institutionalized philanthropy. His accomplishment, and that of other men who controlled and used the power of the Foundation, bear directly upon the question of the degree to which social change hinges upon individual personality and upon that kind of corporate personality which like-minded men, working together, can create.

It is Savage's contention that the work of the Foundation was deeply influenced by Pritchett's forbearance, objectivity, and command of lucid English and that the Foundation in turn influenced education by its display of these qualities. Savage's words amount to a firm denial of any charge that the Foundation was a ruthless and impersonal force working to establish a particular doctrine of education or society by the coercive use of an unlimited supply of dollars.

Far less space is devoted here to the magnitude of the Foundation's resources than to the limitations set about its work by its environment as well as by the character of its officers. Andrew Carnegie's original impulse to advance the profession of teaching by increasing the economic security of professors through pensions proved to be deceptively simple. In pursuit of solutions to problems encountered along the way, the Foundation became involved in educational investigation, in the establishment of educational standards, and in the study of pension systems in general. With the passing of time, the Foundation undertook more inquiries and had to withdraw, for reasons beyond its control, from the granting of new pensions, with the result that it gradually figured more largely as an institute for the study of education than as a dispenser of retirement allowances. Moreover, after it had devised certain tests for investigative purposes of its own, the Foundation fell easily into general administration of objective tests, notably the Graduate Record Examination. It then divested itself of these examinations, just as it had earlier made a partial with-

drawal from the pension field, by helping to create the Teachers Insurance and Annuity Association. In brief, the work of the Foundation was both flexible and multiple. It was the fruit not only of an impulse but also of a remarkable intersection of strong personality and imperative circumstance.

RICHARD J. STORR

University of Chicago

The Urban South. Edited by RUPERT B. VANCE and NICHOLAS J. DEMERATH. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Pp. xii+307. \$5.00.

In this symposium nineteen southern social scientists analyze the process of urbanization in their region and describe—somewhat less successfully—the attendant social changes and problems. Not over half of the fourteen chapters are systematic research reports; among the remainder are some excellent surveys and some mediocre essays.

The volume is timely. Half of the South's population is now urban, census-wise. This proportion was reached by the rest of the country fifty years ago; but the region increased its urban proportion between 1930 and 1940, while the remainder of the nation did not. The South continued to urbanize more rapidly than the combined North and West between 1940 and 1950. Its urban population is less concentrated in large cities than is true in the other regions, but there are several rapidly growing metropolitan areas with more than a half-million inhabitants.

Aside from enhancing the descriptive and diagnostic literature on the South, the book contributes significantly to an analytical understanding of urbanization. Rudolf Heberle's statement on the relevance of urban functions and location to city growth, though regionally focused, is one of the best on the subject. The editors provide a hitherto unexcelled characterization of the urbanization process in terms of four components: increase in the number of points of population concentration and their growth in size; occupational shifts from agricultural to industrial, service, and distributive pursuits; redistribution of the population; and the spreading of urban ways of living to the surrounding rural territory. Rupert Vance and Sara Smith give an account of the system of dominant and subdominant metropolises of the

South, notable for its skilful integration of historical and statistical materials and its suggestion of functional criteria of dominance to supplement those of population size and spatial orientation. Lorin Thompson, writing on industrial and occupational shifts, emphasizes the recent "agricultural revolution" as a basis of urbanization; however, the volume would have been stronger with an entire chapter devoted to this important relationship.

Among the concomitants and consequences of urbanization, the following are well discussed. Harold Kaufman points to a reshaping of the class structure into a pattern resembling that of the rest of the nation and increasing opportunities for social mobility. H. A. Bullock suggests that the urbanization of the southern Negro is instigating both ecological changes and social movements favoring the emergence of new patterns of race relations. C. A. M. Ewing and J. E. Titus show that, while southern politics still has a strong rural bias, urbanization stimulates voter participation and liberalism on national issues.

Several contributors take comfort from the fact that the South's urbanization is comparatively recent. The urban settlement pattern is more dispersed than that of the industrial, rail-age North. The city-planning movement is now further advanced than when the older regions acquired their large cities. Urbanizing under the national dominance of the New York-Chicago axis, the South needs no "megalopolis" and has a chance to achieve a desirable balance of urban and rural ways of life. Urbanization, the authors recognize, presents problems as well as opportunities. But the mere appearance of such a symposium suggests that the South may yet come to terms with modern civilization instead of expending its energies in a lament for the past that never was.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

The Burned-over District: The Social and Intellectual History of Enthusiastic Religion in Western New York, 1800-1850. By WHITNEY R. CROSS. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1950. Pp. xiii+383.

This book, dealing with the origin and development of enthusiastic revivalistic religion in western New York from 1800 to 1825, its fruition from 1830 to 1845, and its aftermath from

1840 to 1850 in the disappointed Millerite expectations of the end of time, is an important contribution to the history and sociology of American religion. It presents a good description of the migration of Yankee culture to New York and the exportation thither of enthusiastic religion, as well as the demography of education, literacy, cultural composition, economic maturation, religious affiliations, etc. (with maps), and the description of prevailing social patterns. Religious innovations and the development of perfectionism, antinomianism, and radical reformisms—"ultraism" and "one ideal reformism"—together with the anti-Masonry agitation, are dealt with. The origin of Mormonism, the development of Charles G. Finney and his followers, teetotalism, Millerite millennialism, John Humphrey Noyes and the Oneida Community, and, finally, spiritualism are considered. The book is a model of scholarship and sound judgment.

THOMAS F. O'DEA

Massachusetts Institute of Technology

Intergroup Education. By LLOYD and ELAINE COOK. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1954. Pp. xv+392. \$5.50.

This volume was written in response to the special need today among educators and students of education for training in understanding and intelligently handling problems of relations among racial, creedal, and nationality groups. The authors assume that educators are interested in modifying student attitudes—in this instance, toward the reduction of prejudice and discrimination. This book considers the aims and methods of such modification efforts.

"Intergroup education" is conceived as involving the transmission of the KVSJ complex of factors: *K* for knowledge, from both science and other reliable experience; *V* for values, the principles basic to democratic life; *S* for skill, the "know-how" in managing people; and *J* for judgment, sound judgment in guiding action change. Roughly speaking, the work is organized about the successive consideration of these topics.

A short introductory part provides orientation and a sketchy background for a few prominent minorities. Part II brings together a good deal of our present knowledge regarding the nature of prejudice and discrimination at different

age levels and the ways in which prejudices are learned and maintained. Part III treats of methods for changing people's behavior toward the explicitly stated objective of increasing democratic values and practices in intergroup relations. In the main, the methods considered are those applicable in the educational situation: the academic approach, group-process teaching, area study, and education via vicarious experience (movies, novels, etc.). The effective basis for learning, however, is through personal experience under favorable circumstances. The final chapters summarize the educator's role in intergroup education and consider the prospects.

It is apparent that the authors are well acquainted with the significant studies in intergroup relations, have a considerable amount of relevant documentary and case materials with which to illustrate their points, and are able to draw on their background of experience in indicating the tactical lessons suggested by the references. On the other hand, one feels that, without the aid of an effective teacher, students reading this text would have difficulty in gaining more than a general impression of intergroup relations problems and methods for handling them. Teachers of intergroup relations, however, should find this a stimulating and suggestive volume.

FRANK MIYAMOTO

University of Washington

One-Party Press? By NATHAN B. BLUMBERG.
Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1954.
Pp. 91. \$2.50.

There has been a steadily increasing interest in the past decade in the scientific study of the mass media of communication. This study has occurred largely under the aegis of sociologists and academic journalists. Participation of the latter has naturally been greater, but unfortunately their inquiries are usually clouded by a lack of understanding of the nature of scientific research and by a conception of their role as apologists and defenders of the press status quo.

This study of the coverage of the 1952 presidential campaign in thirty-five daily newspapers is an example of just such clouded journalistic research. In an attempt to eschew what he calls "pseudo-scientific interpretations," the investigator exhibits a good case of what is commonly referred to as "pseudo-science."

The objective is to show that, despite the existence editorially of a one-party press, there is no press bias in news presentation. The investigator content-analyzed the front pages of his sample of newspapers during the last month of the campaign, as well as the inside pages for a three-day sample, and then classified each paper in one of three categories: (1) no evidence of partiality in news columns—eighteen papers; (2) no conclusive evidence of partiality—eleven papers; and (3) evidence of partiality—six papers. Clearly, by his sights the press did well.

The study is questionable on three aspects—sampling, content analysis, and interpretation—any one of which is sufficient to invalidate the final classificatory results.

The largest-circulation newspaper from each state was selected, with thirteen states missing and six unexplained substitutions. To include one paper from Delaware and one from New York, one from Montana and one from California, etc., can hardly provide a "good cross-section of the American press." And the selection of the *New York Times* certainly is not representative of the New York press. Since the author obviously wishes to generalize his results beyond the thirty-five newspapers examined, the sample must be judged poor.

Some illustration of the difficulty of classifying a news story as Republican or Democratic is given, but the reader is provided with no rules of classification that were followed other than "the fundamental consideration at all times was whether a story could be included in good conscience in either the Democratic or Republican column." Under such circumstances it is impossible to assess, much less accept, the reliability and the validity of the content analysis. In addition, there is an enigmatic suggestion that some stories about the candidates were not counted as campaign news!

Finally, the interpretation of the content analysis results appears somewhat quixotic. It is correctly pointed out that the "opinion-influencing value of an item is not necessarily a function of its length." However, the author continually reaches the conclusion that the display advantages for Republicans are almost exactly offset by heavier news space play for Democrats. (Apparently only two of the twenty-six Eisenhower papers in the sample did not give a display advantage to the Republicans, yet only four of these papers were classified as biased.)

Other factors were also taken into account in the evaluation of the content analysis. But these

were "subtle influences . . . which defy interpretation by a ruler but which would be recognized by anyone who has served on a copy desk." Blumberg, of course, has served on a copy desk. It is noteworthy that the reliable instrument, "anyone who has served on a copy desk," occurs not just once in the discussion of his evaluation.

In no respect does this study demonstrate that we do not have a one-party press in America.

DAVID GOLD

*Center for Advanced Study in the
Behavioral Sciences*

Spüllese ("Afterthoughts"). By LEOPOLD VON WIESE. Cologne and Opladen: Westdeutscher Verlag, 1954. Pp. 107.

The contents are five wide-sweeping essays: "Poverty," "Old Age," "Military Training," "The Fate of Women," and "Religion."

In the Weimar years, when Professor von Wiese's sociological seminar at the University of Cologne was flourishing, he wrote in two distinct moods. In the one, he produced his systematic *General Sociology: The Science of Interhuman Relationships and Structures* (Vol. I: *The Science of Relationships* [1924]; Vol. II: *The Science of Structures* [1929]). In this work he stood strongly for a strict delimitation of sociology as a science. In the other mood, he wrote the memoirs of his years as a cadet in a military school (*Kindheit* [1924]) and some works of fiction, which revealed the artist and the philosopher. Neither of his kinds of writing found favor with the Nazi regime; his seminar and journal were taken from him. In the post-Nazi time he has played a great—indeed, a heroic—role in re-establishing German sociology. He now, although still at work, has somewhat retired to the position of elder statesman of German sociologists. The mood of this period is, as reflected in these essays, a blend of the two moods of the earlier time.

In the first essay he classifies the poor into types, according to certain basic attitudes which they hold toward their condition and toward people who are not poor; as was always his custom, he goes on to complete the system of things—classifying the well-to-do. He then spreads his picture of wealth and poverty on the larger canvas of continents, races, and world politics and

considers in somewhat philosophical fashion the various means of evening things up.

A similar blending of the systematic, even taxonomic, treatment with one philosophical, ethical, and artistic appears in the other essays, but perhaps most strongly in those on "Military Training" and on "The Fate of Women." Wiese, much as he must have suffered in a military school as a youth, does not here give a stereotyped condemnation of such schools and of the old barracks culture. On the contrary, one finds a very penetrating but rather philosophical treatment. He compares the army with the Catholic church, noting that both hold a very pessimistic view of the natural man; the means which the two institutions use to make, in the one case, sinners into children of God and, in the other, soldiers of civilians are not unlike in most respects. This is a basic point often missed in sociological studies; that is, the theory of human nature on which institutions, laws, mores, and social educational policies are based. Wiese builds this essay into a statement of faith in the need for proper (not equal) military obligations for all, as well as the need for conditions of service that fit the temperament and aptitudes of the individual better than did those which were in operation under the old military culture.

It is in the essay on women that Wiese the artist, even the tragic artist, expresses himself. Into systematic and comparative treatment of the place of woman in various epochs and among various peoples he entwines great appreciation of them, with doubt whether reforms bring much increase of happiness, but no yearning for a time when the men were masters. If there is nostalgia, it is for an age when both men and women had the time, the illusions, and the sense of security to allow them to be tenderer than they are now. But it is not nostalgia, for Wiese as often turns to the future as to the past, as in the final lines of the essay on "Religion," where he writes: "The decisive thing is what one can believe without hypocrisy. The essential thing is that one take from his convictions the strength to withstand self-seeking and much involvement in passing things." It is not the sociological fashion to write of one's philosophical values. No one, however, will begrudge Wiese his departure from the fashion.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

On Theory and Verification in Sociology. By HANS L. ZETTERBERG. New York: Tressler Press, 1954. Pp. 78. \$2.50.

This little book is of interest as an attempt to relate mathematical system to sociological theory. Probably neither skilled mathematicians nor sociological theorists can accept it as a success. Pure mathematics has no relation to experience, in the sense that empirical science has, which is what Bertrand Russell meant when he said that mathematics is the science in which we never know what we are talking about and never know what we said about it. Zetterberg does not seem to believe Russell.

Perhaps the defects of sociological theory are more serious. Zetterberg says that a frame of reference is the same as a set of definitions. Can many sociological methodologists accept that? He does not see that a frame of reference is a theory or part of one. The difficulty lies partly in the effort made to present profound problems of method in too brief a statement. Can we assert that the family, social class, public opinion, and race relations are "interesting but theoretically unconnected topics"? We feel some distressing ego involvement upon being told that "present sociological thinking has little to offer to the student."

A purely logical mathematical theory may have empirical uses, for example, when a model is found in experience which conforms to the assumptions of the mathematical theory. Euclid's assumptions fit closely with many experiences in daily life, and we can measure a room to determine the size of rug we will need. When no model is found, we may have good mathematics without any practical use.

Chapter iv, on validity, makes a clear contribution and will probably find use as reference material. The higher algebra in chapter v is beyond the scope of this reviewer. However, the restriction of mathematical examples to metric systems excites comment. It may be that the nonmetric, topological approach of Lewin and others will eventually be established as the really fruitful mathematical system for purposes of social science. Zetterberg may not think that all mathematics is metric, concerned with size or shape, but he does not deal with this question.

This book, as it stands, is not too useful. An expanded version, spelling out the details which are brushed over too lightly, could be quite a different thing. It would require much more ex-

tended treatment of both the mathematics and the sociological theories used as models. The goal, even then, might not be achieved, but, if it were, the effect might well be revolutionary.

LAMBERT MOLYNEAUX

University of Virginia

Social Stratification in the United States. By JOHN F. CUBER and WILLIAM F. KENKEL. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1954. Pp. x+359.

Social Stratification in the United States, written primarily as a teaching instrument, employs an eclectic approach to the question of "differential status" in this country. The book represents a somewhat bold and courageous effort to integrate some of the theories and certain selected empirical studies into a "consistent body of concepts." Its main purpose is to aid in the development of a working system of thought in this rapidly growing and expanding field of sociological interests. The authors, however, are modest and, indeed, almost apologetic about the results of their efforts when they declare that "we do not presume to have written a 'standard' advanced text in the field, for the field is yet too fluid" (p. v). They are, nevertheless, quite correct in assuming that a volume of this nature is very much needed. Moreover, they are to be commended for making the first attempt to pull together, analyze, and evaluate what they consider to be the most relevant materials, the main ideas and controversial issues, and the most representative of the best-known studies.

The book's chief weakness as a sociology text is that it is limited to studies of stratification in the United States. The critical analyses and evaluations, therefore, are based primarily upon the theoretical and methodological orientations of several leaders of "schools of social class" in this country. Then, too, there is a serious question regarding the representativeness of the studies selected: West's *Plainville U.S.A.*; Warner's *Social Class in America*; Hollingshead's *Elmtown's Youth*; Jones's *Life, Liberty, and Property*; Centers' *Psychology of Social Classes*; Lenskin's *Status and Wealth in a New England Mill Town*; Kenkel's *Social Stratification in Columbus, Ohio*; and Warner, Havighurst, and Loeb's *Who Shall Be Educated?*

In Part I, the authors present what they regard as a "nominal nomenclature" for examin-

ing and understanding the current literature. In addition, they examine three of the controversial theoretical issues and discuss some of the basic methodological aspects of stratification studies. Chapter i, which deals with "Working Concepts," is far too thin to be of much value to the serious student of sociology. Definitions are fragmentary, and many questions which even the beginning student might raise would go unanswered. The three theoretical schemes, arbitrarily selected, do not begin to exhaust the multiplicity of theories in the field, and the methodological section is little more than suggestive.

Part II summarizes the eight field studies listed above. Here the authors are most provocative in their assessments and evaluative analyses and in the relevant questions they raise concerning theories and methods. This section of the volume is excellent not only for classroom teaching purposes but also for acquainting the student with a segment of the expanding body of field materials of social stratification.

The "Conclusions" (Part III) appear to rest upon the authors' own academic and theoretical orientations, which lead them to the belief that the concept of class struggle is not applicable to the American social structure, while, at the same time, they subscribe to Centers' and Jones's demonstration of an incipient class consciousness in the United States. This appears contradictory. This reviewer is of the opinion that neither class struggle nor class consciousness is a useful concept for studying stratification in this country. What we call "class situations" in the United States are based upon a "level consciousness" rather than a "class consciousness" as suggested by Marx and Engels. It is true that there are some important similarities between these two conceptualizations, but there are also important differences.

Despite these scattered critical comments, Cuber and Kenkel have pulled together some excellent materials for sharpening the analytical insights of sociology students. Instructors in sociology will find the volume useful not only in social stratification courses but in general sociology courses as well.

MOZELL C. HILL

Atlanta University

A Theory of Economic-demographic Development. By HARVEY LEIBENSTEIN. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xi+204. \$4.00.

The number of economists with demographic competence and more than a casual interest in population is small, and few indeed specialize in the subject. While a good deal of homemade economic theory is found in writings on population problems, demography has not drawn much on the resources of modern economic analysis. Therefore, this carefully written book is a welcome addition to the literature. Opinions will differ as to the value of abstract theory for the progress of knowledge about the relationships between economic and demographic changes. But all should agree that it is an advance to have such theory presented as a set of "models." In the "model" approach, assumptions are selected for their plausibility but are not claimed to represent the literal truth. A model may have descriptive and predictive value *if* its assumptions are sufficiently close to reality. It makes explicit some of the ways in which interactions and combinations of factors produce change. And, instead of hiding problems by a blanket *ceteris paribus* qualification, it pinpoints attention on relationships which require additional empirical study. Had Malthus regarded his theory as one among many possible models, much painful controversy might have been averted.

The models presented here begin with a statement of the properties of a population and economy in Malthusian equilibrium. Since population growth is assumed to be determined solely by per capita income, population is stationary at the equilibrium—birth and death rates are equal at the maximum values consistent with survival—and per capita income is at the subsistence level. The investigation then considers the effects of disturbing the equilibrium by injecting into the economy an increment of income-producing capacity. Under certain conditions, it is shown, the Malthusian equilibrium will be restored at a higher level of population size, but with no permanent increase in per capita income. Other conditions can be stated which permit a lasting departure from equilibrium, with a rising level of living and eventual cessation of population growth. One important implication of the analysis is that "a small injection of new capital may fail to improve living conditions in the long run, while a sufficiently large injection may succeed. Thus, if a program to increase capital resources cannot be carried out on a sufficiently large scale it may not be worthwhile to attempt to carry out such a program at all." Unfortunately, while the parameters of the models are, in principle, subject to empirical determination, the requisite

data for estimating numerical values of "small" and "sufficiently large" are not yet available. The author's point of view is that while the empirical work necessary to make such estimates is proceeding, evidence will turn up which will require revisions of the models. Hence he does not submit them as a basis for econometric work at the present time.

The author is not oblivious to the sociological factors which form the matrix of economic-demographic development. However, he attempts to deal with them only to the extent of proposing a formal apparatus for making operational the idea of "value system." He does not consider mechanisms by which a value system might change autonomously and thus come to play the role of an independent variable in the development process.

In the last part of the book, a consideration of optimum population theory purports to demonstrate that this theory has little relevance for the theory of development. Since such relevance has not often been seriously claimed, its refutation is somewhat superfluous. A population at or near the Malthusian equilibrium point is, at any rate, almost certainly beyond the optimum. Some of the argument appears to confuse the problems of identifying the optimum and of achieving it.

Demography already has at its disposal the powerful mathematics of Lotka's stable-population theory and a highly developed technique for making hypothetical population projections. This book may mark the beginning of an extension of formal methods to a greater range of variables than those considered in pure demography. If economists can discover ways of matching observations with the variables postulated in their models, a genuine advance in cross-disciplinary co-operation will have been achieved.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

Psychotherapy and Personality Change. Edited by CARL R. ROGERS and ROSALIND F. DYMOND. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. x+447. \$6.00.

Most of the studies reported in this book drew upon two sets of subjects. First, an experimental group was obtained by asking a random sample of individuals seeking help from the Counseling Center to participate in the study. Of the 29 who agreed to co-operate, about half were asked to wait 60 days before beginning

therapy, thus constituting a control, within the experimental group, for possible changes in the individual for which therapy cannot be responsible. Second, a control group was constituted by 23 paid "volunteers" who had not sought therapy and who were roughly equivalent to the patient sample in age, sex, occupation, and social class. There are obvious deficiencies in both control and experimental samples.

Both groups were given the Thematic Apperception Test, the Willoughby Emotional Maturity Scale, a scale deriving from the various "authoritarian personality" questionnaires, a "role-playing situational test," and a Q-sort test of the relations between perception of actual and ideal self as well as others' self. These tests were administered before therapy, at the close of therapy, and about 6 months after the close of therapy.

There are eleven distinct, though interrelated, studies reported, as well as two lengthy studies of a successful and an unsuccessful case. The major methodological emphasis of the studies is on exploration of the patient's self-judgments rather than those of diagnosticians. The primary preoccupation is with discerning whether client-centered therapy is responsible for inducing personality change and, if so, what kind of change it induces. Rogers concludes that the characteristic person seeking help from the Counseling Center perceives himself to be quite different from the sort of person he would like to be and that during and after therapy he comes to perceive himself to be more like what he wants to be. Clinicians and friends of the patients both perceive successful cases to have become more mature and better adjusted. Thus there is little doubt that a significant number of the patients did change during therapy. Given the control groups, this change may be rather securely described as due to the therapy rather than to the mere passage of time or random everyday experience.

I found myself irritated by the use of fluctuating criteria of significance. For example, in one place a chance probability of $> .10 < .20$ was used to indicate that there was no significant difference between the control and experimental groups, while in another the same chance probability is accepted as a "trend" in support of a hypothesis. What determines differential use is the biased whim of the investigator. Very few hypotheses in this volume were established on the secure probability level of .01 or less. The .05 level is accepted as fully significant, where at best it may be considered merely suggestive.

The values .10, .125, and .15 are, of course, worthless but are used nonetheless as confirmatory "trends."

Very often, work that emphasizes transparent, replicable method and statistical reliability is so appallingly simple-minded as to be irrelevant to systematic knowledge. This cannot be said of the present volume, which is valuable not only because of the manifest character of its method but also because its content is of great significance for clinical and social-psychological theory. The authors' treatment of the concept "success" will be provocative to anyone interested in applied social research. Social psychologists will be interested in the concentrated investigation of the individual's view of himself, his ideal, and "the other." Many will be interested in the ambiguous relationship of "authoritarianism" to therapeutic success, as well as the almost completely contradictory results of the psychoanalytic measures used in the study.

Two findings seem to me to be of extraordinary significance. First, it was discovered that whereas at the beginning of therapy the therapist's view of the patient did not correlate highly with the patient's view of himself, these views did correlate highly many months after therapy had been concluded. Rogers saw this as evidence of the mysterious power of the therapist to see the patient's "real," repressed self and of the growth of the patient's awareness of his real self, apparently never once wondering whether the therapy hadn't been a little more directive than not. Second, closely related to this, Rogers found that the way a patient describes himself in a Q-sort test does not correlate highly with the way either diagnosticians or friends describe him by means of the same test. Further, diagnosticians do not agree closely with one another in their descriptions of the same individual, nor do friends of the individual. However, each patient, diagnostician, and friend exhibits a high degree of self-consistency in his repeated descriptions of an individual. On this basis Rogers suggests that there may not be "a" personality but only varied perspectives, varied personalities, depending on the viewpoint. This conclusion is scrupulously insulated from the notion of the "real" self, but one may hope nonetheless that it will be followed out, for it contains the seed for an enormously more sophisticated clinical psychology than exists at present.

ELIOT FREIDSON

U.S. National Student Association
Philadelphia

Tobatí: Paraguayan Town. By ELMAN R. and HELEN S. SERVICE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xxix+337. \$7.00.

This book provides an ethnographic survey of an average-sized Paraguayan market town, population about fourteen hundred, and its peasant hinterland of about seven thousand people, along with a review, historic and economic, of the national context of these data. The report is based on extensive library research and a year of field work.

The Spanish conquest of Paraguay introduced rulers who found they had no one to rule: the aborigines, the Guaraní Indians, either took to the hills or remained to enjoy the kin ties that their women created with the Spanish. Land has never been scarce enough to hold a tenantry, and the Catholic church has failed to become a power except in the field of pious recreation. Lack of capital and credit, lack of stable prices and accessible markets, have checked almost all economic development. (A person who wants to rise socioeconomically goes into politics.) The poorer peasants today live in huts with no windows; dried dog excrement mixed with herbs is used to cure scarlet fever; the Coleman-lamp few are still marked off from the dim-lit many. The Services do a good job of showing that this savage world largely derives from European peasant culture and that Paraguayans are responding to their depressed position by tea-cup nationalism, a futile revival of what is felt to be Guaraní culture. The writers suggest that status arrangements form a gradual continuum from the rich, light-skinned townsman to the humble, somewhat darker-skinned peasant, but at other times they describe annual social festivities which are segregated like the ones we find on a two-class boat, one for *la sociedad* and one for *la gente*.

There is good material in the book on several significant analytical problems. The Services show that at the grass roots of a cross-country ruling-class culture we can find not a set of culturally disparate tribes (as in India) but merely a less comfortable version of the same official world. Evidence is offered that an accepting orientation to travel and to outsiders may prevail in communities which have extremely poor means of communication and transportation. We are given data on the ceremonial organization of matters we treat impersonally, with evidence as to why a Tobatí man cannot afford to seek out the cheapest seller, why he cannot quit his job unless his boss has the decency to quarrel with him, and why he can accept bribery as a

form of graciousness. We see again the many reasons why saving in some societies does not pay.

There is a struggle in this book between sociology and social anthropology. I'm sorry to report that we sociologists win. We usually do when anthropological studies are made of peasant or modern communities, and most of the exceptions, like Miner's brilliant *St. Denis*, seem to be out of print. It is good to have statistics on family composition, illegitimacy, labor costs, etc., but one misses the structural analysis which clearly identifies cultural premises and then ties these together into a functioning whole. It would be nice, for example, to have a further analysis of the hot-cold dichotomy and of the *macho* complex of masculinity. Further, it is surprising to see the anthropologist of today refer to unscientific beliefs as "superstitions" and to members of a community as ones who gamble "for higher stakes than they can afford." The naturalistic conceptual framework of our teachers seems to be giving way, alas, to a sober concern for medical, political, and economic welfare.

The print, paper, and format are beautiful; the price is very handsome. The book is to be compared to Pitt-Rivers' recent study of a Spanish village, which has none of these virtues but has some others.

ERVING GOFFMAN

Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies
National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda, Maryland

Aspects of Culture and Personality: A Symposium. Edited by FRANCIS K. HSU. New York: Abelard-Schuman, 1954. Pp. xiii+305. \$4.00.

This book presents the results of the Conference on Anthropology and Psychiatry held as a centennial event at Northwestern University in May, 1951. The conference was convened avowedly as a sequel to an earlier paper of the editor on "Anthropology or Psychiatry." In that paper some current studies of culture and personality were critically reviewed, and the thesis was advanced that, whereas psychiatry studies the behavior of the abnormal, anthro-

pology is mainly interested in that of the normal and that, therefore, the infantile and early childhood experiences of an individual are not so important to anthropology as credited by some recent psychoanalytically inspired studies. These thought-provoking theses, however, were not taken up systematically in the conference. Instead, papers were presented on what interested the participants at the moment and on what they considered relevant to the problems of culture and personality.

The anthropological contributions are: "Methods of Approach to the Study of Human Behavior," by John Gillin; "The Problems of Invariance in the Field of Personality and Culture," by Jules Henry; and "What We Know and What We Don't Know," by Ralph Linton. The reader probably will find Gillin's proposal for an integrated science of human behavior the most stimulating as well as the most controversial.

The lone sociological contribution is "Factors in Personality: Socio-cultural Determinants as Seen through the Amish," by Manford H. Kuhn; and the only psychiatric paper is on "Normal America in the Abnormal Setting," by Benjamin Boshes, the latter, however, seeming more sociological than psychiatric in its orientation.

The psychological contributions are: "How Far Can the Society and Culture of a People Be Gauged through Their Personality Characteristics," by Otto Klineberg; "The Chinese in Hawaii: A Rorschach Report," by T. W. Richards; "Emerging Conceptions of Neurosis and Normality," by O. H. Mowrer; and "The Nature of Man," by G. K. Yacorzynski. Some of Klineberg's criticisms of the methods used in anthropology seem especially timely and pertinent.

Besides the principal speakers, additional anthropologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and psychologists took part in the discussion of these papers and in the evaluation of the conference. In many of the statements made by these participants on interdisciplinary co-operation, the reader probably will find little that is startlingly new but much that is genuinely stimulating.

BINGHAM DAI

Duke University

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THE NATURAL SCIENCE TREND IN SOCIOLOGY

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

ABSTRACT

Present classifications of "schools" of sociological theory indicate widespread confusion as to what exactly is involved in the different approaches. Developments of the last decade, however, indicate that the different theories tend to converge as increasing attention is paid to ways and means of empirical verification. The resulting convergences in the works of Parsons, Merton, and Bales, on the one hand, and of Stouffer, Lazarsfeld, Lundberg, and Dodd, on the other, are documented. A similar tendency is apparent in recent Catholic sociological theory. Convergence in research techniques has been especially notable. Semantic and philosophical reasons for remaining controversies are reviewed.

I

"The school dominating present day sociology at least in America," says Professor N. F. Timasheff, "is the neopositivist one. It is best represented in G. Lundberg's *Foundations of Sociology* (1939), in its companion volume which is S. C. Dodd's *Dimensions of Society* (1942), but also in such works as G. K. Zipf's *Human Behavior and the Principle of Least Effort* (1949), in N. Rashevsky's *Mathematical Theory of Human Relations* (1947), and in innumerable articles appearing in the sociological journals."¹

I hope Timasheff is right in his conclusion that this is the dominant school. For those who, like myself, have wondered what different people mean when they use the terms "positivist" and "neopositivist," Timasheff's statement also has the virtue of more than usual definiteness in that it refers to the viewpoint contained

in certain specified books which do in fact represent a common orientation. Unfortunately, as we shall see, Timasheff's understanding of neopositivism is at some variance not only with other definitions that are current but also with the viewpoints of the books that he designates as definitive works on neopositivism. Because of this uncertainty of the definition of the "school," and more especially because of the many curious associations which the term "positivism" has in many minds, I have always preferred to characterize my own viewpoint as that of *natural science* rather than attempt to identify it with any of the conventional schools of traditional philosophy, of which positivism has been one, at least since Comte.²

² The extent to which I find Comte's doctrines compatible with my own was set forth in "Contemporary Positivism in Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, IV (February, 1939), 42-55. When I have used the words "positivism" and "operationism," I have meant generally the position of the Vienna Circle. Briefly and more

¹ "Sociological Theory Today," *American Catholic Sociological Review*, XI (March, 1950), 26.

According to Timasheff, the ingredients of neopositivism, as he sees it, are as follows:

The theoretical framework of the school [neopositivism] is the blending of three elements. First, quantitativism which in its extreme form is identification of science with that which is measurable. Second, behaviorism, not in the original and extreme form presented by J. B. Watson's *Behaviorism* [1924], but in the more moderate form which does not deny the existence of mental phenomena, but maintains that knowledge about them is not intercommunicable; to a large extent, this resignation is balanced by the admission of the study of "symbolic," especially "verbal" behavior. Third, pragmatic philosophy, denying the possibility of knowing anything besides one's sense impressions.³

How does this square with the position actually taken in the works cited by Timasheff? Let us begin with the last of his three ingredients. Dodd and I, in common, I believe, with all other natural scientists, do indeed proceed on the postulate that the data of empirical science consist of symbolized reactions through the media of the human senses (i.e., all our responses, including those of the "sense organs"). Those who object to this postulate should favor us with a full report of what their objection is to the assumption as well as a specification of their own preferred postulates regarding other means of empirical knowing, if any.

As for Timasheff's first "ingredient" of neopositivism, namely, what he calls "quantitativism," we do reject his implied postulate as revealed by his statement that, "while there can be no objection against

measuring that which, *by its nature*, is measurable, the general postulate of positivism is obviously wrong" (*italics mine*). In common with all natural scientists, we certainly reject the notion that "quantitativeness" is an inherent characteristic of some phenomena and not of others. Also, we have pointed out that concepts of "more" and "less," which are employed by all "schools," are just as truly quantitative in implication as is more formal mathematical language. Accordingly, we hold that "quantitativism" is merely a particular way of observing, recording, and manipulating data.⁴ Conversely, we accept the postulate that, whatever exists at all, exists in some quantity and that to the extent that this aspect is relevant in any scientific problem we find it convenient or necessary to express our observations in quantitative terms. We hold, further, that corroboration and generalization are essentials in science and that these are always quantitative in the sense that they involve numbers of observations, as does the concept of probability, in terms of which scientific empirical laws are always stated.

Fortunately, the old controversy on this subject is about obsolete. Our view on the nature and place of quantification as actually advocated in the works under discussion has won fairly complete acceptance in the last fifteen years, and this presumably is one of the things Timasheff has in mind when he concedes that the "neopositivist" viewpoint now dominates American sociology. I think there are very few people left who want to renew the arguments about quantification, the permissibility and validity of sociological scales, what the units on a sociological scale "stand for,"

specifically, I would refer to the following recent publications of H. Feigl, "Logical Empiricism," in *Twentieth Century Philosophy*, ed. D. D. Runes (New York: Philosophical Library, 1953); "Operationism and Scientific Method," *Psychological Review*, LII (September, 1945), 250-59; "Principles and Problems of Theory Construction in Psychology," in Wayne Dennis *et al.*, *Current Trends of Psychological Theory* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1951).

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 26.

⁴ "An earlier generation was often charitable in accepting, without further ado, the claims implicit in such summary terms as 'typical,' 'characteristic,' 'usually,' etc. Yet it takes only a moment's thought to recognize that terms such as these are only disguised summaries of statistical distributions of behavior, or of central tendencies in such distributions" (R. K. Merton and Paul Lazarsfeld, *Continuities in Social Research* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950], p. 13).

etc., all of which were subjects of controversy during the 1930's and early 1940's. To those who still want to argue about quantification and operational definitions, we are inclined to say: If you can do scientific research (of the kind scientists recognize and value) without quantitative procedures and operational definitions, go ahead. Quantification is only a way of expressing degrees of qualities and relationships. Operationism, when and as practicable, is only a way of communicating more specifically what meaning we wish a word or other symbol to have. We have never thought of either quantification or operationism as entirely supplanting or preventing other forms of thinking, including the most vague and heuristic speculation imaginable.⁵

It may be of interest in the perspective of ten years to call attention to some of the controversies that were formerly considered crucial and difficult of solution. First of all was the question as to whether it was not necessary to "know" in some absolute sense "what" one was measuring before one could proceed with the measurement. It now seems adequate for most people to say that the behavior of a student taking a test, that is, putting certain black marks in some places on a piece of paper and not in others, and all other behavior correlated with the behavior involved in the test, is "what" is measured. If we designate this aspect and segment of behavior "intelligence 100" on a specified scale, those symbols do answer objectively the question of what is measured, namely, the behavior involved in scoring 100 on a specified test, and all behavior correlated with the test behavior.

The much-disputed statement, "Intelligence is what the intelligence tests test," appears, therefore, to be unexceptionable unless one misstates the case, as does Blumer in a recent paper,⁶ where he criticizes the formulation: "Intelligence is the intel-

ligence quotient." If this is his understanding of what the testers contend, he is not to be blamed for being disturbed. At the same time it must be clear that there is a radical difference between the two statements with which we are here concerned: (1) Intelligence is what the intelligence tests test. (2) "Intelligence is the intelligence quotient." Since no one has ever, to my knowledge, defended the second statement, and since it is merely an example of the elementary semantic error of confusing the symbol with what it stands for, it requires no argument.

A third issue over which there was formerly much discussion was the question as to what, precisely, was the "physical counterpart" of a given score on a sociological scale. It was pointed out that corresponding to given points on a physical scale there could be physical counterparts in the form of little pieces of brass or other metal, whereas it was not clear what specific referents the scale points on a sociological scale might have. Today, we answer that question sharply by saying that a score of 4 on a certain scale designed to measure hostility toward Negroes denotes the attitude of the people who, for example, answered Question 1 in the affirmative and Question 10 in the negative, and no others. This is just as definite a "physical counterpart" as can be assigned to a point on any physical scale.

Finally, there was great worry over the undisputed fact that the more definite and rigorous definitions required by science and provided by operational definitions frequently "left out" many of the connotations attached to a given word in folk language. It is now realized that this is an inevitable consequence and that the remedy for the admitted fact that many other meanings are excluded is to adopt equally specific and rigorous definitions for the phenomena excluded in the case of a given

⁵ See H. Feigl's excellent summary in "Operationism and Scientific Method," *op. cit.*, p. 258.

⁶ Herbert Blumer, "What Is Wrong with Social Theory?" *American Sociological Review*, XIX (February, 1954), 3-10.

definition. That is what physical scientists have done, and they have been confronted at all times with the same problem.

There remains by far the most stubborn "ingredient" of neopositivism, as defined by Timasheff, namely, "behaviorism" and its alleged attitude toward "mental phenomena" as consisting of symbolic, or verbal, behavior. As we shall see, while many early objectors to the doctrine that "mind" may be regarded as symbolic behavior have abandoned their former position, the difficulty persists in some quarters down to the present time.

In 1934 Merton wrote as follows:

For, if, as positivism would have us believe, logic and science can deal only with empirical facts, with *sensa*, then a science of social phenomena on that score alone becomes impossible, since this attitude relegates to the limbo all ends, *i.e.*, subjective anticipation of *future* occurrences without a consideration of which human behavior becomes inexplicable.⁷

Passing over what may have been at this time the author's notions of empirical facts ("sensa"), it is clear that he was under the impression that positivism was a doctrine which proposed first of all to ignore "subjective anticipations of future occurrences" (ends) and presumably all the phenomena usually designated by such words as "thinking" and verbal behavior in general. If so, I would agree with his conclusion that a science of social phenomena becomes impossible if symbolic behavior is to be ignored. But, in view of the developments in the study of symbolic and verbal behavior during the last fifteen years, it

⁷ R. K. Merton, "Durkheim's Division of Labor in Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXX (1934), 321. Merton acknowledges obligation to Parsons for "much of the viewpoint here expressed." For further illustrations of this author's views as late as 1940 see "Fact and Factionism in Ethnic Opinionaires," *American Sociological Review*, V (February, 1940), 13-28, and my comments in the same journal, pp. 38-39. See also remarks by J. Bernard, *American Sociological Review*, V (June, 1940), 415-17, together with Merton's reply, *American Sociological Review*, V (August, 1940), 647-48.

must now be clear to everyone that the symbols and the symbolic behavior by and through which man anticipates future occurrences or "ends" can be as objective and tangible "empirical facts" as any other phenomena whatsoever. Certainly the "neopositivists" mentioned by Timasheff, not only in their work, but in their explicit declarations, have shown that they never had any intention of ignoring these phenomena.

Likewise, Parsons, writing in 1937, declared as follows:

It will be maintained and the attempt made in considerable detail to prove that *in this sense* [as a general framework for understanding human behavior] *all of the versions of positivistic social thought constitute untenable positions* for both empirical and methodological reasons.⁸

Again, it is uncertain as to what this author at this time included under "all of the versions of positivistic social thought," but it is quite clear that what he has to say has no application whatever to such formulations as those of the spokesmen mentioned above by Timasheff and of others such as J. B. Watson and L. L. Bernard. I mention Watson especially because he is the most frequently named when anyone is challenged to specify exactly what author or authors he has in mind as representing the "position" which they found "untenable for both empirical and methodological reasons." Yet Watson was quite explicit and emphatic on the principal point at issue when he said, "Let me make this fundamental point at once: that *saying* is doing—that is, *behaving*. Speaking overtly or to ourselves (thinking) is just as objective a type of behavior as baseball."⁹ In

⁸ T. Parsons, *Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), p. 125.

⁹ J. B. Watson, *Behaviorism* (New York: W. W. Norton Co., 1925), p. 6. Watson expressed essentially the same views a decade earlier in *Behavior* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1914), pp. 15-19, 324-28, 331, 334. I mention Merton and Parsons in this connection only in order to illustrate the confusion surrounding the use of

the second passage quoted above from Timasheff, he apparently shares the widespread and wholly unwarranted notion that Watson proposed to ignore the "mental" life of man. Timasheff recognizes, however, that "neopositivism" takes a more moderate position "which does not deny the existence of mental phenomena but maintains that knowledge about them is not intercommunicable." As pointed out above, we do recognize "mental" phenomena when we regard them as verbal behavior, but we certainly *do not* maintain that knowledge about them is not intercommunicable. On the contrary, we hold this to be a technological problem on which much progress has been made in the last decade.¹⁰

As early as 1933,¹¹ I said explicitly:

The behaviorist is as interested as anyone in the full exploitation of the data of wishes,

the terms "positivism" and "neopositivism." Both of these authors have for some time been engaged in research which appears to me to be fully compatible with, and contributory to, the position and programs advocated, as far as I know, by any informed behaviorist or "neopositivist," including myself (see T. Parsons, R. Bales, and E. Shils, *Working Papers in the Theory of Social Action* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953], esp. chap. iii).

¹⁰ Somewhat clearer is Timasheff's immediately ensuing comment that "to a large extent, this resignation [the behaviorists' attitude toward mental phenomena] is balanced by the admission of the study of 'symbolic,' especially 'verbal' behavior." Timasheff further states that "the most acceptable formulation is that of Read Bain ('Behavioristic Techniques in Sociological Research,' *Publications of the American Sociological Society*, 1932)." This does indeed "balance" the preceding statement, since Bain's position coincides completely with my view and is, therefore, according to Timasheff, "neopositivistic." In short, Timasheff recognizes that the position he classifies as "neopositivistic" definitely contemplates the inclusion of symbolic and language behavior, together with all the observable data of thought and consciousness regarded as "sensa" and empirical data in the neopositivistic framework.

¹¹ See also the first edition of my *Social Research* (New York: Longmans, Green & Co., 1929), pp. 14-15, 26. Yet Timasheff in a book published in 1955 declares my "opposition to introspection" as "outspoken"! (p. 194).

desires, and what men "think in their hearts"—the phenomena of consciousness. I refer here to all the phenomena of introspection. No behaviorist questions the scientific validity of a physician taking his own temperature, pulse count, or recording by any methods subject to verification his observations of behavior of any part of his organism in relation to stimulation of whatever kind, social or physical. It is a problem of developing an objective terminology and possibly instruments with which to observe and describe experiences which are now very inadequately communicable or subject to verification. . . . This technique does not contemplate substituting our experience for his directly. Like other knowledge, private experiences of others are usually inferred from objective indices. In short, it is only a matter of what degree of objectivity we should require before we admit data to the category of science. In the meantime, of course, we are using and should continue to use any or all data for all they are worth in their present form.¹²

From the above, it would appear that the controversy over positivism has been based on a misunderstanding as to what the proponents of this viewpoint did in fact contemplate. If so, the clarification of this misunderstanding should result in the permanent abandonment of much traditional controversy. The neopositivists on their part have always held, and, therefore, will cheerfully agree, that any approach in the social sciences that does not make full provision for the inclusion of symbolic and language ("mental") data, and any other observable and verifiable phenomena whatsoever that can be shown to influence human behavior, is clearly untenable. Those who have hitherto found positivism objectionable under the misapprehension that positivists intended to exclude this important field of phenomena will presumably

¹² G. A. Lundberg, "Is Sociology Too Scientific?" *Sociologist*, IX (September, 1933), 311-12. The only explicit statement I have found on this subject in Parsons' earlier writing is in *The Structure of Social Action* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), p. 423. For discussion see my *Foundations of Sociology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1939), pp. 41-42, n. 19.

withdraw their objections when they discover that such is not the case. In any event, it is clearly futile to use words like "positivism" or "neopositivism," or "mechanistic," weighed down as they are with various traditional historical and emotional meanings, as a designation of any contemporary school of sociological thought. The viewpoint of the works mentioned by Timasheff in the opening paragraph can best be designated as the point of view and method of natural science. This designation has sufficiently definite meaning for all purposes of the present discussion, which has to do with the applicability of the methods of natural science to human social phenomena as well as to the subject matter of physics, chemistry, biology, and the related subsiences.¹³

II

It has been suggested above that, in view of the ambiguity of the term "neopositivism," it is preferable to use the term "natural science" to designate the approach of those who adhere to this view. The literature reviewed above indicates that, even in the opinion of its opponents, the view-

¹³ The best existing illustration of the confusion on this subject, and the resulting irrelevance of much criticism, is perhaps to be found in P. A. Sorokin's *Contemporary Sociological Theories* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1928), chap. i: "The Mechanistic School." Neither the exposition nor the criticism is even remotely related to any current sociological theory or practice. In part, of course, this is due to the very fundamental transformations since 1920 in the theory underlying the natural science approach. Accordingly, it was not surprising that Sorokin found in 1940 considerable differences between the position set forth in my *Foundations of Sociology* and the alleged views which he cites in refutation (*American Journal of Sociology*, March, 1940). Authoritative statements of what is in fact the currently accepted theory of natural science are now readily available in compact form in the various volumes of the *International Encyclopedia of Unified Science* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1938-55). No doubt these views differ considerably from those of Avenarius, Mach, Duhem, Planck, and others and, more particularly, from Sorokin's interpretation of these views.

point in question is already the dominant one in American sociology. What is more important from the standpoint of the present paper is the convergence in this direction of viewpoints that have until recently been considered by many students as quite irreconcilable.

First of all, there is the admitted, if not always apparent, convergence or reconcilability of the work of Parsons,¹⁴ on the one hand, and Bales and Stouffer,¹⁵ on the other. Second, there is the admitted convergence of the Parsons-Shils formulation of "motivational process" with Merton's theory of social structure and anomie.¹⁶ Third, there is obviously complete compatibility between Merton's recent work

¹⁴ "This shows that it is possible to regard the categories of interaction process developed by Bales and the motivational paradigm developed by Parsons, as, in all essentials, different ways of conceptualizing the same thing" (Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, pp. 70-71). See also in this connection J. C. McKinney, "Methodological Convergence of Mead, Lundberg, and Parsons," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (May, 1954), 565-74.

¹⁵ On the connection of Parsons' work and Stouffer's see the reference in Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 12. The relation of Stouffer's work to that of Bales, and the compatibility of the work of both with that of Dodd and Lundberg, is easily evident, although it cannot here be elaborated. A forthcoming article, "Some Convergences in Sociological Theory" (*American Sociological Review*), will deal with this subject.

¹⁶ "It was further shown that this paradigm, independently derived, is essentially the same as that previously put forward by Merton (*Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: The Free Press, 1949], chap. 3), for the analysis of social structure and anomie" (Parsons, Bales, and Shils, *op. cit.*, p. 68). Of interest also, at least so far as convergence in terminology is concerned, is the essay by Parsons and Bales (*Working Papers*, chap. iii) under the title "The Dimensions of Action Space," in which four laws (pp. 102-3) of social action are proposed, three of which are practically identical with those of classical mechanics, and the fourth is definitely of the same type. Ten years ago such a formulation, regardless of its derivation and merits, would have been decried as an attempt to "force sociology into the framework of physics."

and that of Lazarsfeld.¹⁷ The compatibility of the work of Lazarsfeld and Stouffer has long been a matter of common knowledge. Merton's appreciation of *The American Soldier* should also be noted in this connection. Finally, Lundberg and Dodd have always found the formulations of Lazarsfeld and Stouffer not only acceptable but as among the best examples of the procedure and results of the natural science approach in sociology.

The current convergence of sociological theory is further illustrated from the point of view of a Catholic scholar by the recent work of Paul H. Furfey.¹⁸ Since his book is not only recent and of exceptionally high quality but also deals with remarkable clarity with the central issues of neopositivism and the natural science approach, it is of special interest in the present connection.

One of the remarkable features of Furfey's book, as compared with other Catholic texts especially, is his tentative and nondogmatic treatment of supra-empirical postulates (i.e., postulates not susceptible of empirical proof). Consider the following passage:

Catholics, by virtue of their religious beliefs, have a very definite view of society. To what extent, if at all, should this affect their sociology? The most varied answers have been given to this question. The two most extreme possible viewpoints would obviously be: (1)

¹⁷ See R. K. Merton and P. F. Lazarsfeld (eds.), *Continuities in Social Research* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950), Introduction, and S. A. Stouffer, "Some Afterthoughts of a Contributor to *The American Soldier*," *ibid.*, pp. 197-211. See also P. F. Lazarsfeld and R. K. Merton, "Friendship as a Social Process," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. M. Berger, T. Abel, and C. M. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1954), chap. ii. I predict that further "translation" of this kind (i.e., the restatement of the more discursive sociological theory in more objective and rigorous language) will bring to light even more pronounced convergences than those that are now evident. The latter have become apparent largely as a result of more general understanding of semantics and the more disciplined use of language in the forms of symbolic logic, statistics, and mathematics.

Sociology contains no supra-empirical propositions, and (2) sociology contains *nothing but* supra-empirical propositions. Both these extreme views have actually been defended, the first by Delos and the second by Derisi. The vast majority of Catholic sociologists take a position somewhere between these extremes. . . . The Catholic teacher should indeed inculcate Catholic principles in the sociology classroom, but this is an additional function beyond his function as a sociologist. . . . The data of empirical sociology have such an intimate connection with humanity that hardly anyone can resist the temptation to interpret them in the light of supra-empirical principles in one way or another. Therefore, many sociologists have

¹⁸ *The Scope and Method of Sociology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953). Furfey calls attention forcefully to the lack of clear statement of basic assumptions and methods of procedure in sociological theory. First of all, he distinguishes between (a) *metasociology*, or that part of sociological discussion that has *sociology* itself as subject matter (i.e., principles for the construction and the criticism of valid sociology) and (b) *sociology*, i.e., propositions about human group life (e.g., propaganda, crime, mutual aid, etc.). We are concerned here purely with the former, the metasociological part of sociological theory. Furfey correctly classifies my *Social Research* and *Foundations* as metasociological treatises. (It would perhaps be more strictly correct to include only the first nine chapters of my *Foundations* as metasociology.) With respect to his further statement that, taken together, these works constitute "the only complete metasociological treatise in existence" (p. 41), I can only say that whatever satisfaction I might feel at this appraisal is more than offset by the lamentable fact that a field of study as prominent as sociology is today, and making such vigorous claims to the status of a science, should have paid so little attention to a formulation of its basic postulates, its logic, and its methods. It is no excuse to say that "the field is too new," because the only way it can become more mature is by a series of successive formulations of the framework within which a science must advance if it is to advance at all. Even the phenomena of the "natural history" type of social science cannot be collected or codified without some implicit or explicit premises, theories, and rules of observation and collection of data and generalization. However, the implicit premises, while always present, must be made explicit before they can be brought under scrutiny and discussion. Failure to do so results in precisely the vagueness and ambiguity that characterize most theoretical discussion today.

frankly introduced supra-empirical postulates in their work—and a great many more have introduced them tacitly [pp. 47–50].

Furfey later makes the following important concession:

It is, therefore, admittedly possible to develop sociology purely as a natural science. If we may assume that the same thing is possible in the other sciences dealing with human behavior, the distinction between natural and moral science could be neglected altogether. *It is possible, but is it profitable?* The position taken in the present volume is that phenomena involving human behavior can best be studied by methods inapplicable elsewhere. It is, therefore, useful to distinguish natural and moral sciences and to classify sociology as one of the latter [p. 117]. [Italics mine.]

From this last contention there follows a curious justification for distinguishing “natural” and “moral” sciences and classifying sociology as one of the latter. “The point,” says the author, “might be proved from a philosophical level by invoking the thesis of free will,” but, “since . . . many sociologists reject freedom of the will, the problem is better approached on an empirical level” (p. 117). The proposed approach on the empirical level consists of pointing out that certain methods are possible, and indeed required, in the social sciences which are not applicable in the other sciences. This is certainly true, at least if we mean by “methods” the concrete techniques of investigation and instruments employed in different fields for different subject matters (e.g., telescopes versus questionnaires). So are many methods of biology not applicable in physics and chemistry, but I do not think this has ever been advanced, at least during the present century, as an argument for regarding biology as a moral science (or a nonnatural or unnatural science).

It is precisely here that the unspoken postulate lurks, namely, that man or at least his mind (his verbal behavior) is a phenomenon which, if not apart from nature, is at least something more. We need

only recall the history of the long war between “vitalists” and “mechanists” in biology, the “mystery of life” and the alleged inadequacy of natural science, to deal with such mysteries. No one questions that there is plenty of mystery surrounding all sciences. Scientists nevertheless feel that the methods of science are most likely to yield us whatever knowledge may be possible.

This brings us back to a fundamental point which, as we have seen, was central during the 1930's especially in the controversy over “neopositivism,” introspection, and the applicability of the methods of natural science to human social phenomena. Why does Furfey contend that, while a natural science of sociology is possible, it is at least profitable in this field to go beyond the methods of natural science? In his answer to this question Furfey betrays again a deep-seated notion that the proponents of sociology as a natural science propose to ignore or neglect the data represented by such words as “ends,” “motives,” “purposes,” “hopes,” “fears,” “ideas,” etc. (pp. 222, 224–25). The basis for the controversy has practically disappeared in most quarters because it has finally become recognized that the “neopositivists” and the “behaviorists” have always specifically insisted on the inclusion of verbal behavior in their formulations and that, therefore, they have always contemplated giving full recognition to these data.

The contrary idea nevertheless continues to persist in certain quarters. Even psychologists who are behavioristic in general orientation nevertheless are not quite able to let go of these ghosts. They refer mysteriously to these phenomena as “intervening” variables.¹⁹ Between what exactly do they intervene? The basic difficulty, and it is by no means confined to Catholic scholars—the Aristotelian and the Thomist influence is far wider—comes out very clearly in the old argument about “the essential difference” *from the standpoint of causa-*

¹⁹ J. R. Maze, “Do Intervening Variables Intervene?” *Psychological Review*, LXI (July, 1954), 226–34.

tion between a paper flying before the wind and a man flying from a pursuing crowd.²⁰ Says Furfey:

Whatever school of thought we follow regarding the nature of the causation involved, it is at least clear that the fleeing man and the members of the pursuing crowd may be interviewed; we may study the motives for their actions, whereas this methodology is wholly inapplicable to the paper and the wind. Since there is a class of phenomena which may be studied by a unique method, it is profitable to use this method. Science overlooks no accessible data. This is a sufficient basis for distinguishing a category of sciences, the moral sciences, which are *essentially* different from the natural sciences [p. 118]. [*Italics mine.*]

The clear implication here is that the neopositivists or other natural science sociologists propose to rule out the study of verbal and other behavior from or by which motives are observed, inferred, or imputed. "It seems that the positivists," says Furfey, "are constrained by their supra-empirical assumptions to close their eyes deliberately to certain promising fields of empirical research" (p. 224). I am aware of no such constraint or limitation under the assumptions of natural science. Furfey refers to the observation of "mental" phenomena and such methods as interviewing as among the promising fields to which positivists are constrained to close their eyes. Exactly what does he think he is doing when he interviews someone about motives or anything else? Is it conjuring, clairvoyance, inducing revelation, or extra-sensory perception? Or is it *observing verbal behavior* with due regard for all the

principles of objective observation used in all natural sciences and ably expounded by Furfey himself later in his book? I see no more reason today than I did when I first criticized the MacIver formulation some fifteen years ago²¹ for denying the unity of science and inventing a separate category of moral sciences just because sociology undoubtedly involves instruments and empirical techniques peculiar to itself, as does every natural science. The implication that neopositivists or natural science sociologists intend to "overlook" the "accessible data" securable through such techniques as interviewing, attitude tests, etc., is the more amazing in view of the fact that it is precisely the neopositivists and behaviorists who have been most active in developing these techniques to their present very considerable scientific status.

The "essential" difference from the point of view of causation between the paper flying before the wind and the man before a crowd disappears if in each case *all the influences* of which the "flying" is the resultant are in each case accounted for by methods subject to corroboration, of the type recognized in the natural sciences. Among these influences, in the case of the man, the natural science sociologist would, as a matter of course, include *all* his mental states, his cultural background, and his appreciation of the significance of the crowd's pursuit, to the extent that they are observable in the scientific sense (a problem of technology). The mental appreciation of significance, if it exists and is an influence in determining the man's flight, exists in the form of language symbols, which the man can communicate to himself and to us and which, therefore, are observable and subject to check. In short, all the influences the "moral" scientist would seek out, except those which the "moral" scientist professes to secure through occult and uncheckable processes, are included also by the natural science sociologist.

²⁰ This old illustration reappears in R. MacIver and C. Page, *Society: An Introductory Analysis* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1949), p. 628, as follows: "In social causation there is a logical order of relationship between the factors that we do not find in physical causation. There is an *essential* difference, from the standpoint of causation, between a paper flying before the wind and a man flying from a pursuing crowd. The paper knows no fear and the wind no hate, but without fear and hate the man would not fly nor the crowd pursue." (*Italics mine.*)

²¹ *Foundations of Sociology*, pp. 11-13.

As long as dreams, longings, hopes, fears, values, purposes, ends—all the “mental” life of man—were regarded as beyond the reach of objective observation and verifiable report, there was ground for separate and unique “moral sciences” dealing with these phenomena. With the recognition that all these phenomena may be objectively observed, recorded, and corroborated through the scientific study of language behavior, the ancient dualism of (a) human behavior and (b) a realm of “mind” disappears.

There is no doubt that misunderstanding of the neopositivists’ position on this subject is responsible, more than any other aspect, for the objections to this approach. We have already granted that if the basic assumption of the critics, namely, that neopositivists propose to ignore, neglect, or slight any or all of the phenomena traditionally included under the words “mind,” “soul,” “spirit,” “end,” “value,” etc., they would indeed be vulnerable and guilty of all that their critics allege. Yet, as I have shown above, nothing could be clearer than the total lack of warrant for their assumption.²²

Much discussion of sociological theory is still bedeviled by a failure to face frankly the implications of this position. Especially do sociological theorists cling with a superstitious awe to some of the more time-honored words in terms of which man’s

²² See p. 194. See also the case of MacIver and Page, *op. cit.*, p. 616, where they attribute to me the view that “social sciences should never even investigate value-facts without denuding them of their valuational elements.” Since I have always emphasized the importance of observable symbols or symbolic behavior representing goals, purposes, motives, etc., in explaining human behavior, I conclude the whole controversy turns on an elementary semantic confusion of mistaking certain words for the state of affairs (past, present, or future) which these words represent. Long-established habits of regarding these words as entities-in-themselves result in an uneasy feeling of “lack of closure” or “something left out” when the words are left out, although what the words stand for (in terms of other symbols or symbolic behavior) is fully included in the neopositivist explanation of a situation.

“mental” behavior and his “inner” life have been traditionally discussed. Consider the mystery with which the whole notion of the “inner” is still regarded. In the meantime, scientists have quietly proceeded to investigate the “inner” by all the methods adapted to their task, with the result that the “inner,” “mental” life of man rapidly becomes no more “inner” than his digestion, his circulation, his respiration, or, for that matter, any scientific observation whatever, all of which are in the first place “inner” observations in the sense of being strictly subjective experiences. The techniques by which these experiences are communicated and corroborated are also the techniques by which the warrant for the “inner-outer” postulate disappears. With it goes the hoary argument regarding introspection. For the same logic which considers it objective and scientific for man to take his own temperature with the approved instrument and technique cannot deny the validity of his verbal reports about his most intimate thoughts and attributes when these are elicited, recorded, and evaluated by instruments and techniques of known degrees of reliability and validity.

The mischief of Furfey’s unspoken premise or postulate of “mind” becomes most clearly apparent, as was to be expected, in his further objections to my comparison of the word “mind” as used in “moral” sciences with phlogiston in the history of chemistry.

Lundberg, *Foundations*, pp. 10–14, draws a parallel between the abandoned phlogiston theory and the acceptance of certain concepts which he rejects, such as the concept of the mind. His parallel misses the point. The existence of phlogiston can be investigated empirically and there are crucial experiments which have forced chemists to abandon the phlogiston theory. On the other hand, the conflict between mentalists and antimentalists is a conflict of philosophical orientations and it is not resolved by any crucial experiment from the psychological laboratory [p. 47].

Alas, for the "crucialness" of the chemistry experiment so far as its power to convince Priestley, a leading chemist (and many others at the time), who died (1804) a firm believer in the necessity of the concept phlogiston.²³ As John Dewey once remarked, it is impossible to prove anything (e.g., that the earth is round) unless there is prior agreement on certain philosophical matters regarding the validity and relevance of the operations constituting the proof. The conflict between mentalists and antimentalists rests fundamentally on a conflict of philosophical (semantic) orientation. Hundreds of experiments are offered by physiologists and behavioristic psychologists which to them are conclusive demonstration that there is no residue of "mind" remaining after all the behavior to which that term is applied has been duly accounted for. But, given certain verbal habits, this still seems to others to "leave something out." And so it does—it leaves out the word "mind," which, by a well-known semantic error, namely, that, because a word exists, it must have a referent in nature, has been reified into what a statesman recently called a "concept per se."²⁴ Phlogiston turned out to be such a

concept, but it was only after a century of confusion that chemists generally felt able to get along without the word "phlogiston."²⁵

III

The confusion over what is the position of the natural scientist (neopositivists) regarding mental phenomena is regrettable. Except for this reservation, Furfey, for example, has taken a position which would permit the same kind of recognition of the scientific status of sociological research carried on by Catholic sociologists as by non-Catholics. This is already true of scientific research carried on by Catholic chemists, physicists, and most biologists. That is, it has been found in these fields that, whatever distinctive supra-empirical postulates and metaphysical doctrines Catholics hold regarding man, society, and nature in general, these metaphysical commitments do not affect the procedures by which scientific conclusions are reached. The moment this becomes clear in sociological investigation, there is no longer any justification for distinguishing Catholic sociology any more than there is for distinguishing Catholic physics. Furfey comes very near to conceding this point when he admits the possibility of developing sociology "purely as a natural science." But apparently he does not yet recognize that verbal behavior—the data secured through interviews, questionnaires, psychoanalysis, or what not—is subject to approach and analysis by methods fully conforming to the requirements of natural science procedures. As a result, he finds it necessary to erect a separate category of "moral sciences" to designate the social sciences and, what is more important, to imply that the latter involve some postulates and procedures lying outside the generalized methods of natural science.²⁶

²⁵ Conant, *op. cit.*, p. 82.

²³ See the illuminating discussion of this subject in J. B. Conant, *On Understanding Science* (New York: New American Library, 1953), pp. 81–101. There is no such thing as a crucial experiment in the absolute sense. "To suppose, with some who write about 'scientific method,' that a scientific theory stands or falls on the issue of one experiment is to misunderstand science indeed" (*ibid.*, pp. 100–101).

²⁴ See the illuminating discussion in the United Nations over the problem of an operational definition of "aggression." The Greek delegate, a true semantic descendant of his Platonic ancestors, finally suggested that it was impossible, or at least undesirable, to define the word. It should, he said, be regarded as "a concept per se" (see H. Thirring, "Who Is an Aggressor?" *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, IX [April, 1953], 69). I suspect that one reason for the reluctance to take up Dodd's challenge to define operationally the concepts with which nearly all sociologists conjure is that they prefer to write books leaning heavily on "concepts per se"!

²⁶ This paragraph is based on the position expounded in *The Scope and Method of Sociology*, pp. 38–50, 115–25. Subsequent correspondence with Furfey indicates that, except for certain

In the end, I think, this issue will be settled by the following necessary and sufficient test: In concrete research on the same problem, do Catholic (or any or all non-neopositivist) sociologists proceed differently and arrive at different conclusions than those arrived at by natural scientists or neopositivists? To the extent that Furfey's book may be taken as a criterion, I feel confident that there would be no difference in conclusions, although, of course, interpretation of the results in terms of implications for social action might vary widely according to the culture, morals, and values of particular groups, as in the case of any scientific findings in any science. Scientific findings never embody any prescription as to what applications of them man should make. I suspect it is the failure to recognize this fundamentally non-ethical nature of all scientific conclusions which is at the bottom of the incongruities discussed above. When this distinction between (a) scientific conclusions and (b) values and practical programs is recognized, the further convergence of sociological theories should be greatly facilitated.²⁷

If there has been conspicuous convergence during the last two decades in sociological theory, there has been even more convergence in methodology. We no longer hear much about the "method" of "verstehen," "insight," "case study versus statistics,"

supra-empirical postulates, he is willing to accept the natural science approach also for verbal and other symbolic behavior. My conclusion is that the postulates in question, like those also held by Catholic chemists, however important the postulates may be from other points of view, simply do not matter so far as concerns the concrete processes by which scientific conclusions are reached in all sciences.

etc. Instead we hear much about the importance not only of a more unified theory within the social sciences but interdisciplinary convergence as well.²⁸ The same reasons that account for present emphasis on interdisciplinary approaches in the social sciences will doubtless continue to press for further recognition also of important leads suggested by the "physical" sciences—especially biology, and, on a more advanced theoretical level, chemistry and physics. Anthropology, psychology, and sociology are already involved in very rigorous interdisciplinary work with biological and medical workers in the fields of mental ailments, alcoholism, and many other diseases. The general field of communication already involves an extensive collaboration among social, biological, and physical scientists. The very considerable and long-standing interest in the unity of science movement among leading scholars in all fields is quite certain to continue and to grow.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

²⁷ For the convergence noted in Part I of the present paper much credit is due to Paul Lazarsfeld and Robert Merton of Columbia, and Samuel Stouffer and Talcott Parsons of Harvard, who have been instrumental in bringing about the considerable transition in the sociological outlook in these and other universities since 1935. With prodigious patience, skill, and industry, Lazarsfeld and Stouffer have shown how the more discursive sociological writings of an earlier period are translatable and checkable by more rigorous symbolism and methods. Most of my own writing and that of S. C. Dodd have been directed toward the same objectives.

²⁸ See, e.g., the recent book, John Gillin (ed.), *For a Science of Social Man: Convergence in Anthropology, Sociology, and Psychology* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1954). The Committee on Social Physics of the AAAS is also an evidence of growing interest in the unity of science.

OCCUPATIONAL CONTROLS AMONG STEEL DISTRIBUTORS

LOUIS KRIESBERG

ABSTRACT

A steel gray market, condemned by the government, flourished in the period following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea. The steel-distribution system was analyzed to understand why some distributors participated in the gray market and others did not. Distributors were typed according to their relationship to the distribution system; each type experienced different degrees of control from suppliers, customers, and colleagues; and the norms prescribed by these agents of control also differed. This analysis then suggested some general observations about the nature of occupational norms and occupational organization.

A crisis reveals aspects of a personality or of an institution which otherwise are obscured. The inflationary market conditions following the outbreak of hostilities in Korea in June, 1950, had many characteristics of a crisis for the steel-distribution industry. A study of the way steel distributors adjusted to the changed circumstances gives added insight into the social organization of the occupation. Steel distributors are the warehousemen and brokers who buy steel from steel mills or other sources and sell it to manufacturers or distributors. The study from which this article is drawn¹ focused on the steel gray market and alternative explanations for the participation of some distributors in it. This article reports only those explanatory factors relating to the occupation itself. The analysis, then, is concerned with the occupational code of the distributors and with the sources and forms of occupational control that they faced. In order to report the findings about the occupational organization of the steel distributors, it is advisable to consider the crisis under investigation.

STEEL DISTRIBUTION AND THE GRAY MARKET

At the beginning of the Korean conflict many consumers feared shortages of goods that were scarce during World War II. For example, the demand for consumer du-

rable goods like refrigerators and washing machines increased greatly. Manufacturers tried to increase production, and the demand for steel rose; yet steel was already in short supply.

The steel mills did not markedly increase the price of steel and so reduce demand. Steel production could not be increased appreciably, and only limited additions to the supply were possible; costly imported steel, conversion steel, and steel produced at "hand" mills² became competitive and found a market. Most of this added supply was sold at a "reasonable" markup over material costs, yet still below the price at which a market could be found. Some distributors, finding a market at higher prices, sold steel for whatever the market would bear.³ These high prices, considerably above what was "normal," characterize the gray market.⁴

² Ingots produced at one mill may be rolled at another mill into finished steel forms; this is known as conversion steel. "Hand" mills are mills in which the steel is not produced in a single continuous process.

³ Steel distributors in the sample who reported that they sold steel at whatever the market would bear, or who reported that they often sold 25 per cent or more of their steel to nonend users (and usually both activities were practiced by the same men), are here considered to have participated in the gray market. This definition is based upon the activities condemned by the government.

⁴ On the basis of admittedly tenuous estimates made by steel distributors and government officials, it appears that about 3 per cent of the steel produced during the period was sold in the gray market of June, 1950, to December, 1951.

¹ "Steel Distributors, the Federal Government, and the National Emergency" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Chicago, June, 1953).

The gray market in steel was widely condemned. For example, a United States Senate subcommittee, investigating the steel gray market, sharply attacked the "gray Market operators":

These Parasites of the steel industry perform absolutely no useful economic purpose. . . . The gray market in steel has been a vicious and reprehensible thing. . . . The entire economy has suffered. The net effect of gray markets, in steel and elsewhere, has been to inflate prices and to increase the cost of the defense program.⁵

Yet, despite condemnations and appeals, the gray market in steel persisted. An analysis of the steel distributors was made in order to understand the way different distributors adapted themselves to economic opportunities and government requests during a state of national emergency.

METHODS USED IN THE STUDY

The data are largely derived from interviews conducted between November, 1951, and April, 1952, in the Chicago Metropolitan Area. The distributors were sampled, not to obtain a representative sample of steel distributors, but to obtain distributors ranging widely in their relationship to the steel warehouse system; such a design was better suited to test the hypotheses of the study. Names of steel-distribution firms were drawn from two sources: (1) the 1950 edition of the *Standard Metal Directory* and (2) firms listed in the 1951 *Chicago Classified Telephone Directory* but not listed in the 1950 edition. Firms falling into the sample were telephoned and an appointment made for an interview.⁶

Occasionally prodded by the interviewer, the respondents were generally frank. This is indicated by their admissions of violations of government regulations and by checks, when possible, from Senate hearings and comments by one respondent about another. In addition, interviews were conducted with individuals in related occupa-

tions and with federal officials. Such interviews, newspapers, trade journals, and Senate hearings provided other data to corroborate the findings.

TYPES OF STEEL DISTRIBUTORS

Most of the steel distributors claimed that business considerations accounted for their participation or nonparticipation in the gray market. The most meaningful way to interpret this is to analyze how the distributors related themselves to the system of steel distribution.

Some of the men were warehousemen and had access to domestic mill steel; they were the *insiders*. The three other types of distributors did not have access to domestic mill steel. They differ in their evaluations about their relationship to the warehouse system.⁷ Some distributors wanted to become part of the system; they were the *strivers*. Others did not strive to become part of the system but were content to remain marginal to it; they were the *complementors*. Finally, there were others who were not striving to become part of it and were not concerned with a long-run complementary relationship; they were the "operators" who wanted to make their money quickly and move on—the *transients*.

As Table 1 summarizes, there is an association between participation in the gray market and the way the distributors related themselves to the warehouse system.

⁶ Ten per cent of the sample refused to be interviewed, but this refusal rate was about the same for the samples drawn from the *Metal Directory* and the *Telephone Directory*. Eighteen per cent delayed being interviewed or were unavailable, and, when sufficient interviews had been collected, they were not contacted further. In the light of past experience, most would have been interviewed if pursued further. Twenty-six per cent could not be located, presumably having left the business—a few who had left their businesses were interviewed to compensate for this possible bias, but this reduced the randomness of the sample.

⁷ Classification was based upon questions about their expectations upon entering the steel-distribution business, the characterizations of the steel business they would prefer, and their attitudes toward others in steel distribution.

⁵ U.S. Congress, Senate, *Report of the Select Committee on Small Business: The Gray Market in Steel* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952), p. 25.

In examining the types of distributors, we will attempt to explain this association.

Insiders.—The discussion of the insider will center upon his suppliers, customers, and colleagues and their power over him and his perception of their attitudes about the gray market.

The insiders are dependent, particularly during a period of steel shortage, upon the producing steel companies for the material which they sell. Sometimes added influence arises from previous mill sponsorship of the warehouse or from admiration for the large steel mills. The power and influence of the mills make their views about the gray market and participation in it very important. All the large steel producers officially opposed the gray-market practices; some companies made it a practice to cut off supplies to those who sold steel on the gray market. Warehousemen, therefore, feared that they would offend the mills by selling in the gray market.

The insiders must have customers to whom they can sell steel. Many manufacturers apparently were willing to pay above "normal" prices, finding it more costly to stop production than to fill the supply gaps with high-priced steel. Yet, most insiders felt that providing high-priced steel to steel-short manufacturers would not improve their future business, and this was of crucial importance for the insider. They had a large capital investment in warehouse facilities; they had to do business over a long period of time, and, being part of the warehouse system, they expected and desired to do so. Most of the insiders felt that, if they raised their prices, this would be held against them when steel was again plentiful. One explanation for this was stated clearly by Mr. L.:

They [customers] buy that higher-priced steel at Joe Doakes, a street-corner broker. But they would resent it from a legitimate warehouse. For example, conversion steel was a legitimate operation, but we didn't handle any conversion steel. If we told a customer that we had to charge him 12 cents a pound for it because it was conversion, he would buy it, but

deep down in his heart he wouldn't believe it; he would resent it.

The insiders thus felt that being part of the "legitimate" steel-distribution system required adherence to certain practices and that their customers expected certain restraints from them; customers went to others when they needed services going beyond those restraints. The insiders also felt constrained from raising prices because of personal relations with their customers.

Besides supplier and customer expectations and the negative sanctions which might follow a violation of those expectations, the insiders were subject to pressures

TABLE 1
PARTICIPATION IN THE GRAY MARKET
BY TYPES OF STEEL DISTRIBUTORS

Types of Distributors	Nonparticipation in the Gray Market	Participation in the Gray Market	Total*
Insiders.....	14	..	14
Strivers.....	6	2	8
Complementors.....	9	3	12
Transients.....	..	9	9
Total.....	29	14	43

* These totals do not purport to represent the actual proportions of steel distributors in the universe.

from their colleagues. The insiders want the respect of their colleagues. A prerequisite of such respect is adherence to the occupational code. Three elements of the code are of relevance to this study: pricing methods, types of goods handled, and attitudes toward gray-marketers.

Most of the insiders felt that there was a "just" price and a "just" profit. They were outraged that steel, "worth" so much at the mill, should be sold at three or four times that price. They seemed to regard prices as set by price leaders or by custom rather than as a result of the interplay between supply and demand in the market place.⁸

The second element of the code made a

⁸ A few insiders asserted that the situation was not normal and that therefore supply and demand ought not to operate; but, on the whole, discussions of supply and demand arose only in attacks on government policy.

normative distinction among different types of materials. Dealing in conversion or secondary steel (marred in handling) was not considered respectable. For example, the American Steel Warehouse Association, the dominant trade association, makes it a "policy to limit active membership to persons who stock and sell iron and steel products predominantly of prime quality."⁹

The third element in the code concerns the insiders' attitude toward gray-marketers. Most insiders spoke disparagingly of steel distributors carrying on gray-market activities.

There are those people who try to make a lot of money fast. . . . They're the leeches in the industry. They only come in when there's gravy. When the gravy's good, they'll be in there; but, when it gets bad, they'll take a vacation.

Most of the insiders shared these elements of the occupational code; but, whether the code were internalized or not, the insiders were subject to sanctions if they did not conform. Respect of one's colleagues is in itself a possible sanction; but, in addition, colleagues could refuse to trade materials and could give one a bad reputation among customers and suppliers as well as among colleagues. The three trade associations also played a role in insuring compliance to trade standards, and most of the insiders belonged to one. The associations exercise caution in selecting members in order to exclude those who have "bad reputations."

What the insiders meant when they said that it was poor business to deal in the gray market should now be clear. They were economically and emotionally committed to their enterprises; they had to consider long-run consequences. Most of them felt that gray-market activities would jeopardize their essential relations with suppliers, cus-

tomers, and colleagues.¹⁰ In addition, many of them accepted an occupational code which made them feel that it would be demeaning, if not impossible, to engage in gray-market activities.¹¹

Strivers.—In discussing the insider, the structure of the warehouse steel-distribution system has been outlined. In considering the other types of steel distributors, the discussion will focus on how they related themselves to that system. The strivers wanted to become part of it; they became steel distributors with the expectation that they would establish mill sources for steel.

The strivers had been unable to establish mill sources because they started in business after World War II, when steel was scarce. The mills sold steel only to their regular customers and in amounts corresponding to their previous purchases. The newly arrived strivers were thus shut out. They apparently had not foreseen the importance of this obstacle.¹² Unlike the insiders, only a few strivers had had previous experience in steel

¹⁰ In this occupation, in this situation, the norms of the significant sources of control were mutually supporting. Often this is not the case, and it is in part because of this that one or another source of occupational control tends to be dominant (see Louis Kriesberg, "Customer versus Colleague Ties among Retail Furriers," *Journal of Retailing*, XXIX [Winter, 1953-54], 173-77).

¹¹ Although no such cases appeared in the present sample, this does not mean that it never occurred. Sometimes added pressures led an insider to engage in activities from which he would otherwise refrain. For example, while steel was in short supply, an insider could help a close relative establish a business by selling him steel. This may have been the case in the instances in which men with mill sources sold steel to their brothers (U.S. Senate, Select Committee on Small Business, *The Gray Market in Steel, Hearings* [82d Cong., 2d sess. (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1952)]). In some cases, employees of a warehouse company siphoned off some steel to gray-marketers. Usually, in such cases, "dummy" corporations were established in an effort to protect the reputation and future business dealings of these insiders.

¹² Nor was it always impossible to establish a business relationship with the steel companies; two of the insiders interviewed had established warehouses with mill sources after 1945. However, both men had had personal ties with men in the steel companies.

⁹ From an official pamphlet, *This Is Your American Steel Warehouse Association*, p. 11. The few insiders dealing in other types of steel resented the "superior" attitude of the insiders who dealt only in prime steel. "We're doing the same thing the old-line warehouses did when they were new; but now they think they're lily white and Simon pure."

warehouse companies; a few others had no experience that was related to steel (e.g., one had previously been a whiskey salesman and another a schoolteacher). Most strivers had been in the scrap or wrecking business. Following the interruption of military service, they chose to start a new business—one which they felt had higher status than their previous one.

While most of the insiders were Protestants, most of the strivers were Jewish. The strivers' previous experience, listed above, provides part of the explanation. The men in the scrap industry were likely to be familiar with possibilities in steel distribution; and it is estimated that 90 per cent of those in the scrap business are Jewish.¹³ As for those who had previously worked in warehouses, a preference for self-employment may have been reinforced by the belief that mobility within a large company was limited for them.

Now let us turn to the sources of occupational control which the strivers encountered. As strivers, unable to obtain steel from the mills, they bought from warehouses, manufacturers, or small nonintegrated mills. These suppliers were often less concerned than were the large steel companies about their steel entering the gray market. The strivers usually had many suppliers, and therefore being cut off by one was a minor threat to them.

The colleagues of the strivers were also less of a restraining influence than were the insiders' colleagues. While the insiders generally did not associate with other types of distributors, not all the strivers so clearly dissociated themselves from levels other than their own. Most of their colleagues disapproved of gray-market practices, but the disapproval was not unanimous.

Yet, as Table 1 indicates, two-thirds of the strivers in the sample did refrain from gray-market practices. The most important reason for this restraint was the strivers' desire to establish firm customer relations

in order to become part of the steel-distribution system. For example, Mr. N. had been in business only four years; he sold only to end users and in that period did not raise his markup. Mr. N. explained:

The manufacturer doesn't like to pay high prices. He leans toward an unfavorable opinion about that. . . . We're trying to build an organization. We know these people. We go bowling with them and drink with them, and we just can't walk into their office and say, "You were paying ten cents for steel; now you'll pay twenty." We're friends. . . . We have good accounts. People who deal with us do so because they think we're businessmen, not just because we have steel.

Mr. N.'s comments suggest that, in addition to the desire to retain good customer relations, some strivers had personal beliefs which restrained them; and many strivers were concerned about appearing reliable and respectable (e.g., they pointed out that they took title and physical possession of the steel that they bought).

Nevertheless, some strivers did carry on gray-market activities. The restraints acting upon the strivers were not so great as those on the insiders, and there was no certainty that, if they restrained themselves, they would be rewarded as were the insiders. At the same time they may have had added inducements to participate in the gray market. For example, since they could not buy from the steel mills, many of them bought steel wherever they could. They were able to obtain only a limited amount of steel at a price low enough to offer to manufacturers without appearing to be profiteering. So the high-price steel would be sold on the gray market and the profits used to support the respectable business that was being established.

Complementors.—Like the strivers, the complementors interviewed were concerned with long-run business considerations; but, unlike them, the complementors were not trying to become part of the warehouse system. They were marginal and wanted to remain so. Those who had long had a complementary relationship to the steel-distribution system had other businesses. Most

¹³ William Kephart, "What Is Known about the Occupation of Jews?" in *Race Prejudice and Discrimination*, ed. Arnold M. Rose (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1951), pp. 131-46.

had scrap yards, others dealt in nonferrous metals, and a few dealt only in conversion or imported steel. Most of the complementors were Jewish, and this is explained by the same factors mentioned in the discussion of the strivers, particularly since the scrap business is so well suited as a base for a complementary relationship with the warehouse system.¹⁴

What was said about the weakness of colleague and supplier restraints upon the strivers holds true for the complementors as well. Their suppliers were not as concerned about the use of their steel as were the suppliers of the insiders. The colleagues with whom the complementors associated did not have the same definitions of proper conduct as did the insiders' colleagues. Mr. Z. pungently makes the point:

Like we paid more for the imported steel, say, we paid six and a half cents, but we sold it for seven and a half, and we could have gotten nine cents more; but we felt that we were making a regular markup on it, and that was enough. There were some who did get four-cent steel and sold it for ten or more. . . . I had friends who did, and they used to call us fools . . . for not doing it. We talked about it back and forth, and I guess it depends on your concept of doing business. When a guy is being forced to close because of a shortage, some would say that's the time to get the last dollar out of him, and some say you shouldn't. Sometimes I think they're right; you should get whatever you can—that's the way business is. But we just didn't do that. There's more in business than the dollar.

Colleague pressures to refrain from gray-market activities apparently were not very strong. Yet, as Table 1 indicates, most of the complementors did not participate in gray-market activities.

The quotation suggests that individual

¹⁴ There were several factors that made the men want to be marginal to the warehouse system. Many started out in the scrap or nonferrous business; they knew this business and had done well at it. When they felt that the new steel business interfered with their regular business, they withdrew from it. In addition, individual preferences for small and more manageable enterprises tended to make some men favor a marginal relationship to the warehouse system.

beliefs and self-conceptions may be of significance. Undoubtedly, personal restraints operated among complementors as among strivers and insiders. Nevertheless, the occupational pressures alone explain much of the restraint felt by the complementors. They were concerned about the future of their scrap or other business and subordinated their steel activities to the success of the business to which they were committed.

Yet some complementors did carry on gray-market activities. As in the case of the strivers, it is noteworthy that the complementors had a wider and less precisely defined range of permissible activity and that the borders were marked with fewer and less stringent sanctions than were those of the insiders. Therefore, the chance to make large immediate profits was more tempting. Also, the very position of the complementors may have induced them to carry on gray-market activities. Some of the complementors compete with the insiders by finding bargains and underselling them; in giving the steel-distribution system greater flexibility, they sacrifice business stability. Mr. D., a steel and nonferrous metal broker, argued:

It's the right of the man who has the material to sell it at what he can get. When material is plentiful and your warehouses are full, you sometimes sell without making any money. . . . Right now the shoe is on the other foot, so it pinches *them*. Now the fellow who is selling can get a little more—can you blame him if he does?

In addition, the complementor often was not treated with the same respect by the customers; they came to him only when they were desperate. The antagonism that may develop from such a business relationship tends to encourage vindictive pricing.

In short, both the complementors and the strivers were constrained from carrying on gray-market activities by consideration of the possible effects upon their customers. They desisted, too, because they felt that those activities were improper. Yet their definitions of propriety were not the same as those of the insiders. They carried on activities and handled types of steel which

the insiders did not. It appears that each type of distributor had his own definitions of proper and expeditious business conduct. Gray-market participation by a third of these men appears to be related to the fact that they faced less clear expectations from others and fewer sanctions. Other evidence in the study suggested that, in this more ambiguous situation, the kind of activity engaged in was more likely to be affected by idiosyncratic elements of the business situation and by personal values and beliefs.

Transients.—In Table 1 all the transients were categorized as carrying on gray-market activities. Unlike the other steel distributors, they were not constrained by concern that their future business would be harmed by such activities. They were not trying to become part of the warehouse system or to continue in a position marginal to it. They were interested in immediate profits.

As noted in the case of the strivers and complementors, there is little constraint from the suppliers of conversion, manufacturers' surplus, and imported steel. Transients obtained much steel from these sources. Some transients were also able to obtain some prime domestic steel; for example, some steel may have been sold to a relative as a personal favor, or a manufacturer may have traded a type of steel of which he had an oversupply to a transient in order to obtain in return a type which he needed.¹⁵ Undoubtedly, a few men with access to mill steel simply saw the market situation as a profitable opportunity. Insiders who would not themselves deal on the gray market might use a transient as a "front." Many transients also bought a significant proportion of their steel from other transients. Interested in the short run, transients could buy from these sources, untroubled by the fact that they would dry up as soon as steel came to be in good supply.

¹⁵ Sometimes trading seems to have been preferred to cash dealings on the gray market, not only as an economy, but as a more "respectable" way of obtaining steel; thus the trade might not be equal if computed at free market prices, but there is no obvious cash payment of higher prices.

The short-run view of the transients was also evident in their customer relations. As is explicit in the definition of gray-market activities, nearly all the transients sold a significant amount of their steel to other steel distributors, usually other transients. In selling to distributors, they failed to establish the business contacts which would have enabled them to carry on business when the steel shortage ended. The same pattern was evident in the practice of taking an order and then trying to locate the steel to fill the order. Failure to do so, an occasional result of this practice, would hardly increase the transient's chances of continuing business with that customer.

When the transient chose to sell to an end user, his interests were still immediate ones: "We don't want to bother with the broker; we want to go just for the high buck." In setting prices at whatever he thought the customer was willing to pay, the transient often found that the customers preferred not to trade with him. The customers tried to get steel from their regular sources; they turned to the gray market only in desperation. In such circumstances there can be little expectation of mutual respect and consideration.

The transients' suppliers and customers did not act as a constraining force, and neither did their colleagues. Most of them thought that there was nothing wrong in carrying on gray-market practices. They believed that other businessmen were more circumspect but no more righteous than they. If the transients were to do business profitably, they felt, they had to carry on the activities others declined. The transients were left with the "dirty work."¹⁶ As Mr. E. said: "The warehouses don't want to do it; they didn't want to do it openly then. They wanted themselves to look good; so I would get my hands dirty a little." A few transients did define gray-market activities as improper. They felt that they were not carry-

¹⁶ Everett C. Hughes points out that every occupation includes some activities which its members regard as "dirty work" ("Work and Self," in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, ed. John Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif [New York: Harper & Bros., 1951], pp. 319-21).

ing on a worth-while or even legitimate business. Yet they themselves persisted in the gray market.

The discussion of the transients has emphasized the absence of constraints. It is as though we had asked, not why some went into the gray market, but why everyone did not. Nor is this emphasis altogether strange. Monetary rewards are commonly considered a strong motivation in this society. This motivation is common to all the steel distributors. We have discussed how it was manifested by distributors in different types of business situations. But who are the men who chose the transient relationship?

Some transients began dealing in the steel with long-run considerations, but the gray-market practices were easy and their implications not evident. Once in the gray market, the transients were encouraged to continue by the situational pressures outlined.

Other transients did not merely drift into the gray market. They had no experience related to steel distribution but saw a chance to make some money. Some of these men maintained their association with their other occupations so that, when the gray market disappeared, as they expected it would, they could continue in their regular occupation. Those who were in occupations in which part-time transfers were possible were thus more likely to enter the gray market than were those who would have to abandon an established full-time occupation. Similarly, those who were unsuccessful in their previous occupations, or for some other reason were uncommitted to another occupation, would be the ones to seek this new opportunity, as did a bookmaker who found the federal gamblers' tax an inconvenience.

Still other factors are needed to explain recruitment into this occupational subcategory, one such factor being awareness of the opportunity. Those who had been in related industries would naturally have heard of the steel shortage and the opportunities thereby presented; most of the others reported that they first learned of the possibilities through conversations with friends and relatives.

The strivers and complementors, who were largely Jewish, could pass on this information, and, given the ethnic groupings in the United States, most of their friends would be Jewish. Once in the gray market, their friends were told of the opportunities and urged to participate. This helps to explain the finding that most of the transients were Jewish.

This may not be a sufficient explanation of the ethnic recruitment pattern. Members of ethnic groups, feeling excluded from certain channels of mobility, may search for other channels which promise easy ascent and large monetary reward. If those with whom business is transacted expect this of ethnics, a cycle of reinforcing pressures for more purely monetary motivations tends to be set up. Perhaps the sense of exclusion leads to a general rebelliousness against the social norms and authorities which may be expressed in certain forms of economic conduct.¹⁷ Some ethnic groups may also have group definitions of proper economic conduct that differ from the dominant group's definitions. Nevertheless, Clinard did not find any evidence that ethnic group members were OPA violators "in excess of the normal distribution in a particular trade."¹⁸

The role of the transient appears to have been particularly congenial to some of the personalities involved. Little concern about the future of their businesses seemed to be a part of a general tendency to consider only immediate consequences. These transients complained, for example, that, despite high earnings, they had no savings. Mr. C. explained: "You know, when you're making a lot of money, you live at a higher level, and, when income-tax time comes, you're a poor man." This immediacy orientation was expressed, too, in the way they viewed their operation. They liked it because it was risky and exciting. Mr. E. exulted: "It's fast. . . . It's legitimate, and it's glamorous. It really is glamorous. When you deal with a carload

¹⁷ This is suggested by Robert M. MacIver, *The Web of Government* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1947), pp. 77-78.

¹⁸ Marshall B. Clinard, *The Black Market* (New York: Rinehart & Co., 1952), p. 291.

of steel, there's a lot of money involved." They delighted in the excitement and the reflected glory of dealing with large corporations.¹⁹

In summary, this discussion of the types of steel distributors seems to explain adequately the differential participation in the gray market as summarized in Table 1. Alternative hypotheses are possible; participation in the government-decried gray market may be accounted for by varying political beliefs, such as the degree of support of the Administration and its domestic and foreign policies, by varying perception of foreign danger, or by varying degrees of acceptance of governmental authority.²⁰ Space limitations do not permit here a discussion of these hypotheses, except to note that the role of these ideological factors, in the case studied, was limited.²¹ But, rather than evaluate the relative roles of these and other possible explanations for gray-market participation, I would like to suggest some tentative generalizations about the relationship between occupational norms and organizations.

CONCLUSIONS

In what would appear to be purely economic behavior, we found a social organization and a normative order. The norms had somewhat paradoxical consequences for the social organization of the occupation and for the existence of the gray market. In discussing the insiders, three elements of their business code were mentioned: the idea of a normal price, of proper types of steel, and of proper forms of steel distribution. These elements of the code inhibited gray-market

¹⁹ To some extent these attitudes may be a mark only of youthfulness: the transients were in their twenties and thirties. Perhaps as they become involved in business and family, they will be led to take longer-run considerations into account.

²⁰ A discussion of the relationship between occupational demands and national loyalties may be found in Morton Grodzins, "The Basis of National Loyalty," *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, VII (December, 1951), 356-62.

²¹ For a full discussion see Louis Kriesberg, "National Security and Conduct in the Steel Gray Market," *Social Forces* (in press).

participation; at the same time they contributed to the rigidity of the steel-distribution system. Patterns of activity, adequate for the situation in which they developed, become customary and persist even when the situation has changed. This is particularly the case when the patterns take on a moral quality, and, as is generally the case, the inner fraternity of successful members of the occupation attempts to maintain conformity with them. In each occupational system there may be mechanisms that operate to keep an occupational system fluid.²² But the pressures making for rigidity are omnipresent. The successful members of an occupation attempt to control performance within the occupation, and this is possible because they often have some control over entrance into the occupation and career advancement within it.²³ Clearly, such colleague control is greater in the professions than among businessmen; but, just as clearly, the insiders of the steel warehouse system were in a position to affect crucially the growth of a newcomer to the industry. One source of this power was their relationship to other powerful groups—the mills and also, in this case, the government agencies.

The successful are particularly likely to support the old standards because they are adept at them; in part they are successful because of their adeptness. Accustomed to the established norms, the successful want to conserve them. This seems to be the case in the steel-distribution industry, although the dominance of a few large steel companies is

²² Competition is one such mechanism, and it is never completely absent, but neither is it ever unlimited. Competition is always channeled—expressed to different extents and in different forms. The inner fraternity competes with each other within narrow limits; the competition takes the form of reliability and cordiality of service. The transients compete by offering immediate delivery of desperately needed material with little regard for price during a period of steel shortage; when the supply of steel is adequate, those who remain in the business become complementary and compete by price-cutting.

²³ Theodore Caplow, *The Sociology of Work* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 10, 109.

another important factor increasing the tendency toward rigidity.

The successful members of an occupation are also likely to play a dominant role in providing the definitions of what is proper occupational conduct; what is more, they are likely to obtain public agreement with their definitions. The excluded members, carrying on the less-approved types of conduct, are denied not only assured large financial rewards but also the honor and prestige which the successful center monopolizes. This would lead them to emphasize monetary rewards,²⁴ and their position often gives them greater freedom in their pursuit.

These patterns of differential reward are a source of dissatisfaction, of conflict between the successful insiders and the others, and also of tension tending to weaken the universality of the occupational norms. All this would be the case in a stable situation in which complementary functions were conducted by clearly differentiated suboccupational categories. Dissatisfaction, conflict, and tension are increased when, in addition, some persons strive to become part of the fraternity of successful men. Such strivers are seen as disrupters or are patronized, as when the new steel-distribution firms were called "war babies" by the insiders.

These tensions among the members of an occupational group are indigenous to it; from time to time, however, the occupational system may face a crisis which increases tensions. A crisis in the system poses a problem for those of the successful center: it may be an opportunity for greater consolidation or for breaches in their control. Control by the successful is more vulnerable to breaches when their standards tend to cut them off from practices which could best exploit the opportunities created by the crisis. To remain successful, adaptiveness is essential. The new techniques and the men of the new techniques must be absorbed. The crisis in the occupational system may be part of a general crisis which at

the same time frees men to try to enter the occupation. For example, the steel shortage made it difficult for manufacturers to carry on their businesses, and some of them became distributors of steel. In a more general way, World War II disrupted many businesses, and the returning veterans were freer to choose a new business, unencumbered by past commitments and perhaps with a greater concern for short-run goals and also with an increased sense of new opportunities revealed by wartime mobility.

Partly from ignorance, as well as from ingenuity, a newcomer to the occupational system is freer to carry on types of activities of which the successful fraternity disapproves; a crisis in the system (e.g., the steel shortage) makes these new practices possible. In this case the performance of those practices gave an additional flexibility to the steel-distribution system.²⁵ The complementors who entered the system expanded the functions which it performed, as, to a certain extent, did the transients. Perhaps every occupational system requires the addition of new members to handle the emergency problems that arise. In handling such emergencies, they are not likely to conform to the rules of the successful center.

To some extent, the role of these additional members is also institutionalized. The roles making up this intraoccupational division of labor are maintained by a set of expectations and sanctions. The existence of such a division of labor, with its normative classification of the various roles, raises questions about the types of persons who are recruited to play the roles. Some suggestions on this point, relating to the steel distributors' time perspectives, have been made; but here, as at so many other points, additional research is needed.

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²⁵ Compare the black-market operations in the Soviet Union (Joseph S. Berliner, "The Informal Organization of the Soviet Firm," *Quarterly Journal of Economics*, LXVI [August, 1952], 342-65). Of course the cost of the additional flexibility may be considered too high by some groups or by the government.

²⁴ I am indebted to Professor E. C. Hughes for pointing out these implications to me.

FERDINAND TÖNNIES' CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE SOCIOLOGY OF POLITICAL PARTIES

RUDOLF HEBERLE

ABSTRACT

An explanation is offered of the political intention of Tönnies' main work, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*, followed by a critical presentation of Tönnies' ideas about social movements and political parties and an attempt to apply his concepts to a typology of them. Maurice Duverger's typology of parties, derived from Tönnies and Schmalenbach, is analyzed. Distinction is made between sociopsychological texture types and sociological structure types, *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* being found to fit the former rather than the latter.

On July 26, 1955, a century had passed since Ferdinand Tönnies was born. At the age of thirty-two he published that profound and beautiful treatise *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* ("Community and Society"), which marked a turning point in the history of sociology. Its influence has extended slowly but steadily to all the social sciences. By the time of his death at the age of eighty-one in the spring of 1936, Tönnies had acquired world-wide recognition as one of the founders of modern sociology.

A few years later *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* was translated into English by Charles P. Loomis (*Fundamental Concepts of Sociology* [New York: American Book Co., 1940]), and a French edition was published during the war; the *Einführung in die Soziologie* was translated into Norwegian and Spanish; and the article "Staende und Klassen" in *Handwörterbuch der Soziologie* (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1931) was translated by Bendix and Lipset for their reader, *Class, Status and Power*.¹ Numerous publications have been influenced in one way or another by Tönnies' theory or take notice of his work.

The significance of Tönnies' main work lies, in my opinion, in three aspects.

1. It deals in a systematic way with all fundamental social phenomena. All the universally human relationships and groups, as well as the codes of conduct and social val-

ues, have their place in the system; the approach anticipates what later became known as the phenomenological method (A. Vierkandt was its most renowned representative among the German sociologists).

2. It explains all social groups as creations of human will and as maintained by the will of their members. The old and troublesome question, what society "really is," in what sense social groups do exist, was thus solved without recourse to metaphysics.

3. Finally, and above all, the theory of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* reconciled and brought to a synthesis the rationalistic natural law theory and the historic-organic theory of society. Instead of maintaining that all social groups are organisms or contending that all are created by social contract, Tönnies demonstrated that both theories refer to "models" which have their counterpart in the realities of social life. Some social relationships or groups can be understood as if they were formed by mutual agreement of independent individuals for specific purposes; others have to be understood as if they were superindividual organisms which existed before the individuals, whose roles therefore are determined by the nature of the group.

The quintessence of Tönnies' sociology has been presented and evaluated in numerous publications in the English language, including my own article in the *American Sociological Review*, Volume II

¹ Reinhold Bendix and Seymour Lipsit, *Class, Status and Power: A Reader in Social Stratification* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953).

(1937).² On this occasion I shall therefore deal with a less known aspect of Tönnies' work, that is, with its significance for the sociology of social movements and political parties.

Tönnies regarded sociology as an empirical, not as a normative, science which should inquire into social phenomena objectively, without attempting to prescribe solutions for social problems or schemes for a reform of society. Yet there are strong political undercurrents in his thinking. Like all the great creative minds in the social sciences, he was motivated by a passionate interest in political problems. His attitude toward the social order of his time was critical. He was, if a brief formula may be used to characterize the political stand of an original and independent thinker, a socialist, more Fabian than most of the German socialist intellectuals, but more Marxist than the Fabians. The desire to clarify his own thinking about socialism and to understand the historical significance of the socialist movement in sociological terms seems to have been one of the motivations in the conception of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft*. The first edition of the book (1887) had the subtitle: "A Treatise on Communism and Socialism as Empirical Patterns of Culture." It was Tönnies' intention to show that these ideas of social order were "not mere products of imagination but phenomena of real social life."³ He wanted to show that the "natural and (for us) by-gone, but nevertheless fundamental constitution of culture is communistic, the actual, presently evolving pattern socialistic."⁴ "I wanted to understand communism as the culture system of *Community*, socialism as the culture system of *Society*. . . . For this end I extended the

meaning of both ideas to cover not merely the forms of property rights but the entire economic, political, and spiritual [*geistige*] living together of men."⁵

It should be observed that Tönnies meant by communism nothing like the present-day Soviet system but rather the social order of primitive and archaic societies; his image of these was derived from the works of Morgan, Laveleye, Sir Henry Maine, Gierke, and other students of ancient law and early economic institutions.⁶ The existence of primeval communism was generally assumed in his day, and the survivals of ancient communal institutions had been traced and confirmed by many studies. This was a communistic order which had not been purposively constructed but had grown out of the conditions and necessities of human life. In this sense it was a creation of *Wesenswille*, a "community-like" order.

By socialism Tönnies meant a world-wide system of planned economy, directed by a world state, but supplemented by municipal and co-operative institutions as they were being developed within the labor movement and through its influence. In the distant future he visualized an age of a higher form of quasi-communal life based upon an economy-for-use instead of the present profit-oriented economy.⁷

The individualistic order of modern capitalism appeared to Tönnies as a transitory phase: "There could be no individualism except as it evolves from *Community* or produces *Society*."⁸ It would have been clearer had Tönnies stated, what he in later years conceded, that his concept of socialism represented a synthesis of community and society, while modern capitalism represented the culture pattern of society in its purest form. Socialism, in Tönnies' sense, is society-like, because it has to be a planned, purposive order; the community-like element in socialism consists in the basic conception of the nature and function of its economy

² Reprinted, with additions, in Harry Elmer Barnes (ed.), *An Introduction to the History of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1948), pp. 227-48.

³ "Mein Verhältnis zur Soziologie," in R. Thurnwald et al. (eds.), *Soziologie von Heute* (Leipzig: Hirschfeld, 1932), p. 104.

⁴ *Soziologische Studien und Kritiken*, I (3 vols.; Jena: G. Fischer, 1925-29), 43.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 53 and 54.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 60-61.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 59.

which is seen not as a system of competitive enterprises but as one large household.

Tönnies has explained these ideas in various prefaces to the editions of *Gemeinschaft und Gesellschaft* and in numerous other writings, especially in the little book on the development of the social problem,⁹ in *Menschheit und Volk*,¹⁰ in the *Introduction to Sociology*,¹¹ and in the monumental work on public opinion.¹² The theme was resumed in his last book, the fragmentary and often aphoristic *Spirit of the Modern Age*.¹³

Obviously we are here confronted with a philosophy of history which transgresses the limits of empirical science. For our present discussion it is important that Tönnies believed that the development of a socialistic order would be the result of two forces: the extension of state action and the increasing influence of the labor movement. In view of his very lively theoretical and practical interest in the social movements and political changes of his time, it is surprising that he did not pay more attention to the theoretical problems pertaining to a sociology of social movements and political parties. His ideas on these subject matters are scattered throughout his writings, especially through the major works cited above, and we shall have to reconstruct his theory from those fragments.

Tönnies regards the political parties as closely related to the social movements; the latter are considered essentially as movements of social classes and status groups (estates). The social classes are social "collectives," that is, unorganized groups of persons who are united by common interests because of like functions in the economic system. Like Marx and others before him, Tönnies distinguishes three major social

classes: (1) the large landowners, successors of the old ruling class; (2) the bourgeoisie, evolved out of the old status groups of merchants and artisans; and (3) the proletariat. A fourth stratum might be the "folk," the remnants of the old peasant and artisan status groups which have not been absorbed into the modern classes. Corresponding to this class system are the major political parties: the party of large landowners, the party of capitalistic entrepreneurs, and the party of the proletariat.¹⁴

This of course is merely a simplified picture of the basic political "tendencies" of conservatism, liberalism, and socialism. The actual number of parties is often larger because of divisions on other issues, or it may be reduced through combinations and alliances between classes. Since each class has at least some interests in common with each of the other classes, the following constellations occur, which result in alliances between political parties: in the struggle for political equality bourgeoisie and proletariat ally themselves against the old ruling classes, on economic and social policy issues the landed interest allies itself occasionally (during the nineteenth century) with the proletariat against the bourgeoisie; in the decisive struggles for power, however, the proletariat stands alone against the old and the new ruling classes: the socialists against the middle class ("bourgeois") parties.

Tönnies' views on the nature of and the relations between political parties and social classes thus continue the tradition which originated with the British social philosophers of the eighteenth century and extends to Lorenz von Stein and Karl Marx. The economic determinism of this doctrine is, however, modified by the recognition of the fact that modern political parties are strongly influenced by the religious parties which preceded them, particularly in England. The sectarian movements, however, which opposed the church were in their turn essentially conditioned by the struggle for power

⁹ *Die Entwicklung der sozialen Frage bis zum Weltkrieg* (Leipzig: Sammlung Göschen, 1919).

¹⁰ Graz, 1918; 2d ed., Leipzig, 1926.

¹¹ *Einführung in die Soziologie* (Stuttgart: F. Enke, 1931).

¹² *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung* (Berlin: Springer, 1922).

¹³ *Der Geist der Neuzeit* (Leipzig: Hans Buske, 1935).

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 68; *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung*, pp. 63 ff., 108 ff.; *Der Entwicklung der sozialen Frage bis zum Weltkrieg*, pp. 35 ff.

and prestige of certain classes and status groups.¹⁵ Space limitations prevent a more thorough discussion of Tönnies' historical-sociological writings about parties and movements. We shall now inquire how these phenomena are integrated into his system of theoretical sociology and how the concepts of community and society can be applied to the sociological analysis of political parties.

Tönnies defines the political party as a society-like collective (*gesellschaftliche Samtschaft*), because he compares it to an instrument which one "seizes" to attain a certain end:

A party is a group which one joins, an object which one takes, an opinion which one chooses—all this insofar as it occurs with the consciousness that it is advantageous for one's own purposes . . . the party is thus a collective through rational will [*eine Samtschaft durch Kürwillen*], which is "taken" as a means for specific or indeterminate ends. This is a concept which rarely has its perfect counterpart in reality. But it approximates it more than any other concept of a collective. . . . It is a normal phenomenon that a party is formed and held together because of the expected advantages, even if these motivations are combined with a strong conviction that only that which the party wants is good and just, that its ideas represent absolute truth.¹⁶

To choose between parties is one way of expressing political opinion. Opinions are the product partly of rational consideration, partly of sentiments and rationalizations. Insofar as the decision for a party is motivated not so much by rational deliberation as by emotions, it may resemble a religious conversion. The question arises of whether in this case the party can still be regarded as a society-like association; from the point of view of the converted follower it has a more community-like character. Tönnies himself speaks of the "sentiments of solidarity, of comradeship which can develop and which may be intensified by common veneration

and love for a party leader, or by a common belief and hope."¹⁷

On the other hand, Tönnies observes, it also happens that "politically minded persons without any conviction, even without status or class interests . . . join a party merely because they expect its victory and, knowing that to the victors belong the spoils, hope to grab some pieces of the loot."¹⁸ This observation characterizes the type which Max Weber calls "patronage party"; it is, in Tönnies' terminology, the most society-like party type.

Tönnies, who was well acquainted with the history of political parties, saw of course that empirical parties deviate in many respects from the type of a society-like collective. That he nevertheless presented this as the normal type of party is due to the fact that he constructed the relation of voter to party in conformity with the postulates of liberal political theory: apart from temporary associations for the conduct of a campaign, this theory recognizes no parties but merely independent voters who decide according to their own reasoning and judgment. The rise of permanent party organizations aroused fierce opposition among the older school of liberals. The liberal construction has lost a great deal of its empirical validity through the development of formally organized mass parties; nevertheless, the model of a party which one "takes" or chooses remains valid for considerable masses of nonorganized voters.

Another society-like feature of the political party is evidenced in the party program or platform. This is an expression of collective will which results from rational and purposive resolutions; programs are intentionally formulated so as to express, on the one hand, the interests of the main supporters of the party and, on the other hand, to attract as many voters as possible. If the party has an ideology, it is the product of rational thought and may even claim scientific validity (as in the case of Marxism).¹⁹

¹⁵ *Der Geist der Neuzeit*, p. 196; *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung*, pp. 30, 60, 108 ff., 118-19.

¹⁶ *Einführung in die Soziologie*, p. 22; cf. *ibid.*, p. 81, and *Der Geist der Neuzeit*, p. 68.

¹⁷ *Einführung in die Soziologie*, p. 24.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁹ *Kritik der öffentlichen Meinung*, pp. 41-65.

There is, in all expressions of party opinion, a tendency to strike a compromise between class interests and the general welfare of the community. It is this intentionality, this element of success-oriented calculation, which contributes the society-like element in party opinion.

The preceding discussion should have shown that Tönnies' own work contains many elements from which a systematic theory of political parties could have been developed. He could have given at least a more differentiated typology of political parties on the basis of the theory of community and society.

In developing a typology of political parties, it seems advisable to differentiate between *structure* types and sociopsychological *texture* types. By the latter term I mean the quality of sociopsychological relations between members of a group. In my *Social Movements* I have developed texture types by combining Tönnies' concepts with Max Weber's types of orientation of social action.²⁰

For my purposes, it seemed sufficient to distinguish three pure types of sociopsychological texture:

1. *The spiritual community or fellowship.*—By the term "spiritual community" I mean that kind of social relatedness which results from "value rational orientation" of group adherence, that is, from the belief in common constitutive values.

This kind of texture is typical for small religious sects which differentiate themselves as a "community of saints" from the mass of hypocrites and heretics. In political life it is represented by parties and movements with a definite philosophical ideology, especially in their beginnings, for later on they tend to resemble the church type. This type is of a community-like character because the decision to join is the result of intellectually achieved conviction of the truth and rightfulness of the party's aims.

2. *The following of a charismatic leader.*—This type, too, is community-like, but it is a

community of sentiment, a relatedness through common dedication to an extraordinarily gifted leader. The community is achieved indirectly, by the relation of every member to the leader; there is, in the pure type, not that comradeship between members which is characteristic of the first type. On the contrary, the leader will not encourage the growth of a strong sense of comradeship, because that would make it more difficult for him to control his followers by setting one subleader against the other or by purging rivals and rebels. Also, there is absent in the pure type the belief in constitutive values as a social bond, for there is no definite dogma; the objectives are indicated by the leader as the need arises, and the leader can change them if the situation changes or if he receives a new "revelation."

3. *The purposive-rational, society-like type of texture.*—This type is characterized by purposive association for specific utilitarian ends. Many "pressure groups" and certain smaller parties which represent one particular economic interest conform to this type, and so does the "patronage party."

Of course, none of these types ever occurs in pure form in empirical parties and movements, which are always combinations of traits. The texture can also change in the course of time: an ideological party may become a patronage party, or a purposive-rational movement may develop into a community of the spirit which is united by belief in common values. Elements of charismatic leadership and emotional, affectually-conditioned following exist to some extent in every political party or social movement.

Structurally Tönnies distinguishes the party as a collective from the organized party or party corporation.²¹ "That parties will become organized is a natural law in the sociological sense," he says in an editorial ("Reform des Wahlrechts") in *Vossische Zeitung* of September 30, 1930. "For essentially merely a union of those who strive for a certain aim, the party becomes, through organization, a corporation fit to fight." Tönnies then explains how the English

²⁰ Rudolf Heberle, *Social Movements* (New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, 1951), chap. vii.

²¹ *Einführung in die Soziologie*, pp. 92 and 99.

parties were transformed from loose groups led by powerful aristocrats into modern mass parties and how the party machines developed in the United States. In Germany, he says, the Social Democrats were the first party that became organized.

This party . . . had the problem of bringing masses of voters to the polls who hitherto had not been aware of their rights or their power. This task required propaganda, information, order, and discipline. . . . The subsequent organization of the other parties was a natural consequence. Only the . . . Free-Conservatives never had an organization. They did not need it . . . for behind them stood the monarchy, that is, the government, in the formation of which this party had a near monopoly. . . . The party represented the union of owners of old latifundia with wealthy mineowners and proprietors of heavy industries.

Evidently Tönnies saw clearly the relations among party function, social position of party adherents, and the tendency toward formal organization. It can be said that the need for organization increases inversely to the wealth of members and conversely to the number of adherents: small parties of wealthy people need less formal organization than mass parties of poor people. But Tönnies did not develop a systematic typology of party structures. The structure type which he assumes as normal is the type which became prevalent during the nineteenth century; it is characterized by voluntary membership open to any bona fide adherent and by a more or less democratic constitution. It does not make exacting demands on the adherent's time—except if he volunteers to serve as a party functionary or "worker." Today a different type has come into existence, the "political order," about which more will be said. But even before the normal type there existed parties which had an entirely different social structure: the parties of aristocratic families in Italian cities, the clan parties in the old Scottish parliament, as well as the older English parties which were led by powerful aristocratic families.²²

These earlier parties had their social basis

in kinship and locality groups of a community-like nature; the modern parties, by contrast, are predominantly class parties and therefore to be defined as society-like phenomena.

The most recent party type, which we call a "political order," is different not only in texture and structure but also in relation to other parties. Because of their striving for total power, these are not genuine parties at all, for the genuine party concept, by definition, presupposes existence and recognition of at least two parties.²³

The Fascistic parties correspond to the texture type of *following*; they were founded by genuine charismatic leaders or by persons who claimed to possess charismatic qualities. In the Communist movement, too, a cult of leaders exists and is tolerated if not encouraged. But it does not follow that all political orders are "followings." This does not apply, for example, to Communist parties in countries where the movement is not strong. Here the "leaders" or "functionaries" are removed and replaced on order from Moscow without serious effects on the party loyalty of the rank and file. For the consolidating factor in these parties is the belief in the teachings of Marx and Lenin and not in the charisma of any leader, and they therefore belong to the texture type of spiritual community.²⁴ We know from many autobiographic statements of former Communists that in joining the party they were searching for a "new home," a community of believers. The discrepancy between this image and the reality of party life (under Stalin's regime) is frequently given as a major reason for resignation from party membership. The essential point, however, is that, at the time when they joined, the party meant to these people something quite different from a society-like collective.

The spreading influence of Tönnies' work

²² A wealth of information is to be found in Wilhelm Wachsmuth, *Geschichte der politischen Parteien aller und neuer Zeit, 1853-1856*.

²³ Heberle, *op. cit.*, chaps. xviii and xx.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, chaps. xv and xix.

is indicated by Duverger's application of Tönnies' concepts in his own typology of political parties.²⁵ Duverger, like myself, uses Tönnies' concepts to clarify the problems of the nature of the internal bonds of solidarity in political parties. He deviates from Tönnies by introducing a third fundamental concept: the *Bund* (*l'ordre*), which he borrows from Schmalenbach.²⁶ Duverger interprets the concept of community as a group which exists before the individuals. One cannot choose it;²⁷ one belongs to it. Whether one wants it or not, one cannot escape it. Society by contrast is a group which one can enter into; one joins after due deliberation; one creates it; it is based upon interest. The *Bund* lies in between; like society, it is a deliberate creation; but membership involves not, as in society, a specialized activity but total engagement (*l'engagement totalitaire*). One joins not because of an interest but after conversion; to become a member of a *Bund* often involves a renunciation, a sacrifice, and strict obedience, as in the case of entry into a religious order. The *Bund* or "order" thus contains elements of community and of society, but it differs from both through greater extensity and intensity of participation.²⁸

Although Duverger states that every empirical party contains all three types of social bonds, he nevertheless tends to identify the *Bund* with the political order. I prefer to differentiate between *Bund* as a texture type and *order* as a structure type. As far as structure is concerned, I agree with Duverger's excellent, penetrating analysis and description of the political order, but the *Bund*, as

²⁵ Maurice Duverger, *Les Parties politiques* (Paris, 1951).

²⁶ Herman Schmalenbach, "Die soziologische Kategorie des Bundes," in *Die Dioskuren: Jahrbuch für Geisteswissenschaften* (München: Meyer und Jessen, 1922), Vol. I. A critique of this theorem is contained in my article, "Zur Theorie der Herrschaftsverhältnisse bei Tönnies," *Kölner Vierteljahrshefte für Soziologie*, Vol. IV (1925). A more detailed presentation of my criticism of Duverger is forthcoming in *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie*.

²⁷ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 152.

Schmalenbach defines it, is in my opinion a combination of the two texture types of spiritual community and following. That at least is what the term *Bund* meant in the pre-Hitler German youth movement; it was contrasted with the *Verein*, which had more of a society-like texture.

The Communist parties are indeed, as Duverger demonstrates, structured like an order; the same is true of the Fascist parties. The latter, however, have in addition in their texture a tendency toward the *Bund*, particularly toward the "following." This tendency is in part a consequence of the lack of a definitely formulated ideology; loyalty to the leader has to substitute for lack of ideas. The Communist parties, on the other hand, are, in their texture, characterized by the overwhelming importance of belief in an elaborate and definite doctrine; they are primarily spiritual communities.²⁹

Duverger thinks that political parties in general tend to develop from society to community; this he believes to be in agreement with a universal law of transformation of social groups.³⁰ For the founders and early adherents the party is something which one chooses, but the succeeding generations are, so to speak, born into a party.

The second phase in the historical evolution of parties is the transformation from community to *Bund*. This, Duverger points out, is a consequence of the replacement of genuine religions by the quasi-religions of political ideologies. However, he maintains that within the political order one can discern a decline of society and an increase of community traits. Thus the National Socialist party had been, before the seizure of power, a society-like "order"; for the young Nazis who grew up under the Hitler regime and were channeled into the party through the youth organizations, it had assumed traits of community. Logically consistent as this construction is in Duverger's terms, it misses in my opinion some important aspects of reality.

²⁹ For detailed discussion see my *Social Movements*, chaps. vii and xv.

³⁰ *Op. cit.*, p. 156.

I believe it can be demonstrated that most political parties in their beginning show strong traits of a community (*Gemeinschaft*) of the spirit; they tend to consist of believers in a common cause, in modern times in a common ideology. Granted that one has the freedom of choice among parties, the choice is made in favor of that party which agrees best with one's own outlook on life; in other words, there is a strong element of *Wesenwille* in the motivation of party adherence at this stage. The value orientation (Max Weber) predominates. As the party grows and gains in power, it picks up increasing numbers of adherents who join in the expectation of a share in the spoils or of other, less tangible advantages. The mere fact that in certain social strata or in certain regional areas it becomes customary to adhere to a particular party does not per se indicate a *Gemeinschaft*-like character of the party's sociopsychological texture.

If we take the National-Sozialistische Deutsche Arbeiter-Partei (NSDAP) as a paradigm, as Duverger does, it can be maintained with good reason that most of the "old guard" experienced the development of their party in the way just described, although, of course, they did not think in these terms. As long as the party was small and fighting for recognition and power, as long as it required some courage to join, there existed among the members a sentiment of comradeship. The party at that stage was a tightly knit sect of political fanatics. It was this texture which made it attractive to political activists. They found in the Hitler movement this spiritual community which to them was missing in the larger society. After the seizure of power, especially after the mass entry of opportunists, it became more a means to personal ends. Many joined because they thought it would be advantageous for their businesses or their careers; others, because they had to

cover up a left-wing political past. The disgust of the old guard for these new members often took drastic expression ("*Maerzgefallene*," "*Konjunktur-Nazis*," etc.). A similar development took place in the Communist parties outside the Soviet Union, as far as one can judge from the testimonies of former party members. The displacement, during Stalin's regime, of the original fellowship among the comrades by an authoritarian discipline was one reason which contributed to the disillusionment of so many early members.

It seems to me that no general law of transformation of parties in one or the other direction can be established as far as the sociopsychological texture is concerned.

The development of structure, on the other hand, shows indeed a general trend from small cliques of political leaders, who were often related to one another through kinship, neighborhood, or religious bonds (as, for example, the founders of the Prussian Conservative party), to larger "collectives" and to elaborately organized mass parties with formal ("card-bearing") membership and a host of affiliated associations (youth groups, women's groups, sport groups, etc.). The final stage, which culminates in the abolition of parties, is the political order; but many traits of this structure type are already contained in the more elaborate genuine parties.

The political parties have their foundations in other kinds of groups: kinship groups, status groups (estates), religious denominations, ethnic groups, and other kinds of social collectives; mainly, however, and especially in modern times, in social classes. Some of these "carriers" of parties are more like community, others are more like society in character; and, depending on the nature of the main supporting groups, empirical parties will also be of a more community-like or of a more society-like type.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY

SOCIAL STRUCTURE AND MORAL REFORM: A STUDY OF THE WOMAN'S CHRISTIAN TEMPERANCE UNION

JOSEPH R. GUSFIELD

ABSTRACT

Analysis of WCTU journals and reports and interviews with current leaders reveal a pattern at variance with theories of an adaptive process in social movements. In pre-Prohibition periods humanitarian reform was the central theme in WCTU doctrine. Temperance was viewed as the solution to problems of underprivileged groups. Since Repeal, the WCTU has ceased to represent dominant social classes, and its doctrine has become the expression of moral indignation toward upper-middle-class life. Analysis of local leadership from 1885 to 1950 indicates a shift toward lower areas of the socio-economic scale.

Social changes affect the fortunes of organizations and movements no less than they do the fate of individuals. Movements which try to alter the manners, tastes, and daily habits of large numbers of people are peculiarly vulnerable to shifts in the culture of the population. Few social movements in American history have achieved as many successes and witnessed as many disappointments as the temperance movement. In the one hundred and fifty years during which the organized movement has been a significant part of American life, it has gone through a process of "boom and bust," from activity and success to quiescence and failure. The last seventy-five years have been particularly beset with steep rise and equally steep fall. The high point of the movement was reached in the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment and the nadir in Repeal and the period following.

This paper examines the Woman's Christian Temperance Union, one important segment of the temperance movement, during the last eighty years. We have tried to discover the way in which the movement has changed and some of the reasons which help explain that change.

THE PROBLEM

Previous studies of social movements have dealt largely with organizations that have increased in numbers and influence.

Such studies have indicated a gradual modification in the structure and ideology of the movement. As the movement grows, it tends to adapt itself to its society and to substitute the values of organizational power and prestige for its original goals. This process has been described in the now familiar theory of the "institutionalization of social movements."¹

Recently, Messinger has shown how the adaptive process has affected a declining

¹ The basic statements of this approach can be found in Ernst Troeltsch, *The Social Teachings of the Christian Churches*, trans. Olive Wyon (London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1911), I, 331-43; Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 363-86; Robert Park and Ernest W. Burgess, *Introduction to the Science of Sociology* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1921), pp. 865-74; Herbert Blumer, "Collective Behavior," in *Principles of Sociology*, ed. Robert Park (New York: Barnes & Noble, 1939), pp. 167-222. The general approach has been utilized in many studies. Examples of these are H. Richard Niebuhr, *Social Sources of Denominationalism* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1929); Liston Pope, *Millhands and Preachers* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1943); S. D. Clark, *Church and Sect in Canada* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1949); Roberto Michels, *Political Parties*, trans. Eden and Cedar Pal (new ed.; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949); Seymour Lipset, *Agrarian Socialism* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1950); A. J. Muste, "Factional Fights in Trade Unions," in *American Labor Dynamics*, ed. J. B. S. Hardman (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928).

social movement, the Townsend Movement.² Here the adaptation to loss of influence and adherents was in terms of the loss of the movement's actual mission and the emphasis on the preservation of the organization as such. New activities of the Townsend clubs are understandable only as devices to perpetuate the organization's membership, income, and power.

The WCTU cannot be called a "successful" movement. Its fundamental goal, the changing of American drinking habits, is less realizable today than in earlier periods. Neither is it analogous to the movement in decline. Membership figures indicate that the size of the organization, while less than

tion, and fewer Americans are abstainers today.⁴

The change in American drinking habits and the increased permissiveness of drinking norms have presented the WCTU with an environment more hostile to the doctrine of total abstinence than was true in the years of the organization's formation and development. The reaction of the WCTU to this changed situation forms the subject of this paper. We want to know whether the change in environment has led to changes in the goals and doctrine of the movement. We further seek to explain changes, or lack of change, in the organization.

Several possible modes of reaction suggest themselves to us. Faced with a now more hostile environment, the WCTU might change to achieve greater acceptance within the new norms. This would entail giving up much of the earlier mission for the sake of organizational values, which is the adaptation suggested by the Townsend Movement cited above. Second, it is conceivable that we may find little change in the face of changed conditions. Third, it is also conceivable that we may find changes which increase the gap between the public and the organization.

TABLE 1*

WCTU MEMBERSHIP BY DECADES

Year	Membership
1881.....	22,800
1891.....	138,377
1901.....	158,477
1911.....	245,299
1921.....	344,892
1931.....	372,355
1941.....	216,843
1951.....	257,548

* Source: Treasurer's reports in *Annual Report of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union*, 1881-1951.

before Repeal, is still above two hundred thousand and actually growing now in membership (Table 1).

While the WCTU is far from decline or death, temperance norms have lost a great deal of their power in American culture. Their political power, as pressure groups, is far less than before and during Prohibition.³ The percentage of "dry" communities in the United States is far less than in the period before the passage of Prohibition.

² Sheldon Messinger, "Organizational Transformation: A Case Study of a Declining Social Movement," *American Sociological Review*, XX (February, 1955), 3-10.

³ Odegard has analyzed the extensive power of the Anti-Saloon League during the Prohibition and pre-Prohibition periods (Peter Odegard, *Pressure Politics* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1928]).

THE PRE-PROHIBITION PERIOD: TEMPERANCE AS SOCIAL WELFARE

Moral reform and social welfare.—The American temperance movement during the nineteenth century was a part of a general effort toward the improvement of the

⁴ E. M. Jellinek, "Recent Trends in Alcoholism and in Alcohol Consumption," *Quarterly Journal of Studies on Alcohol*, VIII (1947), 1-43; "How Hard Do Americans Drink?" *Fortune*, XLVII (1953), 121-25, 146-48, 153-54. The trend toward greater permissiveness in American drinking norms is, as we shall show, clearly recognized by the WCTU as well as by other temperance leaders. In this regard see Harry S. Warner, *The Liquor Cult and Its Culture* (Columbus, Ohio: Intercollegiate Association, 1946), and Albion Roy King, "Drinking in Colleges," *Christian Century*, July 18, 1951, pp. 842-43, and July 25, 1951, pp. 864-68.

worth of the human being through improved morality as well as economic conditions. The mixture of the religious, the equalitarian, and the humanitarian was an outstanding facet of the moral reformism of many movements.⁵ Temperance supporters formed a large segment of movements such as sabbatarianism, abolition, woman's rights, agrarianism, and humanitarian attempts to improve the lot of the poor.

In these efforts there is evident a satisfaction with the basic outlines of the economic and social system. What is attempted is the extension of the system to include the underprivileged. The reforms proposed attempt to alleviate suffering through humanitarian actions by those in advantageous positions or to reform the habits of the suffering as a way to the improvement of both their character *and* their material situation. There was clearly a relationship between the two.⁶ Moral reformism of this type suggests the approach of a dominant class toward those less favorably situated in the economic and social structure. Barnes has pointed out that many of the social movements of the nineteenth century were composed of people bent on reforming others rather than themselves.⁷ Abolitionists were rarely former slaveowners. Except for one short episode in the 1840's,⁸ the temperance movement has

⁵ Cf. Arthur Schlesinger, *The American as Reformer* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1950), pp. 3-15; Gilbert Hobbs Barnes, *The Anti-Slavery Impulse* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1933); Arthur Bestor, Jr., "The Ferment of Reform," in *Problems in American History*, ed. Richard Leopold and Arthur Link (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1952).

⁶ Everett C. Hughes has pointed out the moralistic elements in the attitude of George Pullman in the construction of Pullman, Illinois, in the late nineteenth century. The material conditions of the town would, Pullman felt, develop the moral qualities which made better human beings as well as better workers. Such workers would have the traits of sobriety, industry, thrift, and loyalty (cf. Everett C. Hughes, "A Calvinistic Utopia" [unpublished manuscript]).

⁷ *Op. cit.*

drawn to it people of little or no experience with drinking.

The goals and doctrine of the WCTU were part of this humanitarian moral reform movement in the period before Prohibition. This is most evident in the late nineteenth century but remained a strong aspect of WCTU activities well into the Prohibition period.

In its auxiliary interests the WCTU revealed a great concern for the improvement of the welfare of the lower classes. It was active in campaigns to secure penal reform, to shorten working hours and raise wages for workers, and to abolish child labor and in a number of other humanitarian and equalitarian activities. In the 1880's the WCTU worked to bring about legislation for the protection of working girls against the exploitation by men. During the late nineteenth century several committees were active among lower-class groups, among them the Department of Work with Miners, the Department of Work with Lumberers, and the Department of Work among Railroadmen,⁹ which directed their efforts toward converting the worker to Christianity, bringing him material comforts, and spreading the gospel of temperance.

The activities of the WCTU in the pre-Prohibition era appear to be the actions of a socially dominant group, essentially satisfied with the major outlines of the social structure. The social welfare efforts can be

⁸ The Washingtonian movement was the response of former drunkards, who made an organized attempt to reform drunkards. The rest of the temperance movement would not unite with them (cf. John Krout, *The Origins of Prohibition* [New York: Columbia University Press, 1928], pp. 182-222).

⁹ Historical material of this paper is largely based on reading of the annual reports of the National Woman's Christian Temperance Union and samples of the WCTU journal, the *Union Signal*. The data cover the years 1874-1953. For a complete statement of the material presented here cf. Joseph Gusfield, "Organizational Change: A Study of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago).

viewed as attempts to raise the lower classes to a level of behavior held out to them by the dominant middle-class citizen. This view is supported by the paternalistic character of much of WCTU social welfare activity during this period. For example, in 1882 the WCTU established a Kitchen Gardens Department to train "uneducated and untrained girls" in the arts of cooking and household management. The aim of this activity was explicitly stated as the preparation of housemaids, and it was hoped that occupational training would protect the girl from the temptations of city life.¹⁰ The same training and the same rationale are found in the WCTU industrial schools established to aid "fallen women."¹¹

The WCTU played an important role in the leadership of the woman's movement in the late nineteenth century, but this was not the only concern of the organization with questions of social justice. The labor movement had strong support from the WCTU. The Knights of Labor aided the temperance activities of the WCTU. The WCTU supported the struggle for the eight-hour day and the six-day week¹² and many of the strikes of the 1890's, though it balked at the use of violence. Its support of the labor cause is illustrated in the report of the Committee on the Relations between Temperance and Labor for 1894. Employers were urged to refrain from

"kindling the spirit of animosity among those already struggling under the iron heel of oppression" and thus provoking violence.¹³

These are illustrations of the interest of the WCTU during the nineteenth century in economic and social reform. It is difficult to find activities in which moral reform is clearly distinct from economic or social reform. Prison reform, for example, was stressed as a way to rehabilitate character, to convert men to Christianity, and to prevent the suffering of prisoners.

After 1900 this humanitarian interest appears less frequently, although it is still an important aspect of WCTU activities. Two things become evident. First, the humanitarianism and the equalitarian concern for the poor have greatly decreased. The Committee on the Relation of Temperance and Labor, for example, has shifted its major concern from labor issues to the propagation of the temperance cause among workers. The reports of this committee after 1900 show an interest in the morals and character of the worker. Thus in 1909 the report of this committee stated: "Urge working men and women who work for wages to cultivate a sense of responsibility in the thoroughness of their work and to consider their employer's welfare as well as their own."

The second point is that humanitarian concerns are not ignored, although decreased in emphasis, prison reform and child welfare receiving considerable attention. Between 1900 and 1920 the WCTU allotted one of the largest segments of its budget for its center at Ellis Island devoted to aiding incoming immigrants. In 1919 a huge Americanization project was begun, reminiscent of the paternalistic pattern described above. It set aside \$40,000 for the purpose, the second largest single appropriation in its history.

After 1900, however, the moral reformism of the WCTU is more frequently separated from a concern with the underprivi-

¹⁰ *Annual Report of the WCTU* (1884), pp. 47-51.

¹¹ *Annual Report of the WCTU* (1889), p. 62.

¹² Not only were the speeches of Frances Willard, president of the WCTU from 1879 to 1898, very favorable to labor but the committee reports reveal similar prolabor sentiments (cf. *Annual Report of the WCTU* [1889], p. 144; *Annual Report of the WCTU* [1894], p. 147). The general attitude of the WCTU toward the six-day week was a mixture of religious sabbatarianism and social justice (cf. *Union Signal*, January 1, 1885). For a fuller treatment of the relations between the WCTU and the labor movement see Mary Earhart, *Frances Willard: From Prayers to Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1944), pp. 245-59.

¹³ *Annual Report of the WCTU* (1894), p. 447.

leged. With the development of the Anti-Saloon League after 1900, temperance aims become important in the campaign for legal sanctions against the sale of alcoholic beverages. Yet the emphasis on the lower classes as the object of WCTU reform is still present.

Temperance as reform of the underprivileged.—An effort to improve the lot of the poor and the underprivileged was not only displayed in the WCTU's auxiliary concerns. The very doctrine of temperance can be seen as directed toward changing the habits of the lower classes. The materials usually depict the drunkard as a worker. Temperance is frequently presented as the solution to economic problems, the route to success, whereas drinking is seen as the path to economic and social ruin. The WCTU did make some efforts to promote temperance sentiment among socially elite groups through a Department of Drawing Room Conversion. These proved unsuccessful and were abandoned.

A popular slogan of the temperance movement, in the nineteenth century, was that "drink is the curse of the working classes." Total abstinence was viewed as the solution to the problem of poverty. A story entitled "The Strike at Dennis Moriarity's" illustrates how the WCTU saw temperance as the answer to the worker's problems.¹⁴ Dennis, son of a workman on strike, refuses to fetch beer for the strikers, insisting that they could pay their bills, even while on strike, if they didn't drink. The strikers are impressed by his reasoning. One says, "It's the saloon that hurts and keeps us poor. I've been wondering all this while why Debs and the rest of the leaders didn't see it."

In the above story the immigrant as well as the laborer is the central character. Irish and German immigrants were often depicted in the fiction of the WCTU as drunkards or shown in the process of reformation. Often it was the son or daughter of the immigrant who effected the reforma-

tion through his or her experiences with the WCTU.¹⁵ This type of story again presents the idea that acceptance of temperance is a mode of assimilation into middle-class life.

That temperance is a key to class position is seen in the fates of the middle-class man who violates the temperance norms and the lower-class immigrant who accepts such norms. Lapses are punished by the loss of economic and social position. The WCTU was active, both before and after the turn of the century, in spreading the idea that "lips that have touched liquor shall never touch mine." Through its young girls' groups it tried to make sobriety in the male a prerequisite for marriage. The following story from a WCTU journal illustrates the awful consequences of drink for the middle-class male:

Ned has applied for a job, but he is not chosen. He finds that the potential employer has judged him to be like his Uncle Jack. Jack is a kindly man but he spends his money on drink and cigarettes. Ned has also been seen drinking and smoking. The employer thinks that Ned lacks the necessary traits of industriousness which he associates with abstinence and self-control.¹⁶

The implications of the above story seem clear. The man who wants to succeed must have the requisite character. He must appear to possess the characteristics of sobriety which indicate the other virtues of thrift, industry, and self-control. Temperance is thus a way not only to conform to morality but to achieve social and economic welfare. The WCTU was acting as a

¹⁵ During the agitation of the Woman's Crusades of 1873, out of which the WCTU emerged, the struggle against "demon rum" was often carried out as one between the churchwomen and German and Irish saloonkeepers. The accounts of the crusades contain many examples of the immigrant as the opponent of sobriety (cf. Annie Wittenmyer, *History of the Woman's Temperance Crusade* [Philadelphia: Mrs. Annie Wittenmyer, 1878]; Eliza Stewart, *Members of the Crusade* [Columbus, Ohio: William G. Hubbard Co., 1888]).

¹⁴ *Union Signal*, October 11, 1894, pp. 2-3.

¹⁶ *Union Signal*, January 1, 1883, p. 6.

vehicle of progress and improvement of the poor and underprivileged.

Analysis of committee reports.—We have classified the various committee reports found in the *Annual Reports* of the WCTU. The treatment of issues in these reports demonstrates the existence of the humanitarian reformist orientation in earlier periods. As Prohibition struggles became fiercer, the WCTU decreased its humanitarian interest. Moral conformity appeared apart from a concern with the welfare of the downtrodden. For example, the Department of Rescue Work had been interested in the improvement of the work-

the poor and the working classes. Even where drinking in upper classes is berated, a prime concern is the impact of upper-class drinking patterns on the lower classes.

In its temperance doctrine as well as in its alliances with social movements of a reformist nature, the WCTU attempted to cope with the problems posed for urban America by the advent of urbanism, immigration, and industry in the late nineteenth century. The large industrial working class with its alien culture clashed with the rural image of virtue. A social group whose own position was relatively secure could best react to this threat by ameliorative reforms.

The doctrine of temperance appears to function in this fashion in the pre-Prohibition period. Implicit in the logic of the activities and the doctrine of the WCTU was a basic satisfaction with the social order.¹⁷ The problems of the underprivileged can be solved in two ways. In one, greater kindness and humanitarianism can be extended to those who have not been fortunate. This is the motif in activities such as prison reform, work with "fallen women," better labor conditions, and other reform measures described. The demand for greater equality for women is an attack on the system of male superiority, but this is not generalized into an attack on other parts of the social and economic system.

Second, the doctrine of temperance itself suggests a solution consonant with the dominance of the group and the concern with injustice and suffering. If the lower classes and the immigrants will acquire the habits and social codes of the native middle classes, their problems will be solved. In short, assimilation into middle-class, Protestant culture is the reformist solution the WCTU offered in the pre-Prohibitionist period.

¹⁷ There were some efforts toward a more revolutionary position in the late nineteenth century. Frances Willard, the leader of the WCTU from 1879 to 1898, was an outspoken Socialist and tried to make the WCTU follow her position. Despite her great power and influence in the movement, she did not succeed.

TABLE 2*

CLASSIFICATION OF WCTU COMMITTEE REPORTS BY PERIOD AND BY INTERESTS

PERIOD	INTERESTS (PER CENT OF TOTAL REPORTS)				N†
	Humanitarian Reform (%)	Moral Reform (Unalloyed) (%)	Temperance (Unalloyed) (%)	Other (%)	
1879-					
1903..	78.6	23.5	26.5	15.3	98
1904-28.	45.7	30.7	33.1	18.0	127
1929-49.	25.8	37.0	48.2	1.2	81

* Source: Sample of every fifth *Annual Report* of the WCTU.

† Percentages total more than 100 per cent due to several interests in some committee reports.

ing girls' morality, wages, and living conditions as one consistent goal. By 1916 this department was chiefly concerned with efforts to limit fashion changes in the name of morality. The social welfare interest had disappeared. The interest in temperance more frequently appears unrelated to other welfare considerations. It is not until after Repeal, however, that the reports indicate unalloyed moral reform and temperance interests more frequently than humanitarian reform unalloyed or mixed with other interests (Table 2).

Humanitarian reform and social dominance.—The great concern of the WCTU with the lower classes was a dominant feature of its aims during the period from its formation in 1874 to the passage of Prohibition. It is not drinking per se that is emphasized but the drinking problems of

It is noteworthy that, prior to the 1920's, we find no condemnation of the American middle classes in WCTU literature. The good, churchgoing people of American Protestantism are seldom depicted as drinking. It is to this class that the WCTU looks for support of its aims. In defending the canons of sobriety, the WCTU could act as a representative of this class. An article in the *Union Signal* in 1889 put this as follows: "The class least touched by the evil thus far is that which here, as elsewhere in the land, forms its bone and sinew—the self-respecting and self-supporting class whose chief pleasures in life center in and about the home."¹⁸

THE "MORALIZER-IN-RETREAT"

The political strength of the temperance movement in America has been greatest in those states with large proportions of Protestant and rural populations.¹⁹ With the decline in supremacy of the rural culture, both in city and in country, the norms of temperance have become less respectable. The advocates of temperance, now face a more hostile environment in which they cannot enunciate a moral code and assume large segments of population in agreement with them. In the phrase of David Riesman, they are "moralizers-in-retreat."²⁰

With the repeal of the Eighteenth Amendment, the WCTU found itself in a radically new situation. It could no longer assume that the norms of abstinence were really supported by the dominant middle-class elements in American life. The total abstainer became a figure of disapproval

¹⁸ May 16, 1889, p. 3.

¹⁹ Odegard, *op. cit.*, pp. 24–35; cf. Harold Gosnell, *Grass Roots Politics* (Washington, D.C.: American Council on Public Affairs, 1942), pp. 101–2; André Siegfried, *America Comes of Age* (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1927), pp. 70–90.

²⁰ David Riesman, *The Lonely Crowd* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1950), p. 195; cf. Alfred M. Lee, "Techniques of Social Reform: An Analysis of the New Prohibition Drive," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 65–77.

and ridicule rather than a figure of power and respect.

WCTU leaders interviewed generally felt that the total abstainer no longer had a position of respect in the community.²¹ They saw this as a change which has affected the churchgoing middle classes as well as the secularized groups. The same theme is evident in the journals and in the speeches and reports from convention proceedings. The following interview excerpts are fairly typical:

There has been a breakdown in the middle classes. The upper classes have always used liquor. The lower classes have always used liquor. Now the middle class has taken it over. The thing is slopping over from both sides.

You know that today church people drink. That's the reason for the poor showing of the WCTU. It's been that way since Prohibition. There are many that believe but won't sign the pledge. They are afraid that they might want to take a drink.

The WCTU was seen, by the leaders interviewed, as lower in prestige today than in an earlier period when temperance norms held a stronger position in the American society. Leaders contrasted the prestigious social composition of earlier periods with the present composition. Examples such as the following appear frequently in the interviews:

When this union was first organized, we had many of the most influential ladies of the city. But now they have got the idea that we ladies who are against taking a cocktail are a little queer. We have an undertaker's wife and a minister's wife, but the lawyer's and the doctor's wives shun us. They don't want to be thought queer.

I remember when the X's lived in the house that is now the Hotel W. They were the finest people in the town, and they were temperance people.

²¹ Interviews were conducted with forty-six local and national WCTU leaders. The local leaders were active in upstate New York and in Chicago; the national leaders, members of the staff of the WCTU National Headquarters in Evanston, Illinois.

When I joined, women of prominence and social prestige were in it. They were the backbone of the churches and the schools.

The WCTU is recognized by its membership as having retreated from a past position of greater influence, power, and prestige. To be a member of the WCTU is therefore harmful to social acceptability in many groups. It opens her to ridicule from people whose opinion is important to her. This is frankly realized by the WCTU. The literature of the organization does not hide the fact. For example, a membership drive pamphlet contained the following description of one type of WCTU member, Mrs. I-Would-if-I-Could: "She wouldn't think of asking for money or inviting anyone to join. She knows the organization is not especially popular in some groups. . . . There are times when she prefers not to mention her membership."

Local leaders also described the low esteem of the WCTU in their communities:

People don't like us. Some of the churches don't respect us.

Well, as you have probably learned, this isn't the organization it used to be. It isn't popular, you know. The public thinks of us—let's face it—as a bunch of old women, as frowzy fanatics. I've been viewed as queer, as an old fogey, for belonging to the WCTU. . . . This attitude was not true thirty years ago.

The WCTU is acutely aware of what it has been and of what it has become. The present position of unpopularity might lead to several different types of reaction. One possible position would be a reversal of past doctrine and the embracing of a doctrine of moderate drinking. This would be the acceptance of the new standard of the middle classes. Another possibility might be a de-emphasis of temperance aims and a substitution of other aims, such as those of a social welfare nature or an attack on "popular" enemies, such as drug addiction or juvenile delinquency.

The alternatives considered above all imply the importance of maintaining the popularity and acceptance of the organiza-

tion in middle-class circles. If the organization should attempt to maintain its old doctrines, it could no longer be representative of prestigious segments of American life. With the social base of dominance undetermined, can the WCTU continue a reformist attitude toward lower classes, or must it become a sectarian critic of the class it once represented?

MORAL INDIGNATION: CENSURE OF THE NEW MIDDLE CLASS

The characteristic doctrine of the WCTU is no longer humanitarian reform of the underprivileged. Instead it is an indignation directed against the middle-class moderate drinker. Total abstinence is presented as behavior morally demanded, apart from social welfare considerations. The new standards of the middle class are seen as defections from the traditional morality of abstinence.

"Moral indignation" as used here is not equivalent to the use of the term by Ranulf.²² We are not concerned with the "disinterested tendency to inflict punishment" but rather with the quality of anger generated by the failure of others to recognize standards of morality which the actor recognizes. The definition of "indignation" given by *Webster's New Collegiate Dictionary* accurately conveys our meaning. It is "righteous wrath" and "anger excited by that which is unworthy, base, or disgraceful." In understanding this emotion in the WCTU, we must keep in mind the fact that abstinence was once a respectable middle-class doctrine. The middle-class drinking habits are not only in conflict with WCTU norms; they are defections from past standards.

A fiction story in the *Union Signal* illustrates this sense of moral indignation toward the new doctrine of temperance.²³ The story is entitled "Today's Daughter."

²² Svend Ranulf, *Moral Indignation and Middle Class Psychology* (Copenhagen: Levin & Munksgaard, 1938), p. 13.

²³ *Union Signal*, December 25, 1937, pp. 5-6.

Ruth, sixteen, is taken to a party at the home of a new boy who has just moved into the neighborhood. The boy has told Ruth's family that he is glad the new house has a game room in the basement. Aunt Liz is suspicious. She knows that many of the houses in the neighborhood now have bars in the basement game rooms. Ruth's mother tries to still these suspicions: "We're not living in the Victorian period. . . . I'm sure the Barrets are alright [*sic*]. They joined the church last Sunday." Aunt Liz's reply greatly unnerves Ruth's mother: "As if that meant respectability *these days*! Many's the church member who drinks and smokes and thinks nothing of it."

This episode contains the significant parts of the current position of the WCTU. Here are people of moderate incomes, in the same neighborhood and members of the same church as the WCTU adherent, yet the indexes of social class, religion, and ethnicity are no longer good assurances of abstinence.

Conflict between the doctrine of the total abstainer and a new "middle-class psychology" is evident. The following story is an apt illustration in which the new middle class is criticized for defection from the Protestant norms which supported and sustained the temperance doctrine. The story is entitled "When Yesterday Returned."²⁴ Jane, the heroine, reveres her "old-fashioned, Christian grandmother" who taught her the temperance pledge. Jane's mother ridicules temperance as prudishness and says that it hinders her social position. The struggle between the two groups, the newer and more prestigious moderate drinkers and the old-fashioned abstainers, is epitomized after Jane scolds a visitor who asked for whiskey before dinner.

When the guest had gone her mother informed her in no uncertain tones that "such plebian mannerisms" were rude. And furthermore if there were to be any more such old-fashioned, prudish notions exploited before such persons as Mr. Forsythe, the family's op-

portunities for social prestige would be lost forever and Jane's visits to her grandmother curtailed.

The figures of the underprivileged poor and the laborer no longer appear as the center of WCTU interest. In their place is the middle-class, churchgoing moderate drinker. Toward him the WCTU displays resentment rather than reformist concern. Typical remarks of interviewees stress the moderate drinker:

We fear moderation more than anything. Drinking has become so much a part of everything—even in our church life and our colleges.

Since Repeal, people are drinking who wouldn't have before. They are held in great regard. The social drinker has a greater effect on children than the drunkards.

In past decades moderate drinking might have subjected the drinker to fear of loss of reputation or damaged career.²⁵ Some writers have lately maintained that career routes more and more demand the skills of fellowship, personal attachments, and the ability to be the "good fellow."²⁶ This means that the culture may place great value on tolerance of others, in drinking as well as in other behavior. This makes the moral reformer even more reprehensible in the life of the new middle-class culture.

In reaction to this, the WCTU has poured out wrath against the defector from standards of abstinence who talks of taking an "objective" stand toward the

²⁵ In some American industries this still remains true, as in the International Business Machines Corporation, under the leadership of Thomas Watson (cf. *Time*, March 28, 1955, p. 83). Watson may be taken as one of the last of the temperance reformers in positions of dominance. His attitude of strong disapproval toward employee drinking on or off the job is viewed as unusual enough to warrant comment both in *Time* and in the IBM communities.

²⁶ Cf. Riesman, *op. cit.*, pp. 130-44; C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 91-100, 182-88.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 3, 1939-July 29, 1939.

problem. One interviewee complained of the Yale School of Alcohol Studies:

You as a teacher must take a stand against smoking and drinking. Do you know of the Yale center? Well, I went down there one night. When they were through, you didn't know whether they were for it or against it. They didn't want to commit themselves. What can they expect students to do?

This attitude has made it difficult for the WCTU to co-operate with organizations which viewed drinking from a social welfare interest in curing or preventing alcoholism. Insistence on the vital importance of legal restriction of the sale of drink has continued. The president of the WCTU took an "unbending" position when she said: "Between right and wrong only one ground is possible and that is a battle ground."²⁷

The fact that "good people" are drinking is a chronic complaint among interviewees and in the pages of WCTU literature. One membership pamphlet voices this lament as follows:

The greatest difficulty to be found today among youth, in anti-alcohol education, is the fact that "good people" are using liquor. Beautifully gowned women sipping their cocktails in lavish cocktail lounges give the impression that it is an extremely cultured thing to do. . . . Even within some of the best homes, the bar is set up.²⁸

The social position of the moderate drinker in the concern of the WCTU is not that of the poverty-stricken, the socially elite, or the non-churchgoer. It is rather the class from which the WCTU formerly drew its power and which formed the base for a doctrine of social reformism.

²⁷ *Annual Report of the WCTU* (1952), p. 87. Recently, with the retirement of the past president, there has been a "softer" attitude toward the Prohibition question and toward co-operation with non-Prohibitionist antialcohol groups. The general condemnation of the middle-class drinker still remains the focus of WCTU doctrine, however.

²⁸ Roy L. Smith, *Young Mothers Must Enlist* (Evanston, Ill.: National WCTU Publishing House, 1953).

Interviewees stressed the change in the churchgoer as the cause for the new respectability of drinking:

The churches aren't helping, some of them. We went to the home of a professor for a church meeting, and she [his wife] served sherry. The football coach's wife makes no bones about it. She serves liquor.

It creeps into the official church boards. They keep it in their iceboxes. . . . The minister here thinks that the church has gone too far, that they are doing too much to help the temperance cause. He's afraid that he'll stub some influential toes.

The churches aren't doing enough. . . . Many nominally take a stand, but many don't follow it locally. There was one churchman in L. who had beer at his daughter's wedding. Another churchman in H. had wine at a wedding that really flowed. And this was the Church of the Brethren!

The WCTU has not attempted to reformulate its previous temperance doctrine in the direction of popular acceptance, despite the changed milieu in which it must operate. Rather it has swung in the direction of a greater sectarianism which carries it strongly into conflict with previous sources of adherence. How can we explain this? Why has it not accommodated to the new situation? Some light may be shed on this question by the analysis of the social composition of the movement between the years 1885 and 1949.

Increasing class distance.—We have studied the social composition of local leaders in the WCTU through the use of directories of officers published in annual state WCTU reports. These list the local officers and their addresses for each city, town, and village in which there is a unit. With these lists, we then utilized city business directories, which gave us the occupation of the husband of the officer.²⁹ We were limited in choice of cities by avail-

²⁹ In the case of widows we used the last occupation of the husband. In classifying occupations, we utilized United States Employment Service, *Dictionary of Occupational Titles* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1944).

ability of state reports for each of the four years chosen—1885, 1910, 1925, 1950—and by the availability of city directories for each of the cities and years. However, we were able to compile comparative data for thirty-eight cities in five states (Table 3).

The results of this study indicate that the socioeconomic status of the local leader-

This suggests an answer to the question posed above. The present social composition of the movement cannot duplicate the pretense to social dominance from which a reformist position is possible. Further, the very class structure of the movement accentuates the split between the upper and the lower middle classes which appears

TABLE 3
WCTU LOCAL LEADERS CLASSIFIED BY HUSBAND'S
OCCUPATION FOR STATE AND YEAR

STATE AND YEAR	HUSBAND'S OCCUPATION						Total (%)	N
	Profes- sional and Semi- profes- sional	Proprietors, Managers, and Officials	Clerical and Sales	Skilled Labor	Unskilled and Semi- skilled	Farm		
Connecticut:								
1885.....	25.7	20.0	22.9	22.9	5.8	2.9	100	68
1910.....	21.0	31.6	13.2	21.0	10.6	2.6	100	34
1925.....	3.8	15.4	21.2	36.6	21.1	1.9	100	51
1950.....	12.4	18.6	25.0	29.2	14.8	0.0	100	52
Michigan:								
1885.....	17.8	33.3	6.7	28.9	8.9	4.4	100	42
1910.....	15.3	19.4	19.4	26.4	15.3	4.1	100	72
1925.....	13.0	14.6	18.8	24.6	27.6	1.4	100	66
1950.....	13.2	7.1	16.6	26.2	36.9	0.0	100	77
Illinois:								
1885.....	20.0	35.6	11.2	24.4	8.8	0.0	100	50
1910.....	14.5	22.0	20.4	25.4	15.2	2.5	100	136
1925.....	11.8	19.3	23.5	19.3	24.4	1.7	100	124
1950.....	12.4	14.2	16.8	25.6	31.0	0.0	100	127
Minnesota:								
1885.....	25.6	33.3	15.4	17.9	5.2	2.6	100	38
1910.....	14.0	19.3	27.3	28.9	9.6	0.9	100	116
1925.....	12.7	22.8	20.1	28.9	15.5	0.0	100	151
1950.....	10.3	17.6	23.6	31.5	17.0	0.0	100	164
Maryland:								
1885.....	22.2	44.4	27.8	5.6	0.0	0.0	100	15
1910.....	13.6	36.4	40.9	9.1	0.0	0.0	100	22
1925.....	16.7	35.2	20.4	18.4	9.3	0.0	100	57
1950.....	21.4	33.3	21.4	16.8	7.1	0.0	100	41
Total:								
1885.....	22.6	30.4	26.1	22.1	6.5	2.3	100	193
1910.....	15.1	22.0	21.8	26.6	12.3	2.2	100	348
1925.....	12.0	21.2	21.0	25.3	19.6	0.9	100	392
1950.....	12.4	16.3	20.3	28.2	22.8	0.9	100	408

ship has diminished during the period 1885–1950. There has been a relatively steady decrease in the percentage of professional people, proprietors, managers, and officials and a relatively steady increase in the skilled and unskilled groups. More and more, the social base of the WCTU appears to be lower middle class and lower class rather than the earlier picture of upper middle and lower middle classes.

in the interviews and documentary materials. A uniform middle-class culture is less of a reality than it was in earlier periods.

One would anticipate that the groups most susceptible to norms encouraging drinking are precisely those upper-middle-class groups making up the world of the professional, business executive, and salesman—the new middle classes whose religion is less evangelical and whose norms em-

phasize fellowship, toleration, and leisure. These seem to be the groups who have left the WCTU. Their higher socioeconomic status would have afforded them leadership had they remained.

The data suggest that temperance norms have filtered down to lower socioeconomic groups. The moral indignation of the movement is explainable by the resentment engendered by the defection of the upper middle class. These are no longer available as models with which the religiously oriented in America can identify. The quality of "moralizing" has ceased to be respectable. The adherents of rural nineteenth-century values epitomized in the doctrine of total abstinence do not have available tangible models of success and prestige in social levels above them. Nevertheless, they nourish expectation that the values on which they have been raised will be the values of groups above them in status. Their resentment is understandable as a response to the realization that their expectations are no longer true.

CONCLUSION

This study has demonstrated a shift in the doctrine and social composition of a moral reform movement. The earlier stages of the WCTU were shown to have been characterized by an attitude of moral reform directed toward the lower classes. In this stage, social composition data indicate that the WCTU represented a socially dominant class.

Today the WCTU is an organization in retreat. Contrary to the expectations of theories of institutionalization, the movement has not acted to preserve organizational values at the expense of past doctrine. In adhering to less popular positions, it has played the role of the sect and widened the gap between WCTU membership and middle-class respectability. Analysis of social composition in this stage indicates that the movement is today less upper middle class in composition than in earlier periods and more lower middle and lower class in composition. In this respect, as well as in the changed drinking norms of the upper middle classes, the split within American Protestant middle classes has been widened.

The moral indignation of the WCTU today is a very different approach to temperance and to the American scene from the reformism and progressivism of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The plight of the "moralizer-in-retreat" is the plight of the once powerful but now rejected suitor. The symbols at his command no longer ring true in the halls where once they were heard with great respect. He cannot identify easily with those above him in status, because they now repudiate his morality. It is the sense of the historical shift, fully as much as the absolute clash in values, that has soured his reformism and generated his resentment.

UNIVERSITY OF ILLINOIS

RELIGIOUS PREFERENCE AND INTERRELIGIOUS MIXTURES IN MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN IOWA

LOREN E. CHANCELLOR AND THOMAS P. MONAHAN

ABSTRACT

Interreligious marriages are far more numerous than is generally recognized. Catholics in Iowa are more numerous than church figures show and account for a sizable number of the divorces, although they are only half as likely (or less) to divorce as are Protestants. Mixed-Catholic marriages show a greater proportion of dissolution than marriages in which both parties are Catholic.

The major religious denominations in the United States constantly urge their young people to marry within their own groups. One writer has expressed the view that next to race the most decisive factor in marital selection is religion,¹ and most authorities concur with the premise that interfaith marriages present unusual problems and are harmful to the couple, their children, and the harmony of the families concerned.²

Many generalizations from various studies as to the degree and consequences of interreligious marriages are open to question because (1) certain points of sound methodology were not followed and (2) the information gathered relates to highly selected segments of the population or to local areas. On the basis of official church figures, Thomas has recently shed further light on the whole problem, and his statistics attest to a high degree of interreligious marriage among Catholics, respecting whom most of the strictures of Protestants regarding intermarriage are directed.³ Mixed marriages not

sanctioned by Catholic nuptials are not accounted for in Catholic church figures; hence, taking this factor into account, Duvall and Hill have made the startling proposal that "nearly half of all Catholics who marry in this country take non-Catholic mates."⁴

"There can be no doubt," write Smith and Hitt, "that the religious composition of the population is among the most significant determinants of human behavior and therefore constitutes one of the most important aspects of the study of population."⁵ The absence of statistics on religious preference in the United States is often decried by religious groups and demographers.⁶ No ex-

¹ A. B. Hollingshead, "Cultural Factors in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XV (October, 1950), 622.

² A. D. Black, *If I Marry outside My Religion* (New York: Public Affairs Committee, 1954); S. M. Duvall, *Before You Marry* (New York: Association Press, 1949), p. 59; E. M. Duvall and R. Hill, *When You Marry* (rev. ed.; New York: D. C. Heath & Co., 1953), p. 388; M. Leiffer, "Interfaith Marriages," *Time*, Vol. LIII (January 31, 1949), and articles in the *Christian Century*; D. R. Mace, "The Truth about Mixed Marriages," *Woman's Home Companion*, July, 1951, p. 44; and E. Schmiedeler, *An Introductory Study of the Family* (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1947), p. 224.

³ J. L. Thomas, "The Factor of Religion in the Selection of Marriage Mates," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (August, 1951), 487-91; "The Pattern of Marriage among Catholics," in *Marriage Education and Counselling*, ed. A. H. Clemens (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America Press, 1951), pp. 43-60; and "Are They Marrying Their Own?" *Catholic World*, CLXXIV (November, 1951), 124-29. For additional bibliography and discussion see T. P. Monahan and W. M. Kephart, "Divorce by Religious and Mixed-Religious Groups," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIX (March, 1954), 454-65.

⁴ *Op. cit.*, p. 388. This remark may have substance if marriages are referred to but not if persons marrying are the point of reference.

⁵ T. L. Smith and H. L. Hitt, *The People of Louisiana* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1952), p. 128.

⁶ Smith and Hitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 128-36; C. E. Silcox and G. M. Fisher, *Catholics, Jews and Protestants* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1934), pp. ix, 27-29; Louis Rosenberg, *Canada's Jews* (Montreal: Canadian Jewish Congress, 1939), p. 6; Yiddish

pressed justification for this omission can be found. In fact, present-day statistical techniques exist which permit the taking of a completely anonymous statistical census on a sampling basis, avoiding the sensitivity of some to making their religious preference a matter of permanent record and at the same time enabling cross-tabulations of the sample with population characteristics (at small cost).

In 1953 the state of Iowa placed the question of religious denomination on its new statistical forms for the reporting of marriages and divorces to the state office. A detailed analysis is being made of this statewide information. This preliminary article brings forth some of the new facts and illustrates the value and use of such statistical data on marriage and divorce, about which so much comment and opinion is expressed.⁷

NATURE OF THE DATA

Verbal explanation but no written instructions were issued to the county clerks regarding the item "religious denomination." It was intended that the religious preference of the parties be obtained. Of a grand total of 23,180 marriages, 1,090 records were returned in the first part of the year on the old forms. In only 4 per cent of the cases was the item left blank for both parties on the new records. As shown in Table 1, about one out of nine couples merely affirmed "Protestant," while the oft-appearing generic term "Catholic" undoubt-

edly is intended in nearly all cases to indicate Roman Catholic. Where both parties were Protestant, specific denominations for both were given in 76 per cent of the marriages. One interpretation of the "Protestant" class (no denomination given) is that they represent for the most part non-churchgoers without any affiliation.

The divorce records (excluding 175 reports on old forms) show a higher percentage declaring either no religious preference or merely "Protestant"; in over 6 per cent of the cases the item was left blank for both parties, and in another 32 per cent of the cases both parties were reported as "Protestant" only. Where both parties were Protestant, denominations for both were given in only 41 per cent of the cases. Considering that this information is not gathered as directly as are marriage records, and often derives from attorneys representing one of the parties only, the deficiency of the data is somewhat understandable and therefore cannot be attributed solely to reticence or avoidance of declaration of religion.

It is hoped that, with usage, the denominational affirmations will gradually become more adequate. In Canada, where the collection of such information is of long standing, the data on marriage are practically complete.

IOWA'S RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS

Provided that marital propensity, age at marriage, and age distribution are approximately the same for all denominations, the proportional distribution of marriages among the major denominations should give a rough measure of the relative size of these denominations in the state. The major interfering factors are remarriages and marriages in Iowa of out-of-state couples. "First" marriages⁸ are between 85 and 90 per cent Iowan and are therefore a better index to use in this connection.

For these "first" marriages more grooms'

⁸ "First" marriages in this paper refers to the primary type, i.e., both parties being married for the first time.

Scientific Institute, *The Classification of Jewish Immigrants and Its Implications* (New York: Yiddish Scientific Institute, 1945); Sophia Robison, "How Many Jews in America? Why We Don't Know," *Commentary*, VIII (August, 1949), 185-92; and the President's Intensive Review Committee, *Appraisal of Census Programs* (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, February, 1954), p. 56 and Appendix, pp. 68, 673-74, 710, 773-74.

⁷ The new registration forms were approved by the County Clerk's Association of Iowa, a representative of the Iowa Bar Association, and the secretary of the Iowa Council of Churches. At a meeting of the major religious groups assembled to discuss the forms, no objections were made either to them or to the planned statistical compilations.

than brides' religion was declared as "None" (3.4 versus 2.0 per cent), and more grooms merely affirmed "Protestant" (14.5 versus 12.3 per cent). In Table 2 Catholics appear to be the leading denomination in Iowa, 22.4 per cent of the male "first" marriages (excluding blank reports) and 23.3 per cent of the female "first" marriages indicating this

riages, 21.8 per cent of the men and 22.8 per cent of the women declared themselves as Catholic. If we segregate from the total "first" marriages where the bride was an Iowa resident, we find that 23.6 per cent of the brides (excluding blank reports, 24.0 per cent) were Catholic. The above figures, therefore, strongly suggest that many Cath-

TABLE 1
MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES BY MAJOR RELIGIOUS GROUPS, IOWA, 1953*

HUSBAND'S RELIGION	Total	Eastern Ortho- dox	Catho- lic	WIFE'S RELIGION "Protes- tant" Only	Jew- ish	Denomi- nation Given	None	Not Stated
All Marriages								
Total.....	22,090	48	4,162	65	3,001	13,268	540	1,006
Eastern Orthodox.....	54	27	7	..	2	18	...	...
Catholic.....	4,061	5	3,014	1	235	728	63	15
Jewish.....	84	..	4	58	5	15	1	1
"Protestant" only.....	3,502	5	282	3	2,474	703	17	18
Denomination given.....	12,399	10	705	1	251	11,190	172	70
None.....	891	1	132	2	21	447	283	5
Not stated.....	1,099	..	18	..	13	167	4	897
"First" Marriages								
Total.....	13,735	27	3,137	42	1,683	8,275	278	293
Eastern Orthodox.....	26	15	2	..	1	8	...	...
Catholic.....	2,999	5	2,406	1	110	430	37	10
Jewish.....	52	..	3	37	2	9	...	1
"Protestant" only.....	1,990	..	164	3	1,410	398	7	8
Denomination given.....	7,856	7	460	..	143	7,119	96	31
None.....	471	..	87	1	14	229	136	4
Not stated.....	341	..	15	..	3	82	2	239
All Divorces								
Total.....	5,016	12	553	12	1,863	1,953	135	488
Eastern Orthodox.....	15	6	1	..	..	7	...	1
Catholic.....	588	..	259	1	116	179	9	24
Jewish.....	17	..	2	10	1	4	...	...
"Protestant" only.....	1,926	3	114	..	1,604	151	7	47
Denomination given.....	1,541	3	94	..	65	1,274	29	76
None.....	417	..	58	..	40	215	86	18
Not stated.....	512	..	25	1	37	123	4	322

* Excluding 1,090 marriages reported on old form not containing the item on religious denomination and 175 divorces reported on old registration form.

preference. Thereafter, the Methodists and Lutherans follow in close order with about 17-18 per cent of the "first" marriages each; and then the Presbyterians, Christian (Disciples), and Baptists with about 5 per cent each.

According to the statistics of the *Official Catholic Directory*, only 13.5 per cent of Iowa's population was claimed to the Catholic fold in 1950.⁹ In the grand total (including blank reports) of 13,735 "first" mar-

riages in Iowa are not enumerated on church rolls. Other denominations might also show numbers of persons not on church registers affirming a religious preference.

To assess further the Catholic figures, a refined comparison was made between the

⁹ *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1950), appendix tables. The archdiocese of Dubuque and the three dioceses of Davenport, Des Moines, and Sioux City comprise the entire state of Iowa.

number of church marriages reported in the *Directory* for 1953¹⁰ and the Iowa records. Total *Directory* marriages are given as 3,927; total Iowa marriage records in which either party was a Catholic numbered 5,209. Taking only those marriages initiated by religious ceremony, of course, will exceed the number reported by the Catholic church, because Catholics (especially in mixed marriages) do get married by non-Catholic clergy. On the other hand, 4.7 per cent of the Iowa marriage records were on the old form

Catholics in Iowa are rather well reported to the state office and (2) a large number of Catholics are married outside their church.

RELIGIOUS INTERMARRIAGE

Protestant denominations.—Although it is a matter of interpretation and perhaps some exception can be taken, it can be assumed that, when one spouse affirms a denomination and the other merely "Protestant" or "None," the couple is of dissimilar religious ancestry, denominationally speaking. Hence,

TABLE 2
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES IN IOWA
BY MAJOR DENOMINATIONS, 1953*

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	MARRIAGES				DIVORCES	
	Husband All	Husband "Firsts"	Wife All	Wife "Firsts"	Husband All	Wife All
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
None.....	4.2	3.5	2.6	2.1	9.2	10.0
"Protestant"†.....	16.7	14.9	14.2	12.5	42.7	38.2
Catholic.....	19.3	22.4	19.7	23.3	13.1	11.3
Lutheran.....	16.4	16.7	16.9	17.3	9.1	9.9
Methodist.....	17.9	17.4	18.7	18.2	11.0	12.4
Christian (Disciples).....	5.3	4.9	5.6	4.8	3.7	4.5
Baptist.....	5.1	4.8	5.4	4.7	4.4	5.0
Presbyterian.....	5.1	5.2	5.4	5.6	2.3	2.9
Congregationalist.....	1.6	1.6	2.0	1.8	0.7	0.9
Reformed‡.....	1.9	2.3	2.0	2.5	0.4	0.3
Evangelical United Brethren	0.9	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.4	0.4
Episcopalian.....	0.7	0.7	0.8	0.8	0.3	0.7
Jewish.....	0.4	0.4	0.3	0.3	0.4	0.2
Remainder (denominations).....	4.5	4.2	5.3	5.0	2.3	3.3

* Total excludes blank records; reading across, these were 5.0 and 2.5, 4.6 and 2.1, and 10.2 and 2.7 per cent of the grand totals.

† "Protestant" includes only those not specifying a denomination. A small number of Eastern Orthodox denominations were not counted with Catholics.

‡ Reformed includes the Reformed church in America, Christian Reformed and Evangelical Reformed denominations.

not containing the religious question; both parties did not declare their preference in an additional 4.1 per cent of the cases; and marriage records from one of the four Catholic dioceses in the state were apparently below the *Directory* figures. Nevertheless, marriage records at the state office for 1953 show that there were slightly over four thousand marriages in Iowa performed under religious auspices wherein one or both parties were Catholic. It seems fair to conclude from this that (1) church marriages of

eliminating only the records showing no entries, we find that 92 per cent of the Protestant husbands in Iowa (91 per cent of the wives) married fellow-Protestants, whereas, in order of their numerical proportion, 52 per cent of the Methodists, 54 per cent of the Lutherans, 43 per cent of the Christian (Disciples), 40 per cent of the Baptists, 33 per cent of the Presbyterians, 45 per cent of the Reformed (including Evangelical and Christian Reformed), 22 per cent of the Congregationalists, 36 per cent of the Evangelical United Brethren, and 26 per cent of the Episcopalians married members of their own denomination. Some small denomina-

¹⁰ *The Official Catholic Directory* (New York: P. J. Kenedy & Sons, 1953), pp. 75, 339, 343, and 589.

tions in the state (too few in 1953 for reliable averages) show higher percentages of sameness in religion (Mennonites, 85 per cent; Jehovah's Witnesses, 73 per cent), but others also show 50 per cent (Seventh-Day Adventists) and 66 per cent of their marriages (Mormons) taking place outside their fold. "First" marriages are remarkably similar to the whole picture.

Jewish.—Since the degree of completeness of reporting is unknown and the number in this group is so small (84 males and 65 females), any conclusion is necessarily uncertain. However, the spouses of 70 per cent of the Jewish males and 90 per cent of the spouses of the Jewish females affirmed the Jewish faith. Again, "first" marriages show almost the same degree of sameness. It is estimated that less than 1 per cent of Iowa's population is Jewish.

Catholics.—There was a much larger amount of religious intermarriage in this group than is popularly supposed. Compared to the 92 per cent of Protestant males who married Protestant females, only 74 per cent of the Catholic males married Catholic females. Segregating "first" marriages, we find that Catholics show a somewhat higher percentage of sameness, with 80 per cent of the Catholic males marrying females of their own faith.

According to the *Catholic Directory*, 30 per cent of all Catholic marriages in Iowa in 1953 (sanctioned by the Catholic church) were mixed. However, since Catholic church figures do not include other-church and civil ceremony marriages, state records show a much higher degree of intermarriage, namely, 42 per cent of all marriages involving a Catholic party were mixed marriages in 1953. For "first" marriages the figure was 35 per cent. If we eliminate all civil ceremony marriages, the percentages become 33 for the total and 29 per cent for "first" marriages, approaching *Directory* figures.

These results may be interpreted in yet another way: of all individual Catholics getting married, 27 in 100 marry non-Catholics; of all individual Catholics getting married for the first time, 22 in 100 marry non-Catho-

lics; and, where either party has been married before, 42 in 100 marry non-Catholics.

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATIONS IN DIVORCE

In divorces we find higher proportions of the records with both parties declaring merely "Protestant," both "Not stated," and both "None" as compared to the marriage data (32, 6, and 2 per cent versus 11, 4, and 1 per cent, respectively). Although there is no reason for believing that Catholics or any particular denomination exercise any covertness in declaring their religion in divorce cases, great caution must be entertained as to these results, and no ratios will be attempted at this time.

All the major denominations are well represented in the divorce picture. Where both parties were Lutheran, Methodist, Christian, Baptist, and Presbyterian, we find a representation among the divorces paralleling their relative magnitude in marriages for 1953. Non-Catholics as a whole appear to account for a greater share of Iowa's divorces.¹¹

Sameness of religion by denomination (excluding blank records only) surprisingly enough actually appears slightly greater in cases of divorce than it does in marriages for Protestants (see Table 3). Where the denomination of both Protestant parties was given, only 35 per cent were of mixed denominations; including Catholics and Jews increases the figure to 47 per cent mixed; and including "Protestant" and "None" in combination with a denomination as a mixture, the percentage becomes 59—in this case almost the same as for marriage mixture. More complete information on this aspect is needed.

CATHOLICS IN IOWA'S DIVORCES

Assuming that Catholics are adequately identified in the divorce records (as we found they were in the marriage records), we may derive some important tentative conclusions from these data.

¹¹ Cf. J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce: A Social Interpretation* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1931), pp. 312-16.

Taking the husband's (or the wife's) religion as the point of comparison, 19 per cent of all men marrying were Catholics but only 13 per cent of all those getting divorced were declared as Catholic. This differential in favor of the Catholic group increases when we refer to "first" marriages and "first" divorces, in which case the men account for 22 per cent of the marriages and only 14 per cent of the divorces. A "first" marriage for both parties and a "first" divorce for both parties is somewhat more characteristic of the both-Catholic type, suggesting that repetitive divorces are less frequent for them also.

If we examine the data further in terms of Catholic intermarriage, we find that di-

vorces show greater mixture: of all divorces involving a Catholic, both parties were Catholic in only 29 per cent of the cases (compared to 58 per cent in total marriages); and both parties were Catholic in only 36 per cent of the "first" divorces (compared to 65 per cent of the "first" marriages). Expressed another way, of all individual Catholics getting married, 27 in 100 intermarried, whereas, of all individual Catholics getting divorced, 55 in 100 had intermarried; in terms of "first" marriages and "first" divorces the corresponding figures were 22 versus 47 per cent. At first glance, therefore, it appears that for Catholics mixed marriages more often end in di-

TABLE 3
PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION OF MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES WITHIN
THE SAME DENOMINATION, IOWA, 1953*

RELIGIOUS DENOMINATION	MARRIAGES				DIVORCES	
	Husband		Wife		Husband	Wife
	All	"Firsts"	All	"Firsts"	All	All
Catholic.....	74.5	80.5	72.7	77.1	45.9	46.7
Lutheran.....	54.1	56.6	52.6	54.8	61.6	51.5
Methodist.....	51.9	52.3	49.6	50.3	59.7	49.6
Christian (Disciplines)	43.0	43.3	40.7	44.5	57.1	41.9
Baptist.....	40.1	39.5	38.6	40.0	50.8	43.2
Presbyterian.....	33.3	34.6	31.3	32.3	50.0	38.9
Congregationalist....	22.4	21.6	18.4	18.9	†	†
Reformed.....	44.7	47.4	42.3	44.9	†	†

* In calculating the percentages, records with no entries were excluded. See n. * to Table 2.

† Number of cases too few for calculation of percentages.

TABLE 4
CATHOLIC AND MIXED-CATHOLIC MARRIAGES AND DIVORCES
IN IOWA, 1953

RELIGIOUS COMBINATION (HUSBAND-WIFE)	PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION			
	Marriages		Divorces	
	Grand Total	Total Excluding Not Stated for Both Parties	Grand Total	Total Excluding Not Stated for Both Parties
All Classes				
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Catholic-Catholic.....	13.6	14.2	5.2	5.5
Other-Catholic.....	5.2	5.4	5.9	6.3
Catholic-Other.....	4.7	4.9	6.6	7.0
Remainder*.....	76.5	75.5	82.3	81.2
First for Both Parties				
Total.....	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
Catholic-Catholic.....	17.5	17.8	6.6	7.0
Other-Catholic.....	5.3	5.4	5.4	5.9
Catholic-Other.....	4.3	4.4	6.1	6.5
Remainder*.....	72.0	72.4	81.9	81.6

* Remainder is almost completely Protestant (see text). The second set of figures is based upon totals which exclude records blank for both parties; included in the calculation are all "Nones" and "Not stated" for one party. The lower set of figures refers to "first" marriages and to "first" divorces for both parties.

vorce. It also appears here that more Catholic husbands are likely to divorce their Protestant spouses than are Catholic wives to divorce their Protestant spouses.

Eliminating remarriages from consideration, a stronger contrast is evident for the both-Catholic group: they account for 18 per cent of all "first" marriages but for only 7 per cent of all "first" divorces.

Presuming that a complete set of divorce data would not importantly change the result, we may tentatively conclude that (1) divorce is less frequent for Catholics compared to the whole population in Iowa; (2) both-Catholic marriages show much less likelihood of divorce than mixed marriages of Catholics; and (3) both-Catholic marriages, nevertheless, show a sizable degree of dissolution which can no longer be considered "rare"¹² and which compares to the "alarming" divorce rate of the American population in the early 1900's.

CONCLUSION

Certain studies in the United States have suggested a high degree of selectivity of mates according to religion, especially for the Jewish and the Catholic groups. One study of Catholic church statistics revealed quite a different picture. Denominationally also, as the figures for Canada should have led us to suspect, there is a considerable amount of mixture among Protestants.¹³ The Iowa figures confirm the denominational experience of Protestants in Canada, but they show a much greater admixture of Catholics, supporting and accentuating further the official Catholic church figures showing a larger amount of intermarriage in the United States.

"The role of organized religion in furthering homogamy," as Truxal and Merrill state it, "may not be as strong as hitherto be-

¹² J. P. Lichtenberger, *Divorce: A Study in Social Causation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1909), pp. 190, 202.

¹³ Dominion Bureau of Statistics, *Some Characteristics of Husbands and Wives as Indicated in the Census and Vital Statistics* ("Reference Papers," No. 10 [Ottawa, Canada, November, 1950]), pp. 2, 14-17. See also Silcox and Fisher, *op. cit.*, pp. 247-69.

lieved."¹⁴ The American public is indeed more tolerant of religious differences in mating than is generally acknowledged,¹⁵ and young people exercising their freedom of choice in the democratic tradition of this country are wont to ignore the barriers of religion. Which of the many tensions in interreligious marriages derive from the marriage itself and which from exterior pressures seeking to control the lives of the newlyweds poses a nice question.

Physical nearness, similarity of interests and pursuits, occupational associations, proximity of age, social-class preferences, and many other factors bring about the pairing of the sexes. The role of religious affiliation, in the final analysis, may not be any more important than the other elements in marital selection.

From these preliminary statistics on the relationship of religious preference to divorce, it appears that a large proportion of all major denominations (Catholics included) share in this social malady. Mixed-Catholic marriages are more often divorced than both-Catholic marriages. Mixed-Protestant denominations, about which we need much more detailed information, show a somewhat different picture and do not seem to be at any particular disadvantage. Finally, the typically Catholic marriage (both parties Catholic), while not immune to becoming divorced, is probably only half as likely (or less) to end in divorce as are marriages in general.

IOWA STATE DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH
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¹⁴ A. G. Truxal and F. E. Merrill, *Marriage and the Family in American Culture* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1953), p. 180.

¹⁵ M. Sontheimer, "Would You Approve Your Child's Marrying—a Catholic? a Protestant? a Jew?" *Woman's Home Companion*, LXXX (March, 1953), 30-31, 100; *Catholic Digest's* national survey, "Do Americans Get Along Together?" XVII (April, 1953), 63-68, and "Personal Happiness and Mixed Marriage," *ibid.*, XVIII (April, 1954), 104-8; H. Cantril (ed.), *Public Opinion, 1935-1946* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1951), p. 431; and "Love vs. Religious Faith" (Gallup Poll), *Des Moines Register and Tribune*, December 28, 1951.

CONTINUITY IN CITY-MANAGER CAREERS¹

GEORGE K. FLORO

ABSTRACT

This report on the city manager is a step in formulating an occupational model. The manager office illuminates the adjustment problems, the individual striving to advance, and occupational group controls. Manager judgments of "moving" and "staying" refer to adjustment processes and individual orientations. Movement per se is subordinate to these. Regulated involvements in local affairs protect the office and enable the manager to define his obligations. Segments in a career can be carved out by conceptualizing tenure in accomplishment units. A "potential to move," as a summary of conditions and processes, combines the segments and is the basis of occupational security and advancement.

One step in the formulation of occupational models can be generalized descriptive reports of particular occupations. This paper is such a report. The object is to give a report of conditions and processes which when summarized provide an understanding of the continuity of careers in a particular occupation. The observations below about the city-manager occupation are based upon interviews with city managers in fifty-five Michigan cities and numerous supplementary contacts in Michigan cities over a two-year period.

It is beyond the scope of this paper to extend generalizations to occupational groups other than the one reported upon here. Nonetheless, in further inquiries many of these observations may be relevant also to hospital administrators, public school administrators, ministers in some denominations, and perhaps to several occupations in which appointed officials are incumbents of "pressure" stations. Such officials are often co-ordinators (of different endeavors by specialists), integrators (of personnel with various vested interests), and enterprisers in the indigenous organization who adhere to a somewhat independent set of standards within the organization's political context.

THE CITY MANAGER AND HIS OFFICE²

The city manager is an appointed municipal official who in the design of the council-manager form of government is the chief administrative official. He is responsible directly to the appointive board, which is also

the governing body, composed of elected persons.³ In turn, the manager's duties are delegated to him through the elected board in accordance with the legal prescriptions.

The office of the city manager, as defined in legal documents, provides for the appointment of nonresidents as well as local persons. The appointment of a person not already committed in "local politics" is generally understood to be in accord with the "spirit of the plan" and the meaning of the legal provisions.⁴

The manager's office makes possible the existence of an "outsider" who is substantially involved in local affairs. Furthermore, the office is a key to the understanding of

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the Southwestern Social Science Association at Dallas, Texas, April, 1955.

² See Everett C. Hughes, "Institutional Office and the Person," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIII (November, 1937), 404-13.

³ This picture should not be overdrawn, or many of the manager's problems will be obscured, and those which can be designated may not be realistically conceived. The manager is much closer to persons in the sets of crucial relations of his office than, for example, a federal administrator. The demands from the several crucial relationships impinge upon him from several sides. He may remind himself that he is "working for the city council."

⁴ Historically, the council-manager form of municipal government has been a reform which requires the acceptance of an administrative official who is brought in from outside the community or at least is someone who is not already aligned with local political factions or does not have other obligations which would interfere with "efficient" management.

professional membership of city managers. Colleague rules and the individual striving of members reflect the problems and duties of the appointive office.

The "outsider" orientation of the manager requires a continuing adjustment to the local organization. He tends to be a perpetual "newcomer" in a locality. The city manager who is a local resident at the time of his appointment becomes dissociated from uniquely local sentiment and local obligations which interfere with the duties of the manager office.⁵

The office of the city manager makes possible the participation of an "outsider" who is thought to be especially prepared for the appointment by training and work background. Nonetheless, the office has contradictory duties. Many specific contradictions arise from the enterprising and innovating functions of the manager in the indigenous organization and the locality. These are embraced by the general problem of regulating involvement—of becoming substantially involved in local affairs but not too involved. In colleague relations the dualism is reflected in questions concerning movement—whether a fellow-manager has "stayed too long," for example.

"MOVING" AND "STAYING"

The city manager's preoccupation with moving from place to place is apparent in the striving of individual managers to "advance" and in the colleague rules. Managers actually do move, and moving provides opportunities to "advance" by going to more prized manager cities.

Movement not only has consequences for careers; it has consequences as well for the occupational group and the city-manager social movement.⁶ Thus a manager may be judged to "hurt himself," "hurt the profes-

⁵ Even the local resident who is considered a "nonprofessional" in the informal occupational membership becomes sensitive to the local claims upon him that prevent him from doing what he "should do." In an effort to resist "unreasonable" demands upon him, he says that he attempts to "treat everyone alike."

sion," and fail to provide the proper service to the city if, for example, he "moves too soon" or "stays too long." Whether a manager exploits opportunities to move to other cities is a matter of colleague concern. Movement, therefore, is not left to possible arbitrary action,⁷ his coming and going being too consequential to be left to whim and fancy. Not only is his reputation among colleagues at stake but the reputation of the manager city also enters into the colleague judgments of responsible behavior. A city with a rapid turnover of managers, for example, is a "bad" manager city or a "hot spot."

Colleagues appear to be most critical of managers who move "too often," among whom are those who are judged to "hurt the

⁶ The city-manager occupation and the organizations which advocate the adoption of that form of government are separate, with distinctive functions, purposes, and personnel for the most part. The two are interdependent nonetheless. While not an active advocate, a manager's actions are expected to contribute indirectly to the continued expansion of the movement.

⁷ The city manager is not a free-lance professional who apparently can move with a minimum of risk to career or occupational group. The private nurse can and sometimes does move freely from place to place. She is an example of the free-lance professional whose itinerary does not appear to be elaborated in the professional ethic.

A manager who had resigned in his first city within the first year was especially concerned about not leaving "too soon" from his second city: "I would like to stay here for at least one more year. We are buying new road equipment, and I would like to learn how to operate it. Also I don't want to become known as a jumper. In the three years I've been here there's a manager who has moved three times, and I don't want to get in a class with him."

Managers interviewed who were considered irresponsible in movement due to short periods of tenure in two or more cities appeared to be anxious when asked questions about movement from place to place. In answering the question on how long a manager should stay in a city, one of them said defensively: "I don't think I could answer that—it depends on so many circumstances—how much he wants, whether he is capable—some guys are not so damn smart, but they can get along with people." Later in the interview he stated: "There are things that you want to get done. I don't think a manager should leave too soon—say, a year."

profession" most. The one-city manager who has never anticipated movement is a "nonprofessional"—that is, he does not do what he "should." However, he is not notorious.

The judgments in terms of "moving" and "staying" are shorthand expressions which refer to fundamental processes and basic orientations. Movement is conspicuous. Irresponsible movement "looks bad" and is difficult to conceal. Underlying the questions of movement, however, are questions that refer most directly to the dualism of the manager office: how the manager can participate intensively and extensively in the indigenous organization as an "outsider" and a professional or how a manager regulates his involvement in local affairs. Movement per se is subordinate to these fundamental considerations. This is evident in the general acceptance among managers of two occupational ideals which differ with respect to actual movement.

MOVEMENT AND RISE TO PROMINENCE IN THE OCCUPATIONAL GROUP

A manager may rise to prominence⁸ in one of two ways—either by moving to successively more prized manager cities as his reputation becomes established in the colleague group or by establishing his reputation among other managers while his city becomes known as especially well managed. Both of these provide managers—"advancement by moving" managers and "prominent" one-city managers⁹—who are generally judged by colleagues to be outstanding professionals (the "top" managers).¹⁰ Managers of both kinds provide occupational ideals for the prospective and less-experienced managers.

Whatever route¹¹ a manager has taken to the prominence of the "top" manager with responsibilities as custodian of the occupa-

⁸ The prominence referred to here is a qualified prestige. It is generally conceded among managers that every manager has his weaknesses, and, as one International City Managers' Association official stated, no one "goes into ecstasy" over anyone else regardless of how well qualified he appears to be.

tional heritage, he seems to share ideas with other "top" managers about the responsibilities of "moving" and "staying." The advice of the "prominent" one-city manager does not appear to be markedly different from that of the "advancement by moving"

⁹ See the author's article, "Types of City Managers," *Public Management*, XXXVI (October, 1954), 221-25, for a further discussion of these as well as a description of other types.

¹⁰ This is an informal membership designation which generally refers to a manager who has been in manager work fifteen years or more and is known for distinguished service. He is a protector of the occupational heritage, and he assumes responsibilities of training and advising prospective and new members of the occupational group.

¹¹ The "advancement by moving" manager may have a career line which begins in small cities of 5,000 population or less and proceeds to increasingly larger cities. This is the most frequent career line. Another begins in cities of middle range (about 10,000-20,000) and goes to the large cities of 45,000 or larger in the second or third move. Each period of tenure supposedly prepares the "advancement by moving" manager for the "next" city. The aspirations of "advancement by moving" managers vary considerably with respect to the upper city-size limit a manager sets for himself. The upper limit is sometimes successively extended until a manager is in the large manager-city range (about 45,000 population and above). Both career lines are illustrated in the work histories of the managers most frequently selected by colleagues as "outstanding" in the Michigan study. (Each of the managers interviewed was asked to list five "outstanding managers." Twelve received nearly two-thirds of the selections.)

The "prominent" one-city manager has a tenure in one city for roughly fifteen to twenty years. During this time he becomes known in the formal meetings and is often featured prominently. He is especially highly regarded among the managers near his city. He, as well as the "advancement by moving" manager who becomes a "top" manager, develops a "fatherly attitude" toward the less-experienced managers. The "prominent" one-city manager appears to be especially solicitous of the managers in smaller cities near by. He accepts responsibilities in training and counseling the prospective and the newer managers. He is recognized as a manager with a keen understanding of managerial problems, as a sympathetic listener to the newer manager's difficulties, and as one who willingly imparts his knowledge. There are supposedly a few exceptions to this among the "top" managers in other states. In Michigan the "top" managers are approachable and encourage newer managers to seek advice.

manager who has high prestige among colleagues. Whether one moves or stays, he is accountable with respect to rules about movement.¹²

The two main careers ("advancement by moving" and "prominent" one-city managers) are complementary. In the "best tradition" advancement is defined not merely in terms of exterior symbols of advancement or in terms of formulas of "success" but in terms of fundamental processes and orientations in the manager office.

REGULATED INVOLVEMENT IN LOCAL AFFAIRS

By regulating involvement is meant the process by which the city manager maintains a certain freedom from obligations in immediate situations which might jeopardize his office¹³ and by which he carves out work to do that defines his necessary obligations. The involvement problem is the problem of becoming substantially but not too involved in local affairs. It is fundamental to an understanding of colleague judgments about "moving" and "staying."

One of the colleague rules is that a manager should be "willing to resign" to protect his "integrity" as a manager, the local manager office, the manager "profession," and the manager plan. This is part of the involvement problem. The manager is expected to be sufficiently free from local claims upon him so that he can "leave gracefully" if his obligations to colleagues require a resignation. Ordinarily a manager is not expected to remain in a city if it is necessary to "fight" (this generally implies a public issue) to retain his appointment. Furthermore, he is expected to remain sufficiently free from local commitments so that he can use a resignation threat (usu-

ally indirectly and in a preventive way)¹⁴ if the special character of the office is in jeopardy or if the city council becomes committed to a course of action which supposedly would require the manager to violate his ethical code.

The question of a manager "going too fast" or "trying to do too much" in a locality is in large part an involvement problem. By regulating his involvement, the manager carves out realistically what he expects to do while retaining his "integrity" as a professional and his view as an "outsider." A manager who does not have such control of his actions in a locality may in an extreme instance be designated by other managers as "berserk."¹⁵ He is judged to be the "one rotten apple" who gets employees in a state of "turmoil," "fights" unnecessarily with the council, and gives the impression to local people that a city manager is a "dictator."

"Moving too soon," in its involvement aspects, is based upon a judgment that the manager has not contributed substantially to a city's development. He may be judged to be concerned only with symbols of advancement, such as larger city and higher salary. He may be thought to lack the personal qualities supposedly necessary for a manager. The specific reasons vary; however, the general notion is that a manager does not remain long enough to become concerned with such enterprise as may have a permanent effect upon the city's development.

The manager who "stays too long" or has become "married to the local job" is involved in local affairs to the extent that he cannot do many things that he and other managers think a manager "should do." The manager who has "stayed too long" has become "stale" and "content with housekeep-

¹² A "prominent" one-city manager typically cautioned: "Don't think a manager necessarily becomes more valuable if he stays."

¹³ This part of the regulation of involvement is only touched on. It requires an analysis of the crucial relations of the manager, the contradictions in what he does, and the mechanisms for more or less resolving recurring problems.

¹⁴ This is one of several mechanisms of the manager for resolving the involvement difficulties and protecting the office locally from losing its similarity to the "good" manager offices elsewhere.

¹⁵ Milder judgments suggest a lack of "leadership." The more drastic judgments indicate the injurious consequences to his actions—he "hurts the profession."

ing duties." The regulated involvement which accompanies the enterprising aspects of the manager office is not maintained.

The "nonprofessional" managers are those managers who have never achieved the regulation of involvement in local affairs that permits them to do what a manager supposedly "should do." An "old fuddy-duddy who can't do anything" may be a manager who never could dissociate himself from previous obligations. The "nonprofessional" managers set themselves apart from other managers in some way and are generally aware of the handicap of their orientation to the locality.¹⁶

The involvement problem seems to be more or less resolved by both the "advancement by moving" and the "prominent" one-city managers. The "prominent" one-city manager may become to some degree dissociated from former local associates (if he was a local resident at the time of his appointment) during a long period of tenure or even abruptly. He may survive a local crisis¹⁷ in a distinguishing way and rather quickly achieve a reputation locally as a "big man."¹⁸ He may achieve somewhat the same reputation over a much longer period as programming gains momentum at a time when most one-city managers are supposedly "wearing out their welcomes" or "using up their ideas" as far as a particular locality is concerned. For the "advancement by moving" manager, moving "becomes a matter of advancement"; however, he too is very much concerned with substantial contributions to the localities where ap-

pointments are had. The control of involvement by attempts to make such contributions is a matter of conceptualizing tenure in terms of time and accomplishments.

CONCEPTUALIZATION OF TENURE

A protection against irresponsible actions is a conceptualization of what a manager expects to do during an anticipated period of tenure.¹⁹ A conceptualization of tenure may reduce suspicions of the manager as an "outsider" and minimize challenge of the common notion that administrative functions are kept distinct from policy-making functions. A conceptualization of tenure can also provide the manager with criteria for evaluating current happenings and determining the priority of specific local demands as they arise.

Conceptualization of tenure may be for relatively long periods of anticipated tenure—fifteen years or more—or for relatively short periods of time. About two years is generally considered a minimum period of time to stay in a city. A manager may carve out relatively large amounts of work to be done or to get started so that completion is assured. He may select only small amounts of work to do in a particular locality. His anticipated accomplishments in a given locality may be confined in large part to a specialized contribution or to over-all and many-sided changes in the community.

The main class of conceptualizations for a stay in a city is a "unit of work."²⁰ In the terminology of city managers this is also re-

¹⁶ One of them stated: "In dealing with employees my recommendation would be to have a stranger for that kind of job. . . . I have some employees who are very little use. A stranger—an outside manager—could work out and keep only those who are most useful. I worked with them [employees] for years. If they [council] would make a change, I think it would be advisable to hire a stranger . . . to come in to straighten these conditions out."

¹⁷ This may be primarily either an internal administrative crisis or a public controversy.

¹⁸ This is derived apparently from a business and administrative tradition rather than a political one.

¹⁹ City managers do this even though they usually serve without a specified tenure prescribed by legal document or agreed upon informally with the city council. Ordinarily they may be dismissed by the appointive board at any regular city council meeting.

²⁰ This was described by a manager as follows: "One ought not leave until he has done what he can do—not until he has completed some unit of work that he sets out to do and can do. . . . This requires judgment by the manager, and it isn't easy. One might stay on to try to straighten out a bad situation. It isn't good to leave a city in a mess. One ought to be able to look back and see where the city has taken a step in its advancement."

ferred to as "job in a city" and "cycle of improvement."

Managers who are representative of the two occupational ideals have characteristic conceptualizations of tenure. The "advancement by moving" manager tends to conceptualize for shorter periods of time and in neater packages of accomplishment. An additional test for him among colleagues is that he does not exploit a locality for quick and visible improvements without concern for a city's long-range development. The "prominent" one-city manager conceptualizes for a longer period of tenure when he conceives of his work as a unit of accomplishment.²¹ He also may conceptualize what he intends to do in terms of an indefinite period of service. This involves much "programming" with conservation of resources and improvements involved. He does not "mark time."

A conceptualization of tenure when realistically conceived can provide defenses in the preservation of the special character of the manager's office. It can be sustained through local accomplishments and contribute to a favorable reputation among colleagues. From the angle of individual striving the separate conceptualizations of tenure as a manager moves from place to place can become the segments which make up the over-all career of the "advancement by moving" manager. One "unit of work," realistically conceived and substantially real-

ized, becomes linked to each succeeding "unit of work" by the preparation one provides for the next. It is in this fundamental sense that moving "becomes a matter of advancement."

Conceptions of tenure do not themselves provide occupational security or allow for advancement. Other facets of career have to be considered as well in order to summarize conditions essential to these occupational objectives. Conceptualization of tenure may in particular instances preclude occupational security and advancement. Usually it contributes to these objectives within a larger set of conditions.

A "POTENTIAL TO MOVE"

The conditions and processes discussed above which have a bearing upon the manager's occupational security and advancement are summarized in a "potential to move." A "potential to move" is a summary statement of a set of conditions representing some combination of aspiration, opportunity, and controlled involvement.²²

A fundamental aspiration for the city manager is that he expects to have a career in city-manager work. His perspective at a particular time reflects his preoccupation with movement. The occupational ideals show aspirations (1) to stay in one city to do a "job" or "unit of work" or (2) to make the necessary preparation before moving to the "next" city.

In one sense opportunity to move is set by conditions outside the direct control of city managers.²³ The existence of openings available to persons with outside residence is a minimum prerequisite which managers,

²² In common terminology regarding movement, these refer to: willingness to move, opportunity to move, and freedom to move.

²³ Fundamentally the availability of openings where the special character of the manager office is preserved is most significant. Managers can have a somewhat more direct effect upon this. Sometimes a manager has taken an appointment in a city where there has been a rapid turnover in managers as a "challenge." This has been done, in some instances, with colleague consensus, to make it a more desirable management city.

²¹ The "cycle" of accomplishment, or the "unit of work," or the "job in a city" may be defined primarily in terms of expansion or conservation as periods of tenure. City councils sometimes select managers with one or the other of these in mind. At other times the manager must find his own way, to determine which kind of "program" is most needed and what the political "pressures" will allow. (A councilman may be striving for a career in governmental elective office and thus seek a reputation by favoring either a conservation or an expansion program. This may or may not be in accord with a manager's conceptualization of tenure.) Short-run "units of work" may be of either kind. The long-run conceptualizations of tenure tend to be both expanding and conserving—with changes occurring slowly and financial conditions remaining fairly stable or improving over a long period of time.

of course, cannot control in any direct way. Within these limits a city manager estimates his own opportunities to move. Ordinarily a manager has more opportunities to move while in the small cities.²⁴

A controlled involvement is especially crucial. The manager's technique is supposedly important because of his freedom from local alignments. Part of the managerial technique itself consists of the means of maintaining this freedom.²⁵ The city manager seeks a controlled involvement which prevents certain intrenchments in local affairs. To provide such service, he must be "free to move." Furthermore, the manager needs a controlled involvement which enables him to define work to do and to realize its accomplishment so that indirectly his own opportunities to move may be increased.

In fulfilling the obligations of the special office—namely, of preventing the local organization from becoming caught up in an intrenchment process—the manager has a "potential to move." The enterprising and innovating aspects of his work would be

foolhardy in any orientation to the locality other than one that contributes to a "potential to move."

The two occupational ideals both have "potential to move." The "advancement by moving" manager has a "potential to move" which is exploited in actual movement. The maintenance of a "potential to move" to increasingly more prized appointments provides the connecting links between the accomplishments in separate "units of work" to form the over-all career. The "prominent" one-city manager also maintains a "potential to move" to the highly prized cities elsewhere; however, he does not exploit it in actual movement.²⁶

There does not appear to be any occupational security for the city manager apart from a "potential to move." A place where the manager can serve in the manager office on a semiretirement basis is as evasive as the fountain of youth. Managers sometimes express a desire to move to such a place but are not at all sure of its existence. Managers must continue to keep a "potential to move" until they reach the most prized cities or until they retire.

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²⁴ These are more numerous, and there is less competition for them. Once a manager has served in a manager city, he is considered by city councils to be an "experienced" manager and much preferred to an "inexperienced" person.

²⁵ The city manager's technique includes the mechanisms for regulating involvement. These are not elaborated upon in this paper.

²⁶ The managers who have never had a "potential to move" are considered "nonprofessionals." Those who have lost a "potential to move" to more prized openings and nonetheless remain in the occupation tend to become identified as culprits or persons unfit for the occupation.

DOES THE PUNISHMENT FIT THE CRIME? A STUDY IN SOCIAL VALUATION¹

ARNOLD M. ROSE AND ARTHUR E. PRELL

ABSTRACT

There is a significant discrepancy between the law and popular judgment as to how the law should be applied in assigning punishments for thirteen studied felonies. This probably reflects "cultural lag" in the law as compared to popular conceptions, although the cases studied are too unrepresentative for generalization. Background characteristics of the judges are related to the judgments made. Many subjects were willing to be deliberately nonequalitarian in punishing convicted criminals from different classes in the population. A technique is presented for ascertaining the mental equivalency of two logically noncomparable scales of values.

The dominant theories of punishment include an assumption that the deprivation created by the punishment is, in some way, commensurate with the seriousness of the crime. The retribution theory, for example, considers that society should harm the criminal to the same extent that the criminal harmed the victim. The deterrence theory, for another example, considers that the punishment should be just great enough to deter potential criminals from being attracted by the rewards of committing any given crime, so that the severity of the punishment must be gauged to the seriousness of the crime.² Both common law and statutory law reflect the effort to mete out the more severe punishments to those convicted of committing the more serious crimes.³ Sorokin provides evidence for this in the many cultures he has examined: "The gradation of the punishments is a fairly

good indicator of the comparative gravity of the wrongfulness of the specified class of prohibited action, as it appears to the respective societies and culture mentalities. The greater the crime, the greater, usually, the punishment."⁴

Now, the seriousness of a crime—or even what, in the first place, constitutes a crime—is a matter of cultural definition, and cultures vary enormously in their hierarchization of crimes. Even *within* Western culture there are tremendous variations in the popular perception of cultural definitions of a crime such as rape, for example. Insofar as punishments permitted in law are noncomparable—for example, fines versus prison sentences versus loss of civil rights—there is also an extremely large variation in the popular perception or cultural definition of the severity of the different types of punishments. These considerations assume importance in the application of criminal law in our particular society for the following reasons: (1) The punishment for certain crimes was specified in law many centuries ago, and, insofar as the cultural definitions of the crimes and the punishments have changed, there is no longer a high correlation between the perceived severity of the punishments and the perceived seriousness of the crimes. (2) In the societies of the past,

¹ We are indebted to the Rockefeller Foundation for a grant which made possible the completion of this study.

² The deterrence theory requires other values in the culture—such as justice and fair play—as well as the value of deterrence to prescribe legislation and juridical practice that would make the punishment fit the crime. The value of deterrence acting by itself would simply require the death sentence or life-imprisonment for all convicted criminals regardless of the seriousness of their crime.

³ The major exception is the provision for the indeterminate sentence, which reflects the modern reformation theory, but this involves only a modification of the basic relation in law between crime and punishment.

⁴ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics*, Vol. II: *Fluctuation of Systems of Truth, Ethics, and Law* (New York: American Book Co., 1937), p. 528.

cultural norms were more evenly held by all functioning members of the society, and judges and juries could be expected to express these norms in their specification of crimes and assignment of punishments. The American culture of today is a heterogeneous one, and there is only a vague and partial consensus as to the appropriate punishment for any given crime. (3) Contemporary American law has partially modified the older theories that held that the punishment should fit the crime. In assigning a punishment, contemporary law permits taking into consideration the general behavior of the criminal, the circumstances of the crime, and the criminal's "prospects" for avoiding law violation in the future. The evaluation of these matters is often a matter of individual judgment. In our heterogeneous culture the introduction of these considerations permits an even greater variation in judgment as to what punishment should be assigned to a given crime, and judges vary markedly in the punishments they assign for equivalent crimes.⁵

The foregoing discussion leads to the central hypothesis of this paper—that there is a significant discrepancy among three things: (1) the punishments specified in law for given crimes; (2) the punishments actually meted out for these crimes; and (3) the popular judgment as to what punishments should be assigned to these crimes. We do not hold to the belief that the punishments assigned by judges should conform to popular judgment. We merely wish to demonstrate that, if a judge holds to the belief that the punishment he assigns is a retribution or a deterrent, he is usually mistaken. He is mistaken because he does not know what constitutes retribution in the minds of the criminal or the public or what is effective

deterrence in the minds of potential criminals. In a more homogeneous and stable society he would not be likely to be so often wrong as he is in our changing, heterogeneous society. If a judge wishes to find out what constitutes a "fair" punishment in the minds of the public, or a deterrence in the minds of potential criminals, at least within the limits permitted by the law for the free exercise of his judgment, he must know the relevant public opinion. It is the main purpose of this study not only to test the above-mentioned hypothesis but also to suggest a method by which judges may ascertain these relevant facts.⁶

Certain secondary hypotheses flow from our theoretical position, and these will also be tested: (1) There is a fairly consistent and stable hierarchy of the seriousness of crimes in the minds of most individuals. (2) People vary in their perceptions of the seriousness of crimes according to their relevant background characteristics. (3) Punishments favored for criminals with different social characteristics—social class and sex, for example—vary according to the crime and its cultural significance for the class and the sex. Some people are willing to be deliberately nonequalitarian in their assignment of punishments to criminals of the different classes and the two sexes, and the social characteristics of these nonequalitarian "judges" are related to the characteristics of the offender. (4) There is a fairly consistent psychological equivalency for logi-

⁵ For a study and discussion of variations among judges in sentencing behavior see F. J. Gaudet, G. S. Harris, and C. W. St. John, "Individual Differences in the Sentencing Tendencies of Judges," *Journal of Criminal Law and Criminology*, XXIII (January-February, 1933), 811-18; F. J. Gaudet, "The Sentencing Behavior of the Judge," *Encyclopedia of Criminology* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1949), pp. 449-61.

⁶ This study does not take into consideration all aspects of the apprehension and punishment of criminals. It is, for example, very important that the police often fail to arrest a criminal, for one reason or another, and that public prosecutors sometimes fail to bring an apprehended suspect to trial. Our study is concerned only with that part of the process in which a judge assigns a penalty to a convicted offender. Even more narrowly, we are concerned with the retributive and deterrent effects of this penalty; and, since sometimes neither a part of the public nor potential criminals ever learn of the penalties assigned by judges, our findings have no relevance in those cases. We are concerned with "public" reactions to crimes and punishments, and these are of considerable importance in many instances.

cally noncomparable punishments in the minds of people. While our sample is neither large enough nor representative enough to give an adequate test to these hypotheses, our data tend to support them, and our methods can be extended to more adequate samples.

subjects, as on the right-hand side of Table 1. We certainly do not claim that our subjects react to every actual case of crime as they do to the relevant one-sentence description; in fact, we shall present evidence to the contrary. But, if our hypotheses are verified for the abstract description, they would

TABLE 1
CRIMINAL OFFENSES STUDIED

Code Letter in Our Study	California Penal Code No.	Offense	Punishment Permitted by Law (Prison Years)	Descriptions Presented to Subject
A.....	390	Child-beating	0-2 (or J)*	Father has seriously beaten four-year-old child
B.....	930	Bigamy	0-10	Subject has married a second time while knowing that his first wife is alive and undivorced
C.....	013	Bribing a witness	0-5	Subject bribed a state's witness to the crime of a friend while the friend was on trial
D.....	320	Assault with deadly weapon	0-10 (or J)	Subject planned and deliberately assaulted with a knife a man he hated; victim was cut a little but not seriously
E.....	570	Receiving stolen property	0-5 (or J)	Subject bought stolen property worth \$1,000, knowing it was stolen
F.....	581	Fictitious checks	0-14 (or J)	Subject signed check for \$1,000 with another's name and cashed it
G.....	924	Burning uninsured property	1-3	Subject deliberately set fire to fur coat, worth \$1,000, of woman he hated
H.....	016	Bringing narcotics or liquor into prison	0-5	Subject visits friend in prison and brings him some narcotics, since friend is a drug addict
I.....	440	Attempted burglary, second degree	0-7½	Subject caught in stranger's home, attempting burglary
J.....	489	Grand theft	0-10 (or J)	Subject caught running away with wallet, containing \$1,000, taken from pocket of well-to-do man
K.....	841	Driving while drunk	1-5 (or J)	Auto driver picked up for driving while drunk (policeman saw him weaving a little from side to side and stopped subject to investigate)
L.....	077	Injuring telephone or electric lines	0-5	Subject deliberately cut telephone wires to neighbor's house
M.....	812	Unlawful manufacture, sale, or possession of weapon	1-5	Subject picked up carrying a pistol without a license

* J = Jail.

Our procedure was to select a group of offenses for which the penal code specifies approximately the same minimum and maximum punishments.⁷ For each of the thirteen offenses selected, which might be considered as coming under the rubric of minor felonies, a one-sentence description of a crime of this type was presented to our

⁷ We used the penal code of California, since we had ready access to a list of punishments assigned to each male convict in that state during a recent time period.

surely be verified for the concrete cases. These descriptions will hereafter be referred to by their code letters, as was done on the questionnaires given to the subjects. All possible pairs of code letters (seventy-eight pairs in all)⁸ were listed on one page of the

⁸ Actually two of the pairs were presented twice, to check consistency of response, so that there were eighty pairs in all. Consistency of response will be discussed in another paper. When carefully analyzed, consistency of response appeared to be very high.

questionnaire, along with the preceding descriptions and the following instructions:

The following are brief descriptions of persons brought before a judge for the indicated criminal behavior. In each case, the evidence is certain that the offender committed the crime and is guilty. In each case, this was the first instance that the offender was brought into the criminal court, and the first time—as far as is known—that the offender has committed such a serious crime. In each case, the offender is a man about thirty years of age, of American birth, white race, who has been employed fairly steadily as a semiskilled worker in a manufacturing plant. He has a small savings account and has paid only a small amount down on his house.

Pretend you are the judge, and you have to decide on the seriousness of the crime. The law allows a broad range of punishment for all the crimes under consideration, simply setting the *maximum* punishment at five years' imprisonment (with the minimum being no punishment at all). Notice that the crimes are lettered *A, B, C*, etc. Below the list of crimes are *pairs* of letters, which refer to the two corresponding crimes indicated in the list. Your job is to indicate which of the two crimes you think is the more serious one by circling the letter in *each* pair referring to the more serious crime.

Even if you are not sure, circle one letter in each pair according to your guess at the moment. Don't ignore any pair.

The subjects whose opinions were studied are not, in any sense, to be considered as representative of all Americans; they were students taking courses in introductory sociology and social psychology at the University of Minnesota in the spring of 1953. The limitations imposed by the sample on our conclusions should be obvious.

Our purpose was to scale the selected offenses according to their perceived seriousness,⁹ and for this purpose the Thurstone scaling procedure based on the principle of equal-appearing intervals seemed most appropriate.¹⁰ Thurstone claims that a distance of one unit at one position on this scale has the same psychological meaning as one unit at any other position on the scale, even though the zero point is arbitrary. Figure 1 shows several scales of the serious-

ness of the thirteen crimes for the several groups of students studied. There is a remarkable consistency in the rank order of seriousness accorded to the thirteen offenses among the three groups of students studied and between the two occasions (two months apart) at which the first group was studied. The scatter of scale scores is smaller on the second occasion, but the relative positions of the offenses remains fairly stable. A comparison of this rank order with the punishments permitted by law (see Table 1) shows that there is no correlation between them.

If we think of the law as representing an older cultural evaluation and the subjects' judgments a contemporary evaluation, we find several concrete instances of social changes in this comparison. For example, "child-beating by father" is given the lowest punishment by law, among the thirteen crimes (Table 1) but the highest evaluation by our subjects (Fig. 1). This undoubtedly reflects the historical development of a conception of "children's rights" and of a general heightening in the cultural evaluation of children. If this trend continues, it will probably evaluate in public pressure to raise the punishment for severe beating of children by parents (perhaps when some flagrant case catches public attention). Such a development has already occurred for the crime of kidnaping. The existence of a penal code providing a relatively low punishment for child-beating, when public opinion now regards this as serious, could be re-

⁹ After our data were collected, we learned that Professor Torgny Segerstedt of the University of Uppsala, Sweden, had earlier done a study of the seriousness of crimes using paired comparisons. The crimes selected for study and the procedure of analysis are not the same in the two studies, unfortunately, so that cross-cultural comparison is not possible (Torgny T. Segerstedt, in co-operation with Georg Karlsson and Bengt G. Rundblad, "A Research into the General Sense of Justice," *Theoria* XV, Parts I-III [1949], 323-38).

¹⁰ L. L. Thurstone, "The Method of Paired Comparisons for Social Values," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XXI (1927), 384-400; "An Experimental Study of Nationality Preferences," *Journal of General Psychology*, I (1928), 405-25.

garded as an instance of "cultural lag." In making this observation, we do not wish to imply that we think the cultural lag should be overcome: it may be that a low punishment for child-beating is best in terms of other values. We merely point out two im-

tracts public attention, a formation of public opinion that will strongly favor the raising of the punishment for child-beating.

The question may be raised as to whether the judgment of the seriousness of the crime is affected by our particular description of

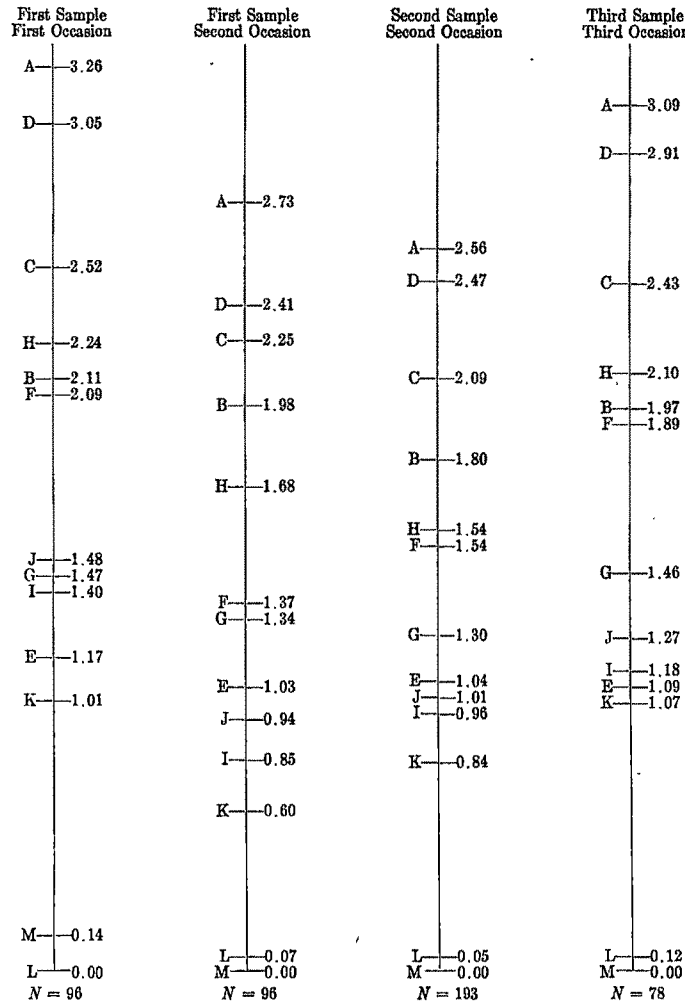


FIG. 1.—Scale values of seriousness of thirteen crimes

plications of this cultural lag: (1) If a judge or anyone else thinks that the punishment currently provided in law for child-beating is generally considered to be a proper retribution or deterrent, he is mistaken. (2) There is likely to develop, at some future time when some flagrant case of this crime

the offender. To answer this partially, we varied the description of the criminal somewhat. Whereas the first form of the questionnaire—as noted—described the criminal as a "semiskilled worker in a manufacturing plant," two other forms were made to read as follows:

[Form II:] A store manager, with an income of about \$7,000 a year. He has paid off for his house completely and has a small savings account on top of that.

[Form III:] A manager of a big manufacturing plant. His income is \$20,000 a year, and he has a substantial savings account as well as having his home completely paid for.

Other parts of the instructions were identical. On the third occasion at which the questionnaire was administered, the three forms were interleaved and distributed to

fenses, burglary appears somewhat less reprehensible when committed by a workman than when committed by a store manager, while bigamy and bringing narcotics to a friend in prison are apparently perceived as less serious when committed by an upper-class person. Middle-income store managers who bribe a witness, forge a check, or drive while drunk are considered more blameworthy than upper-income plant managers who do these things. On the other hand, assault with a deadly weapon is con-

TABLE 2
ORDER OF SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES ACCORDING TO STATUS OF OFFENDER

SERIOUSNESS OF OFFENSES WHEN OFFENDER IS DESCRIBED AS:							AVERAGE ACTUAL PUNISH- MENTS METED OUT TO PRISONERS AT CALIFORNIA INSTITUTION FOR MEN (CHINO)		
Offenses in Order*	Skilled Worker	Store Manager		Plant Manager		Offenses in Order	As- signed Months in Prison	No. of Cases	
	Scale Scores	Offenses in Order	Scale Scores	Offenses in Order	Scale Scores				
Child-beating	A 3.09	A	2.93	D	3.22	L	29.0	(1)	
Assault with deadly weapon	D 2.91	D	2.74	A	2.95	I	27.5	(4)	
Bribing a witness	C 2.43	C	2.53	C	2.26	D	27.5	(39)	
Bringing narcotics into prison	H 2.10	F	1.99	F	1.77	J	24.2	(99)	
Bigamy	B 1.97	B	1.93	H	1.68	H	24.0	(1)	
Forgery	F 1.89	H	1.93	B	1.44	F	23.8	(42)	
Arson	G 1.46	J	1.47	I	1.39	K	21.0	(2)	
Grand theft	J 1.27	G	1.41	J	1.32	E	20.6	(7)	
Attempted burglary	I 1.18	I	1.33	G	1.26	M	20.0	(3)	
Receiving stolen property	E 1.09	K	1.23	K	0.93	G	18.7	(3)	
Drunken driving	K 1.07	E	1.05	E	0.92	C	18.0	(1)	
Injuring electric lines	L 0.12	L	0.09	M	0.26	B	16.3	(3)	
Unlawful possession of deadly weapon	M 0.00	M	0.00	L	0.00	A	16.0	(1)	
No. of cases	(78)		(78)		(84)				

* In this and in subsequent tables the crimes are described in abbreviated phrases. For the way in which they were presented to the subjects see the right-hand column of Table 1.

students as they were seated in an order of their own choosing. By this means the three forms were filled out by equivalent groups of students.¹¹ The differences in average scale scores between the three forms are small enough to have occurred by chance alone (see Table 2). The differences in scale scores for a few crimes, however, have a suggestive interest. Relative to the other of-

¹¹ The order in which the pairs of code letters were listed on the three forms was also varied, and the students were told that the questionnaires were different, so that students sitting next to each other could not copy from one another.

considered to be a less serious crime when committed by a store manager than by a plant manager.

Table 2 also shows that there is no positive relation between the severity of punishments actually accorded to prisoners at a major state prison and the judgments we obtained concerning the seriousness of the crimes for which these criminals were punished.¹² If anything, there is a negative rela-

¹² The ratings were for first offenses, but the actual punishments were for all offenses. A good proportion of the cases coming before the criminal courts are those of recidivists, and these draw higher

tionship—indicating that some of the crimes about which people get fairly emotional, like child-beating and bigamy, are (relatively) not dealt with harshly by the courts. Among the thirteen crimes we studied, only assault with a deadly weapon stands high in terms both of our subjects' estimates and the courts' actual assignment of penalties. (Also it may be noted that arson is dealt with relatively lightly by the courts and is regarded as relatively minor—among our thirteen crimes—by our subjects.) Comparing the actual punishments listed in Table 2 with the punishments permitted in law listed in Table 1, we also note a lack of relationship. This may be simply an artifact of the limited list to crimes we chose to study, but it offers the hypothesis for future study that the trend of judicial decisions concerning punishment has moved away from the older common law or from the intent of the original legislators but not in quite the same direction that public opinion has moved.

People with different patterns of life-experiences are likely to make different judgments concerning the seriousness of crimes and the punishments that should be assigned for the violation of certain laws. Neither students of law nor students of society are concerned with all the individual variations, but they should be concerned with variations in judgment among important segments of the population. The deterrence and retribution effects of a given sentence might then be assumed to be different for these different segments of the population. Also, judges come from these different segments of the population, and their assignments of punishment can be expected to reflect the relevant values of their respective groups. Our study, it must be pointed out again, is not based on repre-

punishments than do first offenders. Our study would have been better had we been able to single out the first offenders only. But, if we assume that the rate or recidivism does not differ too much among the various crimes studied, our comparison is valid, since we are concerned not with absolute levels of punishment but with the relative hierarchy of punishments among the thirteen crimes.

sentative samples of the population, but it can be used to give an idea of the kinds of variations in judgments that are to be found among various categories of the American population. Here we examine only the variations in sex groups, socioeconomic classes, and different size-of-community backgrounds, but more important variations may be found in religious backgrounds, age groups, and other categories not tapped in this study.

The convicted offender to whom our subjects were asked to assign punishments is a man; his socioeconomic status level is here held constant by combining judgments on offenders of all the three occupational levels studied; his rural-urban background is not specified. The punishments were to be selected from a list containing all possible combinations of prison sentences and fines ranging up to five years in prison and \$5,000 fine (with units being number of years and thousands of dollars in fine). Table 3 shows that women are inclined to assign longer prison sentences than are men for such offenses as child-beating, bigamy, and receiving stolen property and shorter ones for assault with a deadly weapon. As to fines assigned, women judges are inclined to be harsher on offenders convicted of child-beating, bigamy, forgery, and drunken driving but not significantly different from men in regard to the other offenses. Judges with a relatively upper-class background are inclined to assign longer prison sentences than are judges with a relatively lower-class background,¹³ especially for the crimes of child-beating, bribing a witness, and bring-

¹³ "Upper" includes those subjects who checked either "upper upper class," "lower upper class," or "upper middle class" in response to the question, "What socioeconomic class would you say your parents are now in?" "Lower" includes those subjects who checked either "lower middle class," "upper lower class," or "lower lower class." The terms "upper" and "lower" should of course be recognized to be relative. Actually, most of the University of Minnesota students would probably be considered by an outsider to be middle class, and over 90 per cent of them indicated that they were in the "upper middle class" or "lower middle class."

ing narcotics or liquor into prison. It is perhaps somewhat surprising that judges of higher socioeconomic status do not also consistently assign higher fines, but they do so significantly only for the offenses of child-beating, assault with a deadly weapon, and bringing narcotics or liquor into prison. They assign lower fines than do judges of lower socioeconomic background for the offenses of receiving stolen property and unlawful possession of deadly weapons. Judges from rural areas and small towns are in-

clined to assign both longer prison sentences and higher fines for most crimes than are judges from large and medium-sized cities. This is especially true for the offenses of bigamy, arson, and grand theft, as far as prison sentences are concerned, and—in regard to fines—for arson, bringing narcotics or liquor into prison, attempted burglary, grand theft, damaging electric or telephone lines, and unlawful possession of deadly weapons.

Turning now to the question as to what

TABLE 3
DIFFERENCES IN ASSIGNMENT OF PUNISHMENTS, BY SEX, SOCIOECONOMIC CLASS,
AND SIZE-OF-COMMUNITY BACKGROUND OF JUDGES

CODE LETTER	OFFENSES	Males	Females	MEAN PRISON SENTENCES (IN YEARS) ASSIGNED BY:				
				Upper Class	Lower Class	Persons from Communities		
						500,000+	2,500- 500,000	2,500—
A	Child-beating.....	2.4	2.8	2.7	2.3	2.5	2.5	2.6
B	Bigamy.....	1.4	1.8	1.6	1.6	1.4	1.6	2.2
C	Bribing a witness.....	2.8	2.8	3.0	2.5	2.7	3.1	2.8
D	Assault with deadly weapon.....	3.0	2.6	2.9	2.6	2.6	3.1	2.9
E	Receiving stolen prop- erty.....	1.0	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.2	1.0	1.1
F	Forgery.....	2.0	2.0	2.1	1.8	2.0	2.1	1.8
G	Arson.....	1.0	1.1	1.1	0.9	0.9	1.3	1.4
H	Bringing narcotics into prison.....	2.2	2.2	2.4	1.9	2.1	2.4	2.3
I	Attempted burglary....	1.8	1.6	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7	1.7
J	Grand theft.....	1.5	1.5	1.5	1.4	1.4	1.3	2.1
K	Drunken driving.....	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.7	0.6	1.0
L	Injuring electric lines..	0.3	0.3	0.3	0.2	0.2	0.3	0.5
M	Unlawful possession of deadly weapon.....	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.3
	No. of judges.....	(101)	(87)	(119)	(69)	(109)	(49)	(30)

CODE LETTER	OFFENSE	Males	Females	MEAN FINES (IN DOLLARS) ASSIGNED BY:				
				Upper Class	Lower Class	Persons from Communities		
						500,000+	2,500- 500,000	2,500—
A	Child-beating.....	\$2,500	\$2,874	\$2,822	\$2,352	\$2,432	\$2,980	\$2,897
B	Bigamy.....	2,314	3,116	2,735	2,592	2,596	2,714	2,933
C	Bribing a witness.....	3,000	2,954	2,974	3,028	2,789	3,388	3,100
D	Assault with deadly weapon.....	2,406	2,356	2,487	2,203	2,266	2,551	2,533
E	Receiving stolen prop- erty.....	1,950	2,034	1,872	2,183	1,881	2,245	1,967
F	Forgery.....	2,119	2,353	2,222	2,232	2,112	2,612	2,000
G	Arson.....	1,931	2,136	1,975	2,113	1,836	2,224	2,400
H	Bringing narcotics into prison.....	2,158	2,045	2,220	1,915	2,064	1,980	2,467
I	Attempted burglary....	1,396	1,209	1,379	1,197	1,148	1,367	1,833
J	Grand theft.....	1,545	1,494	1,538	1,493	1,376	1,551	2,067
K	Drunken driving.....	1,188	1,402	1,367	1,155	1,220	1,265	1,567
L	Injuring electric lines..	861	885	855	901	734	857	1,400
M	Unlawful possession of deadly weapon.....	891	988	863	1,056	844	939	1,267
	No. of judges.....	(101)	(87)	(119)	(69)	(109)	(49)	(30)

punishment should be assigned to the three criminals whose occupations have different social status, we find that our subjects favor sharply differential punishments. This is true despite the fact—noted in connection with Table 2—that there is a fairly stable hierarchy of the seriousness of crimes in individuals' minds. We proceeded to get information on this matter in the following way: The three equivalent groups of students were asked to act as judges and assign punishments to one of the three convicted offenders, each group working with a different offender having a different occupational status. The differences in punishments assigned, when variations that may be expected by chance alone are subtracted, give us an idea of the differential punishments favored—both consciously and unconsciously—by our subjects for offenders from the different occupational classes. Each group of subjects was also asked to assign punishments to women offenders of the same income level and convicted of the same crimes as the men offenders they were judging.

Table 4 shows, as might be expected, that our subjects advocate that the higher-status plant manager should have to pay a heavier fine than the lower-status skilled worker or the middle-status store manager. An exception occurs in the case of bigamy, where it is advocated that the plant manager pay no more fine than the store manager and not much more than the worker. What is perhaps of greater interest is that the subjects favor a heavier prison sentence for the guilty plant manager than for the other two men for all crimes but the two in which businessmen possibly have more opportunity to engage than do workers—buying stolen property and passing fraudulent checks. Comparing the sentences given by our student judges to the worker and the middle-income store manager, we find that the manager would have to pay heavier fines (except for the least serious crimes of carrying a pistol without a license and cutting telephone wires). On the other hand, he is accorded the same or lower

prison sentences for all crimes but burglary and cutting telephone wires.

The questions about the punishment of women offenders are on the same questionnaires as those about the punishment of men offenders of the same social status. Thus each student is asked whether or not equivalent men and women offenders should be accorded the same punishment. For the lower-income offenders there is little difference between the jail sentences accorded to men and women, but our subjects would fine the lower-income men more heavily than they would the women. For the middle- and upper-income offenders there is even less difference in prison sentences accorded men and women, but the fines remain heavier for men (except for the upper-income offenders who commit the less serious crimes). The offenses for which our subjects would consistently punish women more lightly than men are child-beating, passing fraudulent checks, and bringing narcotics to a friend in prison. The data presented in Table 4 show a tendency to assign differential punishments to different classes of offenders. This does not of itself indicate nonequalitarianism, since different (although statistically equivalent) groups of judges assigned the punishments. If we take nonequalitarianism to be deliberate, the measurement of nonequalitarian judgments must involve using the same judges to assign punishments to the different classes of offenders. This we did on our first study, and the data showing the nonequalitarian character of the judgments made are presented in Tables 5 and 6. Since the number of cases is small in this part of the analysis, not much reliability can be assigned to the findings; but the method of analysis has wide applicability.

Our subjects were much more willing to be deliberately nonequalitarian regarding fines than regarding prison sentences and more willing to be deliberately nonequalitarian concerning the high-income plant manager than concerning the middle-income store manager or the woman offender. There was no significant or consistent differentiation between the sexes in our subjects'

TABLE 4
PUNISHMENTS ASSIGNED TO MEN AND WOMEN OFFENDERS CONVICTED OF THIRTEEN SELECTED CRIMES
AVERAGE PUNISHMENT ADVOCATED FOR INDICATED OFFENSE WHEN OFFENDER IS:

CODE LETTER	OFFENSE	Skilled Worker		Store Manager		Plant Manager		Woman with Low Income		Woman with Middle-sized Income		Woman with High Income	
		Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)	Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)	Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)	Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)	Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)	Years in Prison	Fine (in Dollars)
A	Child-beating.....	2.7	\$2,048	2.3	\$2,581	2.8	\$3,224	2.5	\$1,635	2.0	\$2,065	2.6	\$3,000
B	Bigamy.....	1.5	2,556	1.5	2,726	1.8	2,701	1.7	1,952	1.7	2,516	1.9	2,463
C	Bribing a witness...	2.7	2,698	2.6	3,097	2.9	3,313	2.6	2,286	2.7	2,935	2.8	3,090
D	Assault with deadly weapon.....	2.6	1,905	2.6	2,500	3.1	2,731	2.5	1,476	2.5	2,113	3.3	2,701
E	Receiving stolen property.....	1.2	1,540	1.0	2,000	0.9	2,493	1.2	1,317	1.1	1,742	1.0	2,358
F	Forgery.....	2.0	1,873	2.0	2,226	1.9	2,567	1.9	1,460	1.8	2,097	1.7	2,478
G	Arson.....	1.0	1,540	1.0	2,226	1.1	2,269	1.0	1,302	1.1	1,968	1.3	2,239
H	Bringing narcotics into prison.....	2.2	1,730	2.0	2,226	2.3	2,358	2.1	1,540	2.0	2,129	2.1	2,313
I	Attempted burglary	1.5	1,048	1.6	1,226	1.9	1,612	1.5	794	1.6	1,242	1.9	1,567
J	Grand theft.....	1.5	1,253	1.3	1,532	1.7	1,776	1.3	1,048	1.3	1,516	1.7	1,537
K	Drunken driving...	0.7	952	0.5	1,323	0.9	1,537	0.7	952	0.6	1,097	1.0	1,672
L	Injuring electric lines	0.3	825	0.4	694	0.3	1,015	0.3	651	0.4	694	0.2	1,075
M	Unlawful possession of deadly weapon.	0.3	889	0.3	742	0.6	1,179	0.3	857	0.4	742	0.6	1,328

tendency to be nonequalitarian. There was, however, a consistent tendency for students who come from small towns and rural areas to be slightly more nonequalitarian than other students (especially those from small cities). The class difference among our subjects shows an interesting pattern: Those

be nonequalitarian regarding prison sentences, although the class difference here is not statistically significant even if consistent.

Table 6 shows the arithmetic means of all deliberately nonequalitarian punishments assigned by different segments of our

TABLE 5
TENDENCY TO ASSIGN UNEQUAL PUNISHMENTS TO FOUR OFFENDERS

		PERCENTAGE NONEQUALITARIAN IN ASSIGNING PUNISHMENTS:					
		Between Store Man- ager and Skilled Worker		Between Plant Man- ager and Skilled Worker		Between Woman and Skilled Worker	
		Regard- ing Prison Sen- tences	Regard- ing Fines	Regard- ing Prison Sen- tences	Regard- ing Fines	Regard- ing Prison Sen- tences	Regard- ing Fines
AMONG THE FOLLOW- ING GROUPS OF SUBJECTS:	No. OF CASES						
<i>By sex:</i>							
Males.....	(22)	16.7	44.5	24.1	52.7	17.8	39.4
Female.....	(69)	16.3	45.6	21.4	57.0	22.4	41.0
<i>By size of community:</i>							
Over 500,000.	(54)	17.3	42.7	22.3	54.2	23.0	41.2
2,500-500,000....	(22)	14.7	44.8	18.9	52.5	15.7	33.2
Under 2,500.....	(18)	17.5	50.4	24.3	64.1	23.1	47.4
<i>By socioeconomic class:</i>							
Upper.....	(71)	16.4	42.0	22.1	53.1	21.6	37.5
Lower.....	(20)	15.8	52.7	17.8	62.6	18.6	50.4

TABLE 6
DIRECTIONS OF INEQUALITY IN ASSIGNING PUNISHMENTS

		Between Store Manager and Skilled Worker*		Between Plant Manager and Skilled Worker*		Between Woman and Skilled Worker*	
AMONG THE FOLLOWING GROUPS OF SUBJECTS:	No. OF CASES	In Years		In Years		In Years	
		of Prison	In Fines	of Prison	In Fines	of Prison	In Fines
<i>By sex:</i>							
Male.....	(22)	— .04	— \$523	— .15	— \$1,005	— .06	— \$575
Female.....	(69)	.00	— 682	— .05	— 1,546	+ .08	— 510
<i>By size of community:</i>							
Over 500,000.....	(54)	— .01	— 564	— .08	— 1,327	+ .09	— 515
2,500-500,000.....	(22)	— .06	— 650	— .17	— 1,580	— .02	— 297
Under 2,500.....	(18)	+ .06	— 603	.00	— 1,695	+ .18	— 568
<i>By socioeconomic class:</i>							
Upper.....	(71)	— .03	— 597	— .10	— 1,396	+ .09	— 435
Lower.....	(20)	+ .09	— 642	.00	— 1,830	+ .09	— 268

* A minus sign means that the skilled worker would be given a lower punishment, by the indicated amount, than the other three offenders. A plus sign means that the skilled worker would be given a higher punishment, by the indicated amount, than the other three offenders.

who come from lower-class families were significantly more willing to be nonequalitarian regarding fines than those who came from upper-class families. But the upper-class students were slightly more willing to

¹⁴ This is deliberately assigned differentially, since all subjects were asked to assign punishments to all four offenders.

first sample. The average difference assigned¹⁴ to any two of the offenders is not large; at the maximum it amounted to about two months.¹⁵ The men students tended to

¹⁵ Included in the base for calculating the average are the equalitarians as well as the nonequalitarians. The former are a majority, as may be seen in Table 5, and so help to keep the difference low.

assign lower jail sentences to the skilled worker than did the female students. The women students were more inclined to be light on the woman offender. Students with relatively lower-class background were not inclined to give lower prison sentences to the skilled worker offender. As regards money fines, all groups of subjects would require less of the skilled worker offender than of the three offenders, especially the high-income offender. Those subjects who are women from rural communities and from lower-income families are more likely to make class distinctions in assigning fines.

Within the limits set by law, judges assign various combinations of noncomparable punishments for many crimes. When ordering such a punishment as "thirty days or \$200 fine," there must exist in the minds of the judges some idea that these two punishments are approximately equivalent (assuming that the law gives them a considerable range to choose from, as it usually does).¹⁶ To consider noncomparable rewards or deprivations as equivalent logically involves a value premise. In a heterogeneous society such as ours value premises of this sort vary from one individual to another and from one time to another. Even if a value judgment of this sort has become traditional, and a judge simply follows tradition in offering a given choice of noncomparable punishments, he is not offering a realistic alternative, since values change from time to time. An obvious example arises from a consideration of the consequences of the recent inflation of prices: "thirty days or \$200 fine" meant something quite different in 1940 from what it means in 1955. It is equally obvious that the punishment means something quite different to a

¹⁶ There are complications in real cases, of course. For example, the law in many states provides that fines may be worked off in jail at a certain rate per day. To a man without means the judge will sometimes use the device of fine rather than sentence of time to effect a jail term of a certain length. Then the offender serves for nonpayment of fine rather than for the offense, which looks less serious on the record. In such cases the judge has in mind the number of days in jail a given fine involves rather than the equivalency of fines and jail sentences.

rich offender than it does to a penniless one.

To help the judge formulate an equivalency of noncomparable punishments for an offender of a given income that seems fair to the general public at a given time, the following method was developed. A list of punishments was formed, consisting of all possible combinations of prison sentences and fines up to five years and \$5,000, in units of one year and \$1,000. These were presented in pairs to our subjects, who were told to mark the more severe of the pair, as applied to the previously described "skilled worker" offender. All possible pairs were listed, except for those the investigator felt were completely and obviously weighted. By this means a scale of the seriousness of these combinations of punishments was formed, using the Thurstone method,¹⁷ much like the previous scales of the seriousness of crimes.

The ordering of scale scores was found to be always logical, in the sense that a logically more severe punishment is always rated as more severe by the subjects. On the other hand, certain punishments are logically noncomparable except by means of a scaling procedure such as we have used. For example, four years in prison and \$5,000 fine is not logically comparable to five years in prison and \$2,000 fine, but our scale shows that our subjects consider the latter punishment as slightly less severe than the former for an offender who is a skilled worker. These noncomparable punishments appear at close intervals throughout the scale and permit us to estimate what the dollar equivalent of a year in prison is—that is, in the minds of our subjects when they are assuming that the offender is a skilled worker. The method of interpolation was used. A given distance between scale scores at a certain point on the scale was used to interpolate, say, between \$2,000 and \$3,000 when there was a shift of one year between them. Interpolating for sixteen different noncom-

¹⁷ Where the investigator has assumed that one pair was obviously more severe than the other, that one was arbitrarily given 99 per cent of the assumed choices in the calculations.

parable sets of punishments along the scale gave dollar equivalents for one year in prison ranging from \$2,102 to \$2,821, with an arithmetic mean of \$2,527. There was no trend in the dollar equivalent as successively higher parts of the scale are examined. One can therefore say that, in the range of punishments up to five years in prison and \$5,000 fine, a year in prison is reckoned by our subjects as approximately equivalent to a fine of \$2,500. This, incidentally, is probably very close to their guess as to the yearly earnings of a skilled worker.

SUMMARY

This study applies a point of view and research techniques developed in social psychology to certain problems imposed on judges and lawyers by developments in contemporary Western civilization. The study tests some hypotheses connected with the fact that the law of punishment for crimes was developed in an earlier, more integrated society and does not always reflect contemporary diversified values. The main research instrument was a questionnaire which asked the subjects to answer as if they were judges in criminal cases. The study is merely a pilot, as the sample consisted of college students, rather than a representative group of citizens. But the techniques used and some of the findings should nevertheless be of interest to students of law and criminology.

1. There is a significant discrepancy among the law, the application of the law, and popular judgment as to how the law should be applied in assigning punishments for thirteen selected minor felonies. For example, the crime of severe beating of a child by a father is regarded as much more serious, relatively speaking, by public opinion than it is by law. This is interpreted as a "cultural lag" in the law as compared to popular conceptions of the rights of children.

2. There is, at the present time, a fairly consistent and stable hierarchy of the seriousness of crimes in the minds of most individuals. Yet, in our heterogeneous society, the background characteristics of judges are related to the judgments they make in assigning punishments for various offenses, at least as far as sex, socioeconomic status, and size-of-community characteristics are concerned. As might be predicted from sociological theory, there are certain specific relationships between an individual's personal characteristics and the punishments he would assign to offenders with similar or complementary characteristics. For example, persons from rural areas are inclined to assign harsher punishments for crimes which generally occur more frequently in urban areas, and they are especially inclined to deal harshly with those convicted of arson or of cutting electric or telephone lines—crimes which perhaps are of greater significance in rural areas than in urban ones.

3. Punishments favored for criminals of different social classes and for the two sexes vary according to the crime and its cultural meaning in relation to class and sex. Our subjects were much more willing to be deliberately nonequalitarian in assignment of fines than in assignment of prison sentences and more deliberately nonequalitarian in punishing the upper-class offender than in punishing the middle-class, lower-class, or women offenders.

4. In assigning prison sentences and fines to a convicted offender whose occupation is that of skilled worker, the subjects made a mental equivalency of one year in prison and a fine of about \$2,500. The procedure outlined in measuring this equivalency can be used in comparing any two scales which are logically noncomparable.

UNIVERSITY OF MINNESOTA
AND
WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

BELL'S SOCIAL AREA ANALYSIS

August 8, 1955

To the Editor:

The July, 1955, issue of the *American Journal of Sociology* carried a review by Otis Dudley Duncan of Eshref Shevky's and my monograph, *Social Area Analysis*. Some of the points raised by Professor Duncan are valid criticisms recognized by the authors, some constitute overstatements or misrepresentations, and some substitute a purely a priori judgment for the requisite empirical test of the social area typology presented in the volume. Although it is impossible here to comment on all of Duncan's remarks, a discussion of some of his points follows:

1. As Duncan says, our contention that occupation is the key variable in the index of social rank is not reflected in the differential weighing of the two components of the index. Factor analyses of the 1940 tract data both for the Los Angeles area and for the San Francisco Bay region supported the notion that the occupation component should be weighted somewhat more than the education component, although the relative weighting of the two components was slightly different in each case. It seemed reasonable to us not to provide for differential weighting of the two components at this stage in the development of the typology but rather to wait until such weights could be assigned on the basis of a statistical analysis of a much larger sample of urban areas.

2. We claim that the social area typology allows a parsimonious description of certain aspects of the social structure of a city and that it may be used as a frame for the conduct of other types of research. Our focus is admittedly on broad regularities and generalities. Deviant case analysis or the analysis of "status disequilibrium" between the index components (e.g., between occupation and education) is a different order of analy-

sis. We have asked, "What is common to occupation and education?" Others might ask, "What is specific to occupation and what is specific to education?" I fail to see how attempting to answer one of these questions "precludes" the asking of the other. In fact, the use of factor analysis invites the simultaneous consideration of both.

3. With reference to the segregation measures, Duncan says: "They rest, in part, on an untenable assumption that an individual is equally likely to 'next meet' each of the other individuals residing in his census tract—an assumption the authors appear to discard when they state that 'the social area . . . is not bounded by . . . implications concerning the degree of interaction between persons in the local community.'" There are two points which deserve further clarification here. First, there are three segregation measures presented, and each is based upon a normalized probable interaction measure. For example, P^* measures the probability of a member of one nationality or racial group next meeting another member of his group. As I have pointed out before (*Social Forces*, XXXII, 357-64), it seems reasonable to assume that deviations from random interaction in a census tract would be in the direction of greater interaction between members of the same ethnic group than between members of different groups. This assumption is not at all untenable and allows the straightforward interpretation of P^* as a measure of the *minimum* interaction between members of the same group. Similar interpretations can be given for the other segregation measures.

Second, Duncan seems to have missed completely the definition of a social area. An assumption concerning the interaction of persons within a census tract says nothing about the interaction of persons within a social area. A social area is composed of census tracts which have similar social charac-

teristics, but they do not necessarily have to be geographically continuous and contiguous. That is, census tracts are grouped into social areas on the basis of their nearness in *social* space, not on the basis of their nearness in *geographic* space. The social space is defined by three dimensions: social rank, urbanization, and segregation. In fact, there are census tracts in San Francisco and others in Oakland which are in the same *social* area; further, there are tracts in New York, Chicago, and other cities which would be grouped together in the same social area. The assumption of social interaction is definitely not necessary for the definition of the social areas, since social areas can contain tracts widely removed from one another in geographic space.

4. Duncan seems to imply a criticism when he says that "the 'index of isolation' is, in fact, merely a new name and formula for a well-known statistic—the correlation ratio." I have been under the impression that it was good practice to adapt "well-known statistics" to different empirical and theoretical contexts by providing new interpretations. Duncan seems to subscribe to this principle in his own work (see his indexes of low-rent concentration, of centralization, and of urbanization which are formally identical [*American Journal of Sociology*, LX, 495]) but objects to it in ours.

5. Duncan has exaggerated the facts when he says that "the authors do not even agree between themselves on what to call their 'constructs.'" There is no disagreement between Professor Shevky and myself on the *concept* of social rank and the *concept* of segregation, although I have suggested alternative names for the indexes. Whatever disagreement there is with respect to these two indexes is purely semantic. The alternative terms for the index of urbanization (or index of family status) represent a more fundamental difference of opinion, and I had hoped that Duncan would have contributed something to the clarification of this difference in his review.

6. The review continues to say that the notion of social area "is a purely classifica-

tory concept" and that the analysis "is only a description of the distributions of the indexes." I am tempted to challenge Duncan's minimization of the role of classification in scientific procedure, but there is not sufficient space here for such a discussion. It should be noted, however, that our purpose in *Social Area Analysis* was "to illustrate the application of the procedures in a comparative framework and to demonstrate just exactly *what type of information the typology alone yields*." (Italics mine.) Thus, the analysis is intentionally based to a large extent on the distributions of the indexes, although age, sex, and ethnic distributions by social area are also shown, contrary to Duncan's assertion. Also, we include a brief chapter which is devoted to a discussion of the possible analytic utility of the typology for a variety of research problems.

In conclusion, some of Duncan's statements are arbitrary judgments which are not supported by any evidence (e.g., his statement that we have failed to provide an improved model for research on urban-area structure). It is obvious that isolated elements of the typology have been employed in previous research. The aim of *Social Area Analysis* is to further cumulative research by means of a systematic integration of these variables. It will probably be some years before the truth of such sweeping judgments as Duncan makes can be determined, at least until the utility of the typology has been tested in a variety of research situations. As Duncan correctly reported, Professor Shevky and I hope that others will test, apply, and criticize the social area typology; in addition, we hope that criticism in the future will be based on something more than a priori judgments.

WENDELL BELL

Northwestern University

August 19, 1955

To the Editor:

I think my review and Bell's letter state clearly enough a number of issues that con-

front research workers contemplating use of "social area analysis." My "a priori judgment" is that this methodology does not represent an advance in urban research. (A reviewer's task is to make a judgment, not to present evidence.) However, I doubt that my review will make scholars less attentive to any future evidence on the validity and utility of the area typology.

The only point about my position that needs clarification is this: There is no objection to the practice of adapting well-known statistics "to different empirical and theoretical contexts by providing new interpretations." But the "index of isolation" was not presented as a new interpretation of the cor-

relation ratio, and, since the authors did not make the point, I thought it likely that many readers would miss the fact that the index is algebraically identical with the correlation ratio (squared). For the record, the correlation ratio was proposed as a "segregation index" by Jahn, Schmid, and Schrag in 1947, as a measure of "clustering by area" by Robinson in 1950, and as an index of "ecological differentiation" by Kish in 1952. Bell derives the index in a different way from the earlier writers, but I fail to see that the way in which he uses it is distinctive.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

NEWS AND NOTES

American Society of Group Psychotherapy and Psychodrama.—The Mid-Annual Meeting, Eastern and Michigan Section, will take place at the Moreno Institute, 101 Park Avenue, New York City, on December 9 and 10. For further information write: Program Chairman, Dr. Lewis Yablonsky, 90 Morningside Drive, New York 27, New York.

New officers: president-elect, Dr. Jules Masserman, Chicago; secretary-treasurer, Dr. Howard Newburger, New York.

Associates for International Research, Inc.—A professional research and consultation organization located in Cambridge, Massachusetts, has undertaken a survey of the social, political, and economic structure of several eastern European countries. Among the sociologists who have participated in the interdisciplinary group doing this research are Professor Irwin T. Sanders of the University of Kentucky, Dr. Mark G. Field of the Russian Research Center, Harvard University, and Leonard E. Griswold, also of the University of Kentucky.

Brooklyn College.—Rex D. Hopper returned from a sabbatical leave during which he traveled around the world and carried on research and writing in Mexico. He will be acting departmental chairman in 1955-56 during the sabbatical leave of Alfred McClung Lee, chairman. Dr. Lee will devote his fifteen-month sabbatical leave to travel, research, and writing in the United Kingdom and in this country.

LeRoy Bowman is taking a sabbatical leave for the year 1955-56 to complete his book on urban community organization. He also has been appointed by Governor Harriman as a member of a state-wide citizen's committee on problems of the aged.

Walter Dyk, with the aid of a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for the year 1955-56, will prepare Navaho field material for publication.

University of Chicago.—Anselm Strauss will be out of residence during the fall and winter

quarters. He will be at the University of Frankfurt, Germany, from November until March (the Frankfurt-Chicago program) doing research on German cities.

Peter M. Blau's *The Dynamics of Bureaucracy* has recently been published by the University of Chicago Press.

Elihu Katz participated as a consultant on mass media research at the First National Agricultural Television Clinic held at the University of Missouri, September 1-4, 1955, sponsored by the National Project in Agricultural Communications.

Donald R. Cressey, formerly of the department of sociology, University of California, Los Angeles, joined the staff of the Center for Education and Research in Correctional Work in July, 1955. During his sabbatical leave for the academic year 1955-56, Dr. Cressey will be carrying on research in problems of correctional organization and treatment at the Wisconsin State Prison and Reformatory.

Father Stanislaus de Lestapis, S.J., of the Institut Social in Paris, is to be a visiting research associate at the Family Study Center during 1955-56.

Identity and Interpersonal Competence: A New Direction in Family Research, by Nelson N. Foote and Leonard S. Cottrell, was published by the University of Chicago Press in October.

The National Council on Family Relations has moved its headquarters from the Family Study Center to the University of Minnesota.

R. Richard Wohl, associate professor of the social sciences, has received a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation for "A Social History of Kansas City." This project will be carried on in collaboration with the Committee on Human Development and Community Studies, Inc., in Kansas City.

Educational Testing Service.—President Lewis Webster Jones of Rutgers University was re-elected chairman of the Board of Trustees of Educational Testing Service. Dr. Jones has been a trustee of Educational Testing Service since 1952.

Three new trustees were elected to four-year terms. They are: Henry H. Hill, president of George Peabody College for Teachers, Nashville, Tennessee; Frederick L. Hovde, president of Purdue University; and Wallace Macgregor, treasurer of Climax Molybdenum Company.

Other trustees are: Arthur S. Adams, president of the American Council on Education; Samuel T. Arnold, provost, Brown University; Frank H. Bowles, director, College Entrance Examination Board; Charles W. Cole, president, Amherst College; Donald K. David, former dean of the Graduate School of Business Administration at Harvard University; John W. Gardner, president of the Carnegie Foundation for the Advancement of Teaching; Clark Kerr, chancellor, University of California at Berkeley; Katharine E. McBride, president of Bryn Mawr College; William G. Saltonstall, principal, Phillips Exeter Academy; George D. Stoddard, chairman, directing committee of self-study at New York University; and Benjamin C. Willis, general superintendent of schools, Chicago, Illinois.

University of Florida.—Orlando Fals Borda of Bogotá and Barranquilla, Colombia, fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation, has been appointed assistant director of the Servicio Técnico Agrícola Colombiano-Americano (the "Point-4 Program") in Colombia.

John Van Dyke Saunders has accepted a position as assistant professor of rural sociology at Mississippi State College.

University of Illinois.—Joseph R. Gusfield, formerly of Hobart and William Smith colleges, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in the Division of General Studies and the department of sociology and anthropology. Information regarding Dr. Gusfield was incorrectly reported in our September, 1955, issue.

Bernard Karsh has been appointed assistant professor of sociology in the department and in the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, replacing Ruth Hudson Rosen, who has resigned.

Indiana University.—John H. Mueller, chairman of the department of sociology, has

been granted a three-month leave of absence to lecture and participate in co-operative research in various German universities under the auspices of the Department of State. Karl Schuessler will be acting chairman.

Charles Hobart, who received his Ph.D. degree this fall, has resumed his teaching position at the University of Redlands.

Arthur Klein, graduate student, has taken a teaching position at Indiana State Teachers College.

George Psathas, formerly at Yale University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

Clifford Kirkpatrick is on leave during the fall semester to engage in research on social movements.

Erwin Smigel is on leave for the academic year to work on the sociology of the legal profession.

Alfred Lindesmith has spent the summer in England doing research on opiate addiction, under a grant of the Social Science Research Council.

Frank Westie has received a three-year faculty research fellowship from the Social Science Research Council to pursue a program of research in intergroup relations. He will teach half-time during that period.

Three members of the staff have been engaged in research this summer under Indiana University Graduate School faculty research grants: Melvin DeFleur, to work on mass communication; Frank Westie, on intergroup relations; and John Liell, on community development in Levittown, New York.

John Liell and Albert Cohen have been engaged during the summer in research on the aged in the city of Bloomington.

University of Michigan.—A working conference was held during the last academic year by a dozen investigators from four research centers to pool findings and ideas on research in research organizations. The Institute for Social Research at the University of Michigan acted as host, and expenses were covered by a Ford Foundation grant for the exchange of scholarly knowledge. Participants were: Warren Bennis and Herbert A. Shepard, Massachusetts Institute of Technology; Jean N. MacKenzie, Robert R. Rodgers, and Morris I. Stein, University of Chicago; Howard Baumgartel, Robert C. Davis, Glen Mellinger, Leo Meltzer, and Donald C. Pelz, University of Michigan; and Har-

old Guetzkow and Herbert A. Simon, Carnegie Institute of Technology.

The first three of these centers have been conducting projects on scientific "creativity" or "productivity" or general "performance" in a number of industrial, government, and university laboratories. The Carnegie Institute was invited because of its interest in organizational theory.

An unanticipated outcome was the formation of an informal clearing-house christened IUCCOR: Inter-University Committee on Creativity and Organization in Research. Its immediate function will be to assemble from the respective files an article on age and creativity.

University of New Hampshire.—Dr. Herbert J. Moss, associate professor of sociology and dean of the Graduate School, died in Wakefield, Massachusetts, on June 25, 1955. Dean Moss was on sabbatical leave in Europe when stricken by his last illness. He joined the department in 1946. In 1950 he began to devote most of his time to matters of university administration but continued his association with the sociology department, offering work in the development of sociological thought. Mrs. Moss and three children survive him.

Stuart H. Palmer, who received his doctorate from Yale in June, 1955, has been appointed instructor in sociology, succeeding Arthur E. Prell, who has joined the staff of Washington University, St. Louis.

Oklahoma A. & M. College.—John C. Belcher, associate professor of rural sociology since 1949, has resigned his position to accept a similar one at the University of Georgia, effective September 1, 1955.

Russell Sage Foundation.—The current program of Russell Sage Foundation is primarily concerned with the utilization of social science knowledge in professional practice. To help meet the shortage of trained personnel, the Foundation is offering postdoctoral residencies in operating agencies or professional schools for the purpose of providing qualified sociologists, social psychologists, and anthropologists with specialized training and experience relevant to professional practice in health or welfare. Funds have now been made available for ten such appointments yearly during a three-year period.

Applicants are eligible for consideration for appointment if they (*a*) have received the doctorate or will have completed all requirements for the doctorate in sociology, social psychology, or anthropology before the date on which the requested residency is to begin; (*b*) are not over thirty-five years of age; (*c*) have records which clearly indicate superior ability and promise; and (*d*) are definitely interested in making careers involving behavioral science and professional practice in either health or welfare.

Appointments are made for one year with the possibility of renewal for one additional year depending on satisfactory progress made during the first year. Awards may be made at any time during the year. Stipends range from \$3,500 to \$5,000.

The letter of application should explain in some detail the nature of the candidate's interests in a career of the kind indicated above and of the kind of experience and training desired. The details of the work program and location of the residency requested need not be specified in the letter of application but will be arranged in the case of successful candidates in consultation with the Foundation staff.

A brief biographical statement including the date and place of birth, marital status, educational record, employment experience, and publications should be inclosed. The names and addresses of from three to five persons from whom the Foundation may request letters of reference should be given.

Applications and requests for further information should be addressed to Russell Sage Foundation, 505 Park Avenue, New York 22, New York.

Saint Louis University.—Allan Spitzer, associate professor of sociology, was recently elected fellow of the American Anthropology Society. Dr. Spitzer received a recommendation for fellowship from Robert Redfield of the University of Chicago.

Social Research Inc.—Social Research Inc., 430 North Michigan Avenue, Chicago, announces the promotion of Harriett Bruce Moore to associate director for research and of Sidney J. Levy to director of psychological research. Dr. Lee Rainwater will head a newly created department as director of special studies.

Sociometry.—*Sociometry*, the first journal of Inter-personal Relations, founded by J. L. Moreno in 1937, and the first journal to introduce sociometry, group psychotherapy, role-playing, sociodrama, and psychodrama into scientific literature, will be the official journal of the American Sociological Society, starting with January, 1956.

University of Wisconsin.—David A. Baeris has been elected chairman of the department for 1955–56.

The following new members joined the staff in September: William S. Laughlin, formerly of the University of Oregon, as associate professor of physical anthropology; Robert McGinnis, of Florida State University, as assistant professor of sociology; and Donald W. Olmsted, of the University of Minnesota, and Louis H. Orzack, of the University of Washington, as instructors in sociology.

Milton Barnett will be on leave in 1955–56. He has been granted a Ford Faculty Fellowship for work at the University of California at Berkeley on Cantonese linguistics.

The following members who were on leave in 1954–55 have returned to the department: Marshall B. Clinard was in Sweden on a Fulbright grant for work in criminology; Hans Gerth was in Germany on a Fulbright grant; and Morton Rubin was in Princeton as a Woodrow Wilson Fellow for work on the Middle East.

The following have taken new positions: Orville G. Brim has accepted a research position with the Child Study Association of America and will be a lecturer at New York University. Harrison M. Trice joins the staff of Cornell University as assistant professor. Robert D. Herman will be an instructor at Iowa State University. John R. Wahl will be associate social research technician with the California

Department of Public Health. Walter F. Buckley will have a teaching internship at Brown University. Fred Koenig will be instructor in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division at Madison. Juris Veidemanis will be instructor in the University of Wisconsin Extension Division at Milwaukee.

Glenn V. Fuguitt has been awarded a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for training in statistics at the University of North Carolina.

Ronald Cohen has been awarded a Social Science Research Council Fellowship for anthropological research in Nigeria.

Yale University.—The Training Program in Medical Sociology, leading to the Ph.D. degree, was inaugurated on August 1, 1955, under the direction of Professor A. B. Hollingshead. The following were selected as the first fellows under this program: Bruce Burley, University of Connecticut; Robert Gibson, Louisiana State University; Ray Elling, University of Chicago; and Sherman Syme, University of California. This two-year program for students who have already completed two years of graduate work in sociology in an approved graduate school is designed to prepare sociologists for teaching, research, and administrative positions that involve training in the social aspects of medicine and problems of public health.

A second group of four fellows under the Commonwealth Fund Grant will be selected to begin work on August 1, 1956. These fellowships pay \$1,500 the first year and \$2,000 the second year. They are supplemented by tuition scholarships (\$600 per academic year) from Yale University. The closing date for applications is February 15, 1956. For further information write to A. B. Hollingshead, 1965 Yale Station, New Haven, Connecticut.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Nature of Prejudice. By GORDON W. ALLPORT. Cambridge: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954. Pp. xviii+537. \$5.50.

Today the writer of a volume on intergroup relations is faced with the task of selecting his materials from a superabundance of theories and data. Theories of the nature and causes of prejudice, adequately presented and evaluated, would fill one sizable volume. A wealth of descriptive data concerning the history, the status, and the problems of minorities in the United States alone constitutes the bulk of many of the currently popular books on race relations. Both types of analysis are important, yet both may suffer when an author attempts to encompass them in a volume of less than encyclopedic dimensions.

Gordon Allport recognizes this problem, and, although he has to use over five hundred pages to do so, he neatly resolves it in *The Nature of Prejudice*. Chancing the charge of having a psychological bias, he adopts the theme, "It is only within the nexus of personality that we find the effective operation of historical, cultural, and economic factors" (p. xvi). Hence *The Nature of Prejudice* is truly a social psychology of prejudice.

Defining prejudice as "an antipathy based upon a faulty and inflexible generalization" (p. 13), Allport stresses equally the cognitive and the emotional aspects or "ingredients," the first under the rubric, "Perceiving and Thinking about Group Differences" and the second in sections entitled "The Dynamics of Prejudice" and "Character Structure." Yet at no point is the reader allowed to forget that the factors of attitude and belief are interdependent and interactive. While recognizing the functional significance which prejudice may have for personality, Allport remains true to his theme that personality is the nexus of multiple causes of prejudice, not the cause itself.

Another significant dichotomy which Allport poses for purposes of analysis is that between the "stimulus object approach" and the "phenomenological approach." Here again he weighs impartially two interrelated, but separable, factors. Representing the stimulus object approach, chapters on group differences—"Visi-

bility and Strangeness," and "Traits Deviance, Victimization"—contain effective discussions without lending support to the "well-deserved reputation" theory.

Although a separate section is devoted to "Sociocultural Factors," they are treated as significant throughout the book. Individual prejudices, no matter how they may be related to personality factors, are always regarded as having developed within a sociocultural matrix. The author discusses historical influences, economic factors, the influence of social structure and "Religion and Prejudice."

At what point, then, can Allport be charged with the psychological bias of which he fears he may be accused, due possibly to the sheer amount of space devoted to psychodynamic factors and the prejudiced personality? Yet the chapters are filled with caveats against accepting single-factor explanations of prejudice, such as the scapegoat theory, and a careful distinction is maintained between mere conforming prejudice and "character-conditioned" prejudice.

This makes it more difficult to understand the psychological bias manifested in his criticism of the "group norm" theory of prejudice. It is particularly regrettable that Allport uses the much-abused label "collectivistic" to administer the coup de grâce to this approach. It is difficult to see how the Sherifs can be seriously accused of a Durkheimian orientation. One would not disagree that prejudice is ultimately a problem of personality formation and development. Their clear implication, however, is that the internalization of group norms is an important part of personality formation. In the major portion of his book Allport seems to agree with this notion, although he is apparently unwilling to admit that conformity to the norm is a personal need which may have compelling force.

The Nature of Prejudice is designed to serve as both a text and a trade book. Allport's usual lucid, readable style will augment its success in both markets. The theoretical analysis is enlivened and enriched by the frequent introduction of relevant research findings and anecdotes. The sociologist with a social-psychological out-

entation will find the work attractive as a text. He may, however, feel the need to supplement it with readings on the sociology of minority groups.

The final part of the volume, "Reducing Group Tensions," is timely and realistic. Just as the principle of multiple causation is faithfully adhered to in the analysis of the nature of prejudice, so the need for a multifaceted approach in social action is emphasized here.

LEWIS M. KILLIAN

Florida State University

Pilgrims in Paraguay: The Story of Mennonite Colonization in South America. By JOSEPH WINFIELD FRETZ. Scottdale, Pa.: Herald Press, 1953. Pp. xvi+247. \$2.75.

Although this richly-illustrated and fascinating book about a fascinating people has been written by a professional sociologist, it is not primarily a sociological study but a report made to a church-sponsored relief agency on the effect of past assistance and the need for future support. Nevertheless, it contains a wealth of well-documented information in addition to the impressions of a trained observer about a great variety of facts, not all of which are of equal interest to an outsider. In any event, the book is a welcome contribution to a fast-growing literature on the Russian Mennonites.

This branch of the Anabaptist religious movement in the Netherlands, which was first consolidated in Poland and West Prussia, developed into an ethnic group, almost a separate people, as a result of the legally enforced isolation of their colonies in the Ukraine. The form of community organization and government which took shape in the first part of the nineteenth century under the influence of Russia's colonial law is still preserved today in their Paraguayan colonies. The majority of Russian Mennonites have reached the Western Hemisphere, primarily Canada, in three stages, namely in the 1870's, the 1920's, and the late 1940's. Some of the Canadian group went to Paraguay, mainly the Gran Chaco, after the first and again after World War II; there they joined with refugees from Russia in forming strong homogeneous settlements, proving once more the outstanding talent of the Russian Mennonites as colonizers and community-builders.

An ethnic group with such an unusual background is bound to offer much of major interest

to students of religious movements, minority groups, colonization, and rural social organization. One striking detail, for instance, as related by Fretz, is the ability of the Mennonite colonies in Latin America to control crime entirely without recourse to a criminal code, courts, or prisons. Punishment, whose primary purpose is considered to be correction, is administered by the elected officers of self-administration, with the Bible as the only recognized law, and consists of money fines, compulsory labor, corporal punishment or, in the extreme case, banishment from the colony. Most offenders, however, are eventually reinstated into full community membership. Another peculiarity of some interest to sociologists is the high birth rates (averaging in one remote colony 54.1 per 1,000 between 1931 and 1950) and low death rates (11.8 for the same colony) despite limited medical and hospital facilities. Fretz explains that physicians are paid straight salaries rather than fees but "seem not to lose any incentive nor do they fail to perform service of the highest order. . . . The medical practice is truly a service profession completely free of commercialization." The author deals mostly with two colonies in the Gran Chaco but discusses also the Mennonites in the rest of Paraguay, in Brazil, and in other South American countries.

The historical introduction is based on the largely outdated studies by C. Henry Smith; the misspelling of many German words is unexpected in a Mennonite publication, the table on page 229 seems to contain an error; and several questions of significance to the sociologist have been treated in passing or left unanswered altogether. This, however, should not diminish the general usefulness of Fretz's attractive volume.

E. K. FRANCIS

University of Notre Dame

Ethics in a Business Society. By MARQUIS W. CHILDS and DOUGLASS CATER. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. x+191. \$2.75.

An eminent line of sociological descent—embracing such investigators as Weber, Tawney, Parsons, and Merton—is the effort to relate the Judeo-Christian heritage to the institutionalization of science, technology, and the capitalist economic order. Its latest offspring is a six-volume series by scholars from many disciplines, sponsored by the Department of the Church and

Economic Life of the Federal Council of Churches. Stimulated by this series, two journalists have added their readable contribution to the problem of the interplay between religion and economics.

The West's socioeconomic and ethical history, as surveyed by the authors, resembles a complex two-voice counterpoint. The economic voice, subdued during the Middle Ages, swelled in crescendo through the commercial, industrial, and managerial revolutions, bringing rising productivity and wealth but, at the same time, social strain and unbearable individual isolation. In the meantime, the ethical voice developed in complex accompaniment. The two moved in quiet unison in pre-Reformation "organic society"; since then, however, ideologies have displayed great discontinuity, moving sometimes in harmony with the economic order (Calvinism or utilitarianism, for instance) and sometimes in striking discord (the Owen experiment or the Shaftesbury reforms).

Continuing the analogy, modern times resemble the chaos of the orchestra's tuning, with only occasional co-ordination of higher values and economic behavior. Thus businessmen cannot apply simple Christian commandments to their complex institutional surroundings; the government-business balance is uneasy, tenuous, and unassessable in ethical terms; religion flounders in multisectioned chaos. Yet the authors find in the Christian unity movement, which has culminated in the National Council of Churches, some promise of a redefined harmony between economic enterprise and the spirit.

In terms of presentation, the authors occasionally sacrifice accuracy for breadth of historical survey. For instance, to hold that "in fact [John Stuart] Mill did little more than to elaborate with his own rhetorical embellishments, on the momentous book [Adam Smith's *The Wealth of Nations*]" is simply incorrect. It would have been wiser to omit Mill altogether.

A more substantive objection is that the authors pose a dilemma but do not discuss its vast implications. They ask: "What meaning . . . in a society dominated by large organization have the Ten Commandments, the last six of which deal with questions of morality involving relations with people and groups no larger than a family and no relations with a circle wider than a neighborhood?" This question suggests Durkheim's famous opposition between mechanical and organic solidarity; its implication is that as a society becomes highly differen-

tiated, only a correspondingly differentiated ethic is appropriate to provide social solidarity. Insofar as traditional Christianity represents an undifferentiated ethical system, therefore, serious students of ethics must examine the possibility of substantive elaboration and redefinition of this ethic in a differentiated society. Hence the authors' recommendations for Christian unity and "persistent study of Christ's social teachings" to serve as a guide for an ethic of economic behavior, while certainly valuable, seem not to face this possibility fully.

NEIL SMELSER

Harvard University

The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union. By THEODORE V. PURCELL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. xix+344. \$6.00.

This book reports the results of a study of the Chicago plant of Swift and Company and its employees, who are members of Local 28 of the United Packinghouse Workers of America, CIO. The author lived for a year and a half in Negro Bronzeville and the Back-of-the-Yards community and came before the company and the workers "in a double capacity, as both psychologist and priest" (p. xviii). His data are drawn from general observations and systematic interviewing of a random sample of some three hundred local union members and officers. In addition, he interviewed key management officials and a sample of foremen. His interviews were, for the most part, conducted on company-provided space within the plant and on company time.

The study is framed within the notion that the Chicago Swift-UPWA workers form a true plant community (p. 3). Father Purcell draws his definition of "community" from Thomas Aquinas: "A community may be defined as a stable union of many people for a common end, using community means, with authority over its members" (p. 3). From this specific framework emerge the three subsidiary questions with which the study deals (p. 8):

1. Will the average worker actually have dual allegiance to, and find the satisfaction he requires from both company and union?
2. Will the worker have allegiance which is necessarily dual, in that he says his wants can be satisfied only by both organizations?
3. Will the worker's allegiance to one of the two

organizations in the plant community pull him away from the other organization, thus straining his dual allegiance? Or will the allegiance he gives to one organization not noticeably affect the allegiance he gives to the other?

For Father Purcell, workers give allegiance to an institution when they articulate a "general satisfaction" or "an attitude of favorability" or "general approval" of the institution and its policies (p. 77).

In summarizing his findings, Father Purcell states that nearly three-fourths of the men and women in his plant community do have positive allegiance to both company and union. He concludes that "for most of these who fail to have dual allegiance, allegiance fails in the union half of the plant community" (pp. 78, 145, 264). He indicates that "dual allegiance is not under strain for many workers, but it is for some," particularly the local union's leaders (p. 267). In addition to the union members, he concludes that foremen and other management representatives hold dual allegiance, which is under strain. A conception of industrial relations as essentially community relations seems to me to be grossly misleading. Implicit in the author's definition of community is the notion of co-operation, that is, the absence of conflict, since conflict tends to produce community disorganization, and the notion of common ends. I would submit that industrial relations in our society are neither stable (co-operative) nor carried on in pursuit of common ends. The function of organized management is to operate the business efficiently and with maximum freedom to exercise that management. It has a paramount interest in returning to its owners maximum yield on investment. The union has as its primary goal the protection and advancement of its members in their relations with the employer and the continued existence and growth of the union as an institution. It would seem self-evident that these basic interests inevitably lead to conflict. Indeed, the very existence of the union signifies the conflict; it comes into being to seek to wrest from management areas of authority which management formerly exclusively held. The conflict is mediated through the process of collective bargaining; accommodation is achieved, permitting each side to continue to live with the other. The depiction of union-management relations as essentially community relations denies this indigenous conflict that is characteristic of the relationship. Rather than "a stable union of many people for a common end," the union-management relationship in our

society is an unstable accommodation of conflicting institutional interests. A study which posits the "true plant community" as its central concept is, for this reviewer, grossly deficient, in that it stems from a basically faulty view of the world under observation.

The three questions raised by the author are more difficult to deal with because they involve the concept of "allegiance." This notion is, at best, a slippery one. Father Purcell equates allegiance with willingness to accept the benefits of an institution and general approval of that institution.

As Father Purcell himself indicates, there are many factors which influence workers' allegiance to the company as an institution, including factors for which the union (whose basic interests are opposed to that of the company) is responsible. For the social scientist, of what significance in terms of allegiance to an employer are statements of workers who say that they are willing to accept benefits which their employer had refused to give them prior to the union? Further, what meaning does company allegiance have when it refers to the worker who states: "There's an old saying: 'Swift and Company would take your last ounce of blood and ask for another drop.' The union stopped that." Curiously, for Father Purcell this worker has clear company allegiance (p. 158). Again, what significance does the concept of company allegiance have for the social scientist when his findings show that workers are characterized by "an inarticulate dissatisfaction with the tacit assumptions of mass production" (p. 257) and express widespread "dissatisfaction and frustration" (p. 279) in regard to their work? And what significance can be attached to workers' attitudes toward their company in terms of "company allegiance" and "true plant community" when the company and community are one in which most of the workers do not want their children to work (pp. 116-17)? On the other side of the fence, what kind of allegiance does the worker give to the union when he may have been forced into membership (p. 152), when he may never attend meetings or participate in the life of the union (p. 196), and when, to summarize, he may view the union as a policeman, a kind of necessary evil, whose function it is to keep the boss honest?

For this reader, allegiance does not become an issue to the worker until and unless he conceives of the company and the union in conflict. When he is called upon to accept or reject a company offer in a negotiation, when he is called

upon to support or reject a strike vote, when he is called upon to respect or cross a picket line—it is in crucial issues such as these that the concept of allegiance becomes manifest. It is in observing his behavior and getting from him the justifications for his behavior during such periods of crisis that adequate measurements of allegiance can be obtained. It is when the worker becomes consciously aware of conflicting demands placed upon him by the company and the union that the problem of allegiance becomes a problem. A conclusion that *foremen* and other management people have any kind of allegiance to the *union* is for this reader patently meaningless. Yet, when Purcell equates “general approval” with allegiance, he permits no conclusion to be drawn from his data other than those which he advances. Further, of what value is the concept of dual allegiance in predicting the behavior of the worker when the chips are down and overt conflict is about to ensue?

Father Purcell advocates greater union security and increased participation through labor-management committees as ways to overcome the inadequacy of the presently existing industrial organization to satisfy workers' deeper needs and aspirations and thus to form the “true plant community” according to Thomas Aquinas. But he never raises the question of what are the ends of this co-operation. One end may be that which the Taft-Hartley Act was designed, in part, to prevent and which the Anti-trust Division of the Department of Justice closely watches—union-management collusion. The border line between true co-operation and collusion is narrow indeed. Yet, the material is rich, and Father Purcell writes out of a lucid familiarity with his immediate subject matter. The many quotations which he gives in support of his findings bring to the reader some of the language of the shop and impart something of the flavor of people at work.

BERNARD KARSH

University of Illinois

African Worlds: Studies in the Cosmological Ideas and Social Values of African Peoples. Edited by DARYLL FORDE for the International African Institute. New York: Oxford University Press, 1954. Pp. xviii+243. \$4.80.

“This book should be of particular value as a first collection of brief but systematic studies of the cosmological, religious, and moral ideas

of a number of African peoples in the context of their material environment and social organization.” The contributory studies all have the ring of honest competence, and every author has had at least some field experience with his people. If one may criticize such excellent reports, it would be on the grounds that they are too soberly empirical and too closely focused on the subject peoples. One misses the cross-cultural comparisons that are one of the pleasures and privileges of good anthropological writing. Moreover, the writers are not skilled in bringing the reader within the cosmology and values of the subjects, so that he has some inkling, some feeling, of what it means to live and think as they do. Myths, magic, religion, and cosmology can be exciting, even shocking, but only if one has some understanding of what it means to believe them.

As described by Mary Douglas, the Lele of Kasai remind one of the Arapesh. There is the same overconcern with good human relations and the same technological inefficiency. The reaction to the resultant scarcity is more concern and more restrictions upon the enjoyments of life. These are augmented by procedures for inequitably dividing good things, such as meat, on the grounds that they would not be good for the persons deprived.

The Lovedu of the Transvaal, described by Professor and Mrs. Krige, are also a co-operative, peaceful people, but a more successful type, reminiscent of the Pueblo peoples. Forde attributes this harmonious linkage of large bodies of originally different peoples to the adroit use of kinship ties, so that “basic domestic sanctions arising from the individual's need for support and approval among his kin are effectively extended to society at large.” Yet other kinds of attempts to extend kinship linkages to the larger society have rarely been as successful. Perhaps the significant fact about the Lovedu (and the Pueblo) is the dominant role of women and the dominance of, what can for the moment be called, feminine relationships.

The Dogon, described by Marcel Griaule and Germaine Dieterlen, are one of the peoples who are the heirs of the pre-Islamic civilization of the western Sudan. They are, then, a peasant people, like Redfield's Maya, not untouched primitives. Their mythology is complex, and its effects ramify into every area of their life. The result is a poetic, integrated cul-

ture, which this reader finds disquieting in its very integration.

J. J. Maquet's description of the Kingdom of Ruanda was the most stimulating report of all and the one that came closest to depicting a cosmology. He achieved this by looking closely at such basic aspects of life as death and by comparing religious formulations, common statements, and actual attitudes and actions. Some flavor of the result may be conveyed from the following excerpts: "In a society with a Christian ideology, to suffer is not only to be hurt but also to expiate one's sins, to purify one's soul, and to identify oneself with Christ. . . . Banyarwanda, on the contrary, seem to take a very 'secular' view of the human condition. Their belief in the supernatural world does not greatly influence their attitude to the unavoidable hardships and pleasures of life. All our informants agree that to die means above all to quit life. They believe that they will become *bazimu* but that leaves them rather indifferent. . . . As many of our informants put it: 'Existence for Banyarwanda was not easy, it was even often very painful, but on the whole, life was rather a good thing.'"

Space cannot be taken to comment on the other reports. These include: the Abaluyia of Kavirondo (Kenya) by the late Gunter Wagner; the Mende in Sierra Leone by Kenneth Little; the Shilluk of the Upper Nile by Godfrey Lienhardt; the Ashanti of the Gold Coast by K. A. Busia; and the Fon of Dahomey by P. Mercier.

The introductory essay by Darryll Forde contains some generalities to complement the sober factuality of the contributory reports. He bases his comments on Malinowski's aphorism that myth is a "pragmatic charter of primitive faith and moral wisdom." He then asserts that mythical charters and moral codes change more slowly than other areas of social existence. He, therefore, urges imported functionaries desirous of promoting change to study the myths and morality of their peoples. One can agree with his advice, while contesting that his generality about rates of change is fatally simplistic. In periods of unrest new myths may arise having the most profound influences for social and material change. It is difficult sometimes to classify these myths as conservative or revolutionary, but they are explosive. Contemporary Africa provides several illustrations.

Forde's difficulties here are conditioned by the scope of his volume. Either he, as editor, or UNESCO, as commissioner and sponsor, restricted it to a description of the cosmologies and social values of traditional African societies. It answers the question, "What do African peoples bring with them as they come under the influence of Western civilization?" While this is a legitimate and useful inquiry, it is not without its hazards. The traditional, stable culture of a preliterate people is elusive and, indeed, may never have existed, since the culture may have been changing at a relatively rapid rate for generations. In seeking this traditional culture, the student may be neglecting the fascinating processes of conflict and accommodation within his view.

MURRAY WAX

University of Chicago

American Heroes: Myth and Reality. By MARSHALL W. FISHWICK. Introduction by CARL CARMER. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954. Pp. viii+242. \$3.75.

This study by a historian of the process by which heroes are made and what they symbolize in American life makes interesting reading. It parallels somewhat Dixon Wecter's (1941) in coverage, documentation, and descriptive treatment—an excellent book, and there could well be others like it. Fishwick analyzes the values symbolized by John Smith, George Washington, Daniel Boone, Robert E. Lee, Billy the Kid, Buffalo Bill, and Henry Ford and describes how they came to be heroes. The case studies are followed by chapters on stereotypes and prototypes of our culture: the self-made man, the cowboy, the villain, etc.

The central problem is to distinguish clearly between myth and reality, which are likely to be confused in the case of popular heroes. Fishwick's identification of the "hero-makers" is the most distinctive contribution of the study. Though we have long been well aware of the legend-forming process, it is interesting to have a historian attempt to trace down and pinpoint the sources of certain American heroic legends in dime novels, advertising copy, movie build-up, commercial promotion, and such things, as in the cases of Paul Bun-

yan and Joe Magarac, and to evaluate the extent to which these are pseudo-folk heroes. It should be added, however, that the book pointedly eschews the "debunking" approach in favor of an objective appraisal of the hero-building process, how it happens and who does it.

There are also implicit in any book on American heroes a description and critique of popular culture. Case studies such as those of Douglas Fairbanks and Mary Pickford or of Mickey Mouse are revealing in this regard; yet one may question, at the same time, certain glib pronouncements based on apparently inadequate data, such as that "movie heroes fall into one or two categories": the "lonesome good man" and the "gregarious tough guy."

Practically absent is what might be called a functional approach to hero and villain "stereotypes," though this part of the problem is conceded in statements such as that they are "necessary to our thinking and our culture," that the "one thing worse than having villains . . . would be not to have them," or that heroes are products of their times and can emerge "only when there is a genuine need for a particular type."

A sociologist will find in this book much interesting and valuable material; but the general theory in terms of society, its processes and movements, he will have to work out for himself. There is as yet, no definitive monograph on the contribution of heroic and anti-heroic types to social organization.

ORRIN E. KLAPP

San Diego State College

The Mental Hospital. By ALFRED H. STANTON and MORRIS S. SCHWARTZ. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1954. Pp. xx+492. \$7.50.

This book analyzes the social dynamics of a disturbed ward in the context of the social organization of a private mental hospital. This patient-centered, therapy-oriented institution of about sixty patients contrasts markedly with the staff-centered, custody-oriented public mental hospital. Its staff geared their behavior and relationships with the patients toward the focused end of facilitating improvement. This inquiry, in fact, was aimed to find how the social organization of the hospital

could be implemented for therapeutic objectives as a supplement to the systematic psychotherapy of the patients.

Thus, from a structural-functional perspective, the inquiry covers (1) the formal organization of the hospital; (2) the organization of a disturbed ward; (3) the integration of the institution as reflected in the flow of communication and in the decision-making process; and (4) the relationship between the formal and the informal facets of hospital organization.

The central empirical findings are that some patients in the disturbed ward become manifestly agitated and even incontinent because of interpersonal conflicts among the staff and between the staff and the patients and that agitation is a functional symptom of such disturbed relations. In a substantive sense these findings are extensions or additions to the generic principle that behavior is a function of informal social organization; this principle has been drawn from studies of the community, industry, and specialized institutions, such as the prison.

As a collaborative effort by a psychiatrist and a sociologist, this work reflects a co-ordinate division of labor in which the approach and techniques are predominantly sociological and the topics and identity of the disorders are psychiatric. This means that there has been no concerted effort to contrive an emerging integration of the two disciplines by revising fundamental conceptions of personality and of the meanings of social relations. Although agitation and incontinence may be viewed and analyzed as functions of a contemporary, exogenous social situation, these behavioral manifestations may also be expressed because of inner needs that may not necessarily arise from outer pressures. Hence it is necessary to know what patients react in certain ways to external situational conflicts and what patients do not react to these external situational conflicts. This is a crucial point, and, although this inquiry has made a wedge into the problem, it has not answered it completely. It might also be pointed out that, since the authors claim to have studied the mental hospital, they should have investigated the nonagitated wards to round out the picture of the hospital. In this respect, the patients' positive reactions could have been studied as functions of social organization with the same intensity that the negative reactions were studied. Finally, the

presentation of the inquiry could have been sharpened and condensed; the many appendices could easily have been incorporated into the text and would have eliminated needless duplication.

In sum, this early investigative venture into an exceptional private hospital has illuminated many facets of institutional life that have hitherto been unknown to many clinicians and social scientists. It has done so within the broader theory of social organization, but it has not attempted to analyze the more basic problems which intersect sociological and psychiatric theory.

S. KIRSON WEINBERG

Roosevelt University

The University Teaching of Social Sciences: Sociology, Social Psychology, and Anthropology. By UNESCO. New York: UNESCO Publications, International Documents Service (Columbia University Press), 1954. Pp. 252. \$1.75.

UNESCO is to be thanked for getting together this very useful book. It can be handily used as a reference by those interested in the overseas picture, for it contains almost one hundred pages of information about the state of sociology, social psychology, and anthropology in ten countries. The information was compiled from reports done for the International Sociological Association by appointed *rapporteurs* from the various countries. The reader will find material on such matters as the state of the disciplines in the universities, their curriculums, teaching methods, examination systems, degrees awarded, recruitment systems, the status of research, the research centers, and the publications.

In addition, there is a chapter by the general *rapporteur*, P. de Bie, which gives an overview of the three fields as they emerge from the reports. There is a paper by C. Lévi-Strauss on the place of anthropology in the social sciences, which covers a lot of terrain, including the problems of training research personnel in so broad a field. There are also two papers on social psychology written by representatives of the International Union of Scientific Psychology. E. Jacobson, of the University of Michigan, describes the discipline in

this country, although his focus leaves out much of what sociologists, both here and abroad, would include. Joseph Nuttin, of the University of Louvain, summarizes the situation in European countries, specifically addressing himself to "psychological" social psychology, assuming that the sociological *rapporteurs* had discussed the sociological variety.

Rapporteurs generally found that the boundaries of the disciplines were blurred, that of social psychology especially being unclear. As De Bie remarks: "There is a viewpoint of social psychology—there are researches in social psychology—but it would be easier to point to social psychologists and to distinguish them according to their intellectual background and outlook than to define the science on which they are engaged." Except in the United States, courses titled "Social Psychology" are rare, and no degrees or diplomas are awarded in this field. Diverse national situations and traditions strongly affect the ways in which distinctions between fields are drawn, the recruitment of teachers and research personnel, the methods of teaching, the research problems, and the place of the disciplines in the structure of social science. Despite the great diversity, there are common problems which stem from the widespread need for funds and the low but rising status of the "sociocultural" disciplines, which seem almost everywhere on the upswing. Both in research and in theory the impact of American social scientists is clearly being felt.

As is usual in the struggle for occupational recognition, considerations of status—mainly how to raise it—show through the reports and papers: mundanely, in terms of salaries; and less so in regard to difficulties of training more adequate teachers and research people. A key question, in many countries, centers around traditional boundaries between the social sciences and all that these mean for power, prestige, and training. De Bie reports: "Would better co-ordination in the social sciences necessitate substantial changes in the institutional structure of higher education in several countries, and, in particular, would it call for the establishment of faculties of social science? Opinions are divided on this latter point."

ANSELM L. STRAUSS

University of Chicago

Labor-Management Relations in Illini City, Vol. I: *The Case Studies*; Vol. II: *Explorations in Comparative Analysis*. By W. E. CHALMERS, M. K. CHANDLER, L. L. MCQUITTY, ROSS STAGNER, D. E. WRAY, and MILTON DERBER. Champaign: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953, 1954. Pp. xliii+809; x+662. \$15.00.

These books, by a team of social scientists, report on a study of labor-management relations in a middle-sized, middle western city, focusing in detail on five kinds of unionized concerns fairly representative of industry in the city: grain processing, metal products, garment manufacture, trucking, and building construction. The first volume consists of case studies describing the past history and present state of the community and of the concerns studied, with special attention to labor-management relations. These straightforward studies are interesting and informative in themselves but offer no general conclusions.

The second volume is comparative and analytical—and correspondingly more difficult. The researchers felt that three classes of variables were especially important determinants of labor-management relations: the *attitudinal climate*, including the attitudes of top management, foremen, workers, and the public toward the companies and the unions; the *economic status* of the work force; and the extent of *union influence*. The researchers developed measures of the first class through questionnaires, of the second through an analysis of wages and other material rewards, and of the third partly through questionnaires and partly through an examination of the different fields of decision in which the union had an influence.

The researchers then examine, by the usual correlational analysis, the relations between the classes of variables, testing a large number of hypotheses. And the book ends by asking, and suggesting possible answers to, the question whether the analysis could have been made more meaningful by some kind of typological treatment, cluster, profile, or pattern.

I should like to feel more enthusiasm for this book. The task the researchers set for themselves—the study of the varieties of union-management relations and their determinants, in explicit connection with a single community background—is important and has

never been carefully done. The amount of conceivably significant data was enormous, and they collected a large part of it. They pursued description and analysis with relentless system. They devised quantitative methods and tested hypotheses where few had been tested before. Their exposition is always modest and clear if not elegant. They are good social scientists.

These are all virtues, yet they leave me full of childish desires. What happens in the different firms is treated in so many different connections that I feel I know the outcome long before the authors will let me escape. The typological analysis, while raising important general questions and useful as an exercise in what might have been done if the data had been more complex, does not lead me in fact to any other view than that labor-management relations in one construction firm bear a family resemblance to relations in another and that these are much like what I always thought they were. In the more detailed findings, to be sure, the careful reader will discover many fascinating things. For instance, foremen in companies where labor-management relations are good are *much* less apt to say the workers are intelligent than in companies where relations are bad (II, 68).

Whatever labor-management relations may be, reviewer-author relations here are obviously ambivalent. My reasons for praise are scientific; my reasons for complaint are literary, or at best feebly human. One might say that the latter are irrelevant to sociology. What have we done that we may fairly ask for the light touch? Certainly the hand laid upon us here is heavy indeed. This is an enormous work, of almost fifteen hundred pages, smooth in every sense of the word. The mind slides over them without catching. There is enlightenment in it, but the enlightenment per page is low. It deserves to be, and may stay, on the shelves of every student of industrial relations.

GEORGE CASPER HOMANS

Harvard University

The Economic Impact on Under-developed Societies: Essays on International Investment and Social Change. By S. HERBERT FRANKEL. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1953. Pp. vii+179. \$3.00.

In this book of reprinted essays Professor Frankel, a South African economist now professor of colonial economic affairs in the University of Oxford, presents his interpretation of the nature of economic growth and uses it to criticize current approaches to the problems of underdeveloped societies and to diagnose some of the problems of Africa, especially South Africa. His interpretation starts from a premise familiar to anthropologists and sociologists but not so common among economists. Technical and economic change is conceived of not as an "automatic" or "mechanical" process of transfer or borrowing but as a process of individuals and groups working out new ways of thinking, acting, and co-operating appropriate to their backgrounds, aspirations, and particular circumstances. Further, he assumes that economic growth leads to and depends upon an increasingly elaborate network of interlocal, interregional, and international interdependence which also does not function automatically but requires the development and operation of concrete organizations and institutions and the establishment and maintenance of social relations throughout a world-wide economy. Finally, he stresses the point that economic growth does not consist of changes which, once established, automatically achieve their goal and settle into routines. Rather, he holds that the economic and social effectiveness of every change depends upon the participants developing through experience the ability adequately to anticipate an uncertain future and continuously and flexibly to adapt to a constantly changing milieu as well as to widely differing local conditions.

Frankel's approach to policy is based on this framework. Deeply impressed by the disintegrating impact of industrialism upon local economies, by the complex and multitudinous individual and sociocultural changes required for adjustment, and by the fragility of the bonds of human co-operation that have to be developed, he concludes that economic growth must necessarily be slow and cannot be speeded up without becoming self-defeating and endangering social cohesion. Direct economic action by governments or intergovernmental agencies is considered ineffective and likely to be wasteful because of the use of economically vague and politically distorted planning criteria, necessarily inadequate information, ab-

sence of broad participation, and the inflexibilities of large-scale organization. With apparent nostalgia for the late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century world, he finds the key problem to be the development in both metropolitan and underdeveloped countries of people and institutions capable of maintaining and extending co-operation in the face of disintegrating forces and capable of freeing and activating widespread individual and privately organized economic efforts.

Frankel's broad picture provides an essential framework for understanding the processes of economic growth, and the issues and problems he raises cannot be neglected by theory or policy. However, his controversial policy conclusions do not seem capable of withstanding a more dispassionate analysis based on a wider-ranging and more detailed examination of empirical cases.

ROBERT S. MERRILL

University of Chicago

The Family: As Process and Institution. By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955. Pp. viii+651. \$6.00.

Over a thousand references document the material of the twenty-three chapters of this volume on the family. This attests to the scholarship and prodigious effort of the author in creating a text which will stand alongside other major ones in the field. Professor Kirkpatrick has carefully scrutinized the vast accumulations of family research—many, to be sure, small and segmented studies—and has selected those empirically oriented ones which best illustrate the family as process and institution.

The theoretical concept of the institution and its use and integration with the empirical data may be difficult for some students to grasp. Institution is conceived as denoting universally accepted ways to attain given goals; these accepted ways are characterized by commonly shared attitudes, expectations, and roles. Kirkpatrick speaks of institutions largely in terms of their control over individual behavior, such controls being the regulation of the sex impulse, supervision of the reproductive process, child-rearing, and the definition of the

relationships between persons in different age, sex, and kinship groups. Hence flesh-and-blood people living in connubial groups are constantly faced with these institutional controls which become internalized and incorporated into the personalities of family members in the form of values, expectations, roles, and attitudes. Thus Kirkpatrick can say, "The divorce institution is an unseen guest in every home" (p. 573).

After this theoretical approach is developed, the author changes to the life-cycle theme to present the remainder of the book. Chapters on psychobiological, psychosocial, and cultural determinants affecting family structure are well written, and good use is made of empirical data. Pictorial methods are also used, many of which are new and original. A section on "family dilemmas" in chapter iv will certainly create classroom discussion. These dilemmas are presented as dichotomous choices from which individuals choose one in their search for attainment of given goals. The individual must pay a price for choosing one alternative over another (e.g., family freedom versus order and efficiency). To have order in the family may result in frustration of some of its members.

In Part II there is a well-presented chapter on the effects of scientific discovery and mechanical revolution upon the family and its functions and an extensive and comprehensive analysis of women's changing status (i.e., the problems of women), in which the author uses his own research data.

Readers will find Part III, "Life Cycle of Family Experience," the most familiar and perhaps most useful part of this text. Here Kirkpatrick uses the established life-cycle theme mentioned previously and views family members as they move through chronological age periods, from the creation of the family upon marriage until its dissolution because of the loss of a marriage partner through separation, divorce, or death. Here, he capably utilizes the reservoir of research to substantiate his many generalizations. Unfortunately, the conceptual schema of process and institution is not completely integrated with all the materials presented in this section. Actually this may not be a serious shortcoming, since many family materials which should be presented to students in a marriage and family course do

not readily lend themselves to conceptualization.

The author has excellent chapters on dating and courtship, mate selection, the prediction of marital success, marriage adjustment, and marriage and careers. Scant coverage is given to the later years of family life, such as the launching period and the aged, areas of growing sociological research. Divorce and related legal and social family problems, comprehensively covered, comprise most of the last pages of the text. In this section Kirkpatrick integrates most successfully his theoretical approach and presents marital maladjustment in relation to the institutional aspects of divorce. A selected bibliography on "Sources and Findings on Success in Marriage" concludes the book.

The serious student of the family will find this text a compendium of rich material and well worth the painstaking study it requires. Those who cannot relate the institutional schema to the content of the later chapters will find Part III by itself most understandable, readable, and useful.

This is a solid treatise, and Kirkpatrick has demonstrated experienced and systematic use of research data. Instructors and students who like "full treatment" of sociological material, and, more particularly, some substance in the analysis of family data, will find this text to their liking.

MARVIN B. SUSSMAN

Western Reserve University

Individualism Reconsidered. By DAVID RIESMAN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 529. \$6.00.

The thirty essays reprinted in this volume deal with the American scene, its shifting character types and values. As in his *Lonely Crowd*, the author speaks for a larger measure of freedom for the individual to be different. Contemporary abundance and leisure make such differentiation and autonomy increasingly feasible. Yet, American society, which stands to benefit from fruitful nonconformity, oversensitizes the individual to the chance stereotypes and expectations of whatever group happens to be adjacent to him. It is in this sense that Riesman speaks of "groupism," the anxiety to

belong and to be like everybody else. The guilt feelings of intellectuals for being marginal and without a clear-cut group identity is a case in point; so is the aversion to trying new solutions and risking failure and isolation. And, yet, the position of minorities and outsiders "may be a superior vantage point for understanding and for self-development."

It would be a mistake to interpret Riesman's attack on "groupism" as a rejection of social solidarity. "I would not be attacking 'groupism' in America if I could not rely on its durable achievements—it is just these that make individualism possible." The emphasis of the book, insofar as it deals with this issue, is on freedom from the ephemeral milieu, even when it takes on national proportions, the freedom to choose one's groups or to be transitory to all. "The very fluidity of modern democratic social systems, that, for the mass of people, results in anxiety and 'escape from freedom,' forces those who would become autonomous to find their own way. They must 'choose themselves,' in Sartre's phrase, out of their very alienation from traditional ties and inner-directed defenses which inhibited true choices in the past."

Although the title of the book names its central theme and provides the cue for this review, other phases of the volume would easily justify an equal amount of space in this sketch. I wish to call particular attention to the papers on psychoanalysis. In these reappraisals of Freud's work Riesman seeks to peel off its dated components from the lasting substance. Freud, the authoritarian puritan, absorbed the pessimism of a scarcity conscious society, the fear of chaos, and the conviction that civilized existence depends on the ability of a robust minority to cajole and coerce the pleasure-seeking masses into compliance with the necessities of organized living. "Freud's very definition of pleasure as release of physiological tension contains, in capsulated form, the essence of his attitude towards work." Work is a drudgery to which men submit only in fear of pain. "It seems clear that Freud, when he looked at love or work, understood man's physical and psychic behavior in the light of the physics of entropy and the economics of scarcity. For him, life was not self-renewing, or self-producing; he viewed the process of life as drawing on the given natal store, as on a bank account.

Hence, for him, effort expenditure was problematical; it needed to be explained." Freud's conception of life as a predicament made him "suspicious of dreams which, by their baroque imagery, their eloquent speeches, or other luxuriance, seemed to have required much 'work'; since work is unnatural to man, this effort must hide something, must cover up a most forbidden thought." It is this negative estimate of exertion which "pushed Freud towards over-interpretation in his analytical thinking generally."

The essay on the evolution of American football is an exercise in contextual analysis which no one should miss, whether he is a sociologist or a football fan or neither. One of the chapters takes the form of a barbed April-fool story about the Cold War and its domestic politics.

One of the salient features of this book is the conspicuous absence of methodological inhibitions. This is not the same as disregard for scientific procedures. Riesman shows no partisanship in favor of the approach which he follows in this volume. He does not reject the industrial models of those scientists who seek to develop methods of inquiry which may work in semiskilled hands; he goes on record as a spokesman of the data-collector, "gadgeteer," and ascetic experimenter in a small compass. But, for himself, Riesman chose, in the present volume, the working methods of the artisan whose concern is with the production of individual pieces. Though not indifferent to the blueprinting problems of research of the more highly rationalized and organized type, as the paper on public opinion polls shows, Riesman prefers to record and evaluate change as a free and solitary agent who does not need to seek an alibi and speak in a whisper when dealing with controversial matters. Characteristically, he uses mostly the first person singular in preference to the impersonal plural. As an interpreter of the contemporary scene who is uncommitted to the working abstractions and procedures of any one team, Riesman contrives—what few writers achieve—to address himself to both his fellow social scientists and readers at large without frustrating either. If this book neither starts a school nor attracts imitators, it will be due not to a lack of virtuosity in the work but rather to the author's aloof and free-jointed approach. Schools of

thought grow up more often around a transmissible method than around shared convictions and insights. The message of the thirty papers, however, is likely to stay in the focus of continuing interest within, and outside of, the social sciences.

ERNEST MANHEIM

University of Kansas City

The Regulation of Businessmen: Social Conditions of Government Economic Control.

By ROBERT E. LANE. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+144. \$3.75.

The means and the ends of economic activity are increasingly subject to sociopolitical decisions rather than to decisions made in the market place, where normative issues are usually only implicit. As the social definitions of economic activity become more explicit, we are made increasingly aware that this activity is a form of social conduct that could be usefully studied by sociologists. Yet, with the exception of studies of industrial relations, we have done little research in this area. Therefore we should turn with interest to this study by a political scientist of businessmen and their accommodation to government regulations.

Lane bases his analysis upon information gathered from businessmen's publications, appearances before congressional committees, and a series of interviews in New England. He focuses his attention on those areas of peacetime government regulations that affect the average small businessman in commerce and industry: (1) trade practices; (2) wages and hours; and (3) labor relations. He considers the costs of the regulations to the businessman and concludes that monetary costs are not high but that psychic costs account for their strong opposition. The first two psychic deprivations he discusses are: (1) the challenge to their belief system and (2) the fall in the prestige of businessmen. These have undoubtedly been the source of much hostility toward the government, which, as Lane observes, was used as a scapegoat for some aspects of the deprivations, even when they were caused by forces beyond the control of the government.

One might conjecture that the deprivations

aroused hostility that was directed at the government because the administration introduced some of its program in the context that appeared to be attacking the status of businessmen. But could a less threatening context—even if it were as feasible politically—have obscured the challenge to their system of beliefs, the decrease in prestige, and the losses in power? It would be useful to study the adjustment that is made to government regulations now, under an administration whose policies and statements would seem to raise the status of the businessmen. We might then have a better basis for assessing the interrelationship of belief systems, prestige, and power.

Lane points out two other psychic losses suffered by businessmen: (1) they were deprived of some of their accustomed choices and (2) new anxieties and uncertainties were aroused. He notes that businessmen did benefit from some of the controls but concerns himself with the losses that they felt. If he had made more use of his interview data, he might have found more heterogeneity among the businessmen.

Perhaps the most valuable part of the study is a careful analysis of the content of the monthly publication of the Manufacturers Association of Connecticut for 1934-40 and 1946-48. This analysis has the advantage of the author's familiarity with the area, enabling him to estimate the degree to which the journal reflects the views of the businessmen members of the association. His analysis of the themes used in attacking the regulations shows insight. He notes, for example, that attacks upon the controls based on their being confused or wrong indicate an unwillingness to attack directly the symbols legitimizing the controls; he notes that attacks using the theme of the coerciveness of the regulations "means that they resent these restrictions more than others because the boundaries of their own customary morals are different from the boundaries drawn by the law."

Lane discusses the process of accommodation to controls during the periods studied and makes some good points; for example, about the relationship between the decline of critical references and the rise of neutral references. But I think he was less successful in his emphasis upon two mechanisms in explaining the accommodation process. On the basis of his

data, which were, apparently, largely content analysis, he writes that the frustrations are not cumulative; but he fails to indicate under what, if any, conditions that mechanism may not operate—and it sometimes does fail. He writes that, as new regulations are introduced, there is a displacement of attention from the old regulations to the new, so that less hostility is directed at the old. These mechanisms are suggestive, but they do not seem to take sufficient account of an essential characteristic of accommodation: a belief in the legitimacy of the regulations. That legitimation may arise from several mechanisms; for example, experience with the controls that give evidence of their utility, a consensual validation of their utility by acceptance of important values or beliefs from others, or even acknowledgment of their legitimacy in order to achieve psychic comfort after a period of enforced compliance.

Lane finds evidence, often quite ingeniously, for several explanations for the violation of regulations: "economic causes, associated with a marginal competitive position; . . . innovations in the law not preceded by changes in the business mores; association with men and ideas disrespectful of government in its regulatory capacity; isolation . . . from the cross currents of new social doctrines; and personal experiences and attitudes." Apparently the data did not make it possible for Lane to assess the relative importance of these explanations under varying conditions.

The study has a fine discussion of the difference between the world of the businessman and the government official as a source of mutual misunderstanding. Lane concludes with some recommendations, based upon the preceding analysis, for the guidance of administrative officers in the implementation of regulations.

This is a useful book. Lane has significant suggestions to make about many aspects of the sociopolitical context of economic conduct, and he offers an abundance of leads for further research.

LOUIS KRIESBERG

Columbia University

Hopi Ethics: A Theoretical Analysis. By RICHARD B. BRANDT. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. x+398. \$7.50.

A work directed at combining the concepts of moral philosophy and anthropological field work promises much. One calls to mind the significant contributions of Hegel and Marx, G. H. Mead and John Dewey, Cassirer and Horkheimer, in synthesizing philosophy and the social sciences.

Mr. Brandt departs from this tradition. His conceptual scheme stems out of logical positivism and its British philosophical cousin, crossed, in turn, with learning theory. He applies this conceptual scheme to the comparative study of ethics, using as case materials the rich data available about the Hopi. Unfortunately, the combination of these mechanical concepts, the quiet Hopi, and the author's anxious attempts to be "scientific" results in a rather dull book. In addition, Brandt manages to explain philosophical problems to his presumed anthropological audience and anthropological problems to his presumed philosophical audience in a manner calculated to alienate the interest of both groups of readers.

While disappointing, this work is competent of its kind. There are some social scientists who will regard it as valuable, and to them it is recommended. We do not wish to dampen the enthusiasm of anyone whose preference it is to study human beings as follows: "I shall use the term 'attitude' in the following way: 'X, at the time *t*, has an *attitude* (favorable or unfavorable) toward the state of affairs *S*' will be the same as to say, 'Were X at the time *t*—assuming X were in a normal and unpreoccupied state of mind—to judge that the state of affairs *S* had a certain existential status, X would experience a corresponding and typical affective reaction (favorable or unfavorable).'"

ROSALIE and MURRAY WAX

University of Chicago

The American Lawyer: A Summary of the Survey of the Legal Profession. By ALBERT P. BLAUSTEIN and CHARLES O. PORTER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+360. \$5.50.

This book is like an index of an inventory. It abridges the almost completed "Survey of the Legal Profession," published in approximately 175 separate reports—of which twelve

are in book form—from 1947 through 1954. The survey was sponsored by the American Bar Association and the Carnegie Corporation and represents the effort of over four hundred lawyers and laymen. According to Reginald Heber Smith, the director of the project, the survey is “a broad study . . . of what lawyers actually do in present-day society” (p. vi). After “a reasonable time for criticism and correction has elapsed” (p. x), he will present a synthesis of all the reports and material. As distinct from this official synthesis, *The American Lawyer* is a summary by two independent lawyers who, on the director’s authority, have condensed the vast work “impartially and without distortion of undue emphasis” (p. ix).

The summary reports demographic and economic aspects of the American lawyer, his professional function and social role, his ideals and ethics, and his education and organization. While primarily factual, it also conveys evaluations and conclusions of the survey, serving dually as a useful synopsis of the vast survey and as a monograph presenting important professional aspects of the contemporary American lawyer. It reflects the uneven quality of the many reports of the survey, which include Dean Roscoe Pound and Chief Justice Vanderbilt, and also indicates that limit of cohesion which is characteristic of a survey emphasizing comprehensiveness. Finally, it evidences a want of a theoretical framework which would translate factual knowledge of the legal profession into systematic understanding.

The old rule that nobody should be a judge of his own case applies also to an examination of one’s own profession. The legal profession in particular is too sociological a subject matter to be treated by lawyers. Moreover, the technique of sociological research is now sufficiently advanced to require qualifications which professional lawyers are not likely to possess. Yet as the survey offers many and complex data of interest to social scientists its present summary is a helpful guide.

PHILIPP WEINTRAUB

Hunter College

The Meaning of Work and Retirement. By EUGENE A. FRIEDMANN and ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. vii+197. \$3.75.

Steelworkers, coal-miners, retail salesclerks, printers, and physicians were studied, principally by interview, but with some use of questionnaires. Most of the subjects were still employed, the percentage being 85 per cent of the steelworkers, more than 90 per cent of the coal-miners, all the salesclerks, 49 per cent of the printers, and an unknown but large proportion of the physicians. The samples of 128 steelworkers and 186 coal-miners were selected randomly from defined universes. No sampling information is given for the group of 74 salesclerks or physicians interviewed. The questionnaire studies of union printers and physicians had low rates of return. Only the steelworker and coal-miner samples can be taken as representative of a larger occupational group.

The study embarks with four hypotheses: “(1) Work has recognized meanings in addition to that of earning a living. (2) Those persons who regard work as primarily a way of earning a living will prefer to retire at age 65. . . . (3) Those persons who stress values of work other than that of earning a living will prefer to continue working past age 65. (4) The extra-economic meanings of work are stressed to a greater extent by members of the higher skilled occupational groups” (pp. 7-8).

What happens to these hypotheses in the course of the research is not entirely clear. Having set up a research design based on replication in various occupational groups, the authors decided not to replicate. They write that “the results of the several studies are not strictly comparable. To have insisted on making them so either would have placed the later studies in a strait jacket or would have required the repetition of the earlier studies with all the improvements made in the later ones” (p. 9)—an argument that would seem to rule out replication as a scientific technique once and for all. This is regrettable. The unmatched and uncomparable results of the six studies are consistently interesting. Taken together, they give a vivid impression of what differences in occupational reward amount to when accumulated over a lifetime. The steelworkers are not euphoric about their jobs. In sharp contrast, the job satisfaction of the physicians bordered on rapture.

Like most reports which point the way to further research, this one points in several di-

rections. First, the meaning of work needs to be studied with more realism and less sentimentality. Statements such as "Where work may formerly have been motivated mainly by hunger or by desire for gain, this is no longer the case" (p. 1) tend to gloss over the possibility that the day's work is still a heavy and sweaty burden for many citizens. Second, we need much more information than is now available about the later phases of the occupational career pattern, particularly in unskilled and semiskilled occupations. The initiation to work has been extensively studied in connection with problems of vocational placement, but we have almost no systematic knowledge of later adaptations. Third, it appears from the data presented here that the worker's permanent adjustment to retirement is often quite different from his reaction to the crisis of transition at the time he enters retirement.

The authors have some difficulty in shaking off the clichés which originate in insurance advertising. Thus, the last chapter is entitled "Retirement from Work to Play" and finishes with a section on the importance of the leisure arts. This seems downright frivolous in the light of the empirical findings, which suggest that most of the subjects have very little interest in finding new forms of play. Those with low energy seem to welcome the reduction of activity permitted by retirement. Those with high energy cling to the realities of work and social participation. Community singing does not seem to be the answer for either group.

The working hypotheses focus attention on wishes, but the data illustrate that wishes are difficult to disentangle from external conditions. It is certainly plausible that those who value their work most will be least attracted by retirement. On the other hand, they are very likely to belong to privileged occupations and to have adequate means for retirement. Other things being equal, workers are likely to look forward to retirement if it does not represent a financial disaster. A similar paradox lurks in the discussion of adjustment. The maladjusted worker probably looks more favorably at retirement than his well-adjusted colleague, but some of the factors unfavorable to work adjustment must certainly be unfavorable to adjustment in retirement.

Like any good report, this one raises more questions than it answers. Despite its methodo-

logical faults, it is a thoroughly readable introduction to a number of important problems.

THEODORE CAPLOW

University of Minnesota

Cultural Difference and Medical Care: The Case of the Spanish-speaking People of the Southwest. By LYLE SAUNDERS. New York: Russell Sage Foundation, 1954. Pp. 317. \$4.50.

This book deals with the problems of providing medical care for the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest. It is a venture in applied anthropology, sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation. The author documents the cultural chasm separating the Anglo-speaking from the Spanish-speaking people, with regard to the behavior of both the sick person and the healing agents. Some attention is paid to two projects which had been designed to bring up-to-date medical care to two counties in the Southwest—projects which failed rather miserably.

The author presents an imposing array of differences separating Anglo- from Spanish-speaking groups analyzed chiefly in terms of the meanings of cultural items to them. The lucid style will commend the book both to other social scientists and to medical workers. The latter will be particularly grateful to Professor Saunders for the illumination he brings to bear on the problem of carrying the medical services of one society to the members of another.

The first chapter is a synthesized account of six households and their responses to their medical problems. The families represent a spectrum ranging from urbanized people with considerable schooling to illiterate peasants recently migrated. Although these are not case histories in the usual sense of the term, they function to give the reader a vivid impression of a manner of life far removed from the "American way." The author then proceeds to a more generalized description of the Spanish-speaking people, in the hope of providing an introduction to the culture of the group. Closely related to this objective is the effort "to enable professional people who work with

members of the Spanish-speaking group to have some insights into factors which may underlie some of their behavior" (p. 7).

Two difficulties arise in the effort to utilize the culture concept for the above purposes. In the first place, the group is far from homogeneous. Some of the families discussed differ profoundly from their Anglo-speaking neighbors; but in other cases the families are almost indistinguishable from Anglo-speaking families on the same social level (p. 37). It is doubtful that laymen will find the concept of culture useful when it is forced to cover the diverse patterns of conduct of heterogeneous aggregates of people.

The second difficulty stems from the attempt to use the concept of culture to describe the organization of present-day medical practice. In this case the concept is called on to cover a highly diverse set of individuals who are organized in extremely complex ways. Moreover, their organization is constantly changing, in response to the developments of science and through their own self-conscious efforts to adjust curriculums, hospital organization, and so forth. Here again it is doubtful that an omnibus concept clarifies the world of medicine for its practitioners.

Despite these strictures on the analytic model provided for the reader, the book is a notable addition to the literature. Students of the contacts of peoples and of social organization will find it a storehouse of pertinent observation.

OSWALD HALL

McGill University

People of Plenty: Economic Abundance and the American Character. By DAVID M. POTTER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xxviii+219. \$3.50.

This is essentially a methodological treatise. Mr. Potter believes that historians have "failed either to formulate in clear terms what is meant by 'national character' or to develop a rationale by which the existence of such character can be validated." The author, a historian, attempts to solve this dual problem.

His solution is based upon certain social psychologists' conception of "economic and religious and political institutions" as fundamental agents in character formation. The

historian, by accurately describing these institutions, further delineates national character. An economic factor is selected to illustrate the argument. American abundance is "by technology out of environment," and, to borrow the "horse-breeder" figure, the national character is by humanity out of abundance. Economic abundance has created a culture characterized by "mobility" and "equality" in which "advertising," the institution of abundance, is as important as the church and the school in shaping the American character. Potter seeks to explain how these not unknown factors influence the American even in "infancy." One example: American abundance creates individualism by making it possible for a large number of children to sleep in private rooms.

This interpretation does not include the thousands who have never experienced this abundance. But Ralph Gabriel and Vernon Parrington do not embrace the thousands who never read, heard, or thought about transcendentalism. The problem is the same in all three cases. Inevitably, the intellectual and social historian becomes a determinist. Parrington and Gabriel assume that intellectuals somehow embody the character and ideals of a nation, but they do not construct an explicit methodology. Potter should be commended for having faced the methodological problem, although he is no more successful than Parrington and Gabriel in finally explaining the American character. A national character cannot be contained in one small volume and one interpretative theme.

ARCHIE H. JONES

Hastings College

Children's Humor: A Psychological Analysis
By MARtha WOLFENSTEIN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. 224. \$3.75.

Martha Wolfenstein here presents an empirical study of children's jokes, the theory coming from Freud's *Wit and Its Relation to the Unconscious*, the data chiefly from interviews with ninety pupils aged four to twelve in a progressive private school of urban, professional, Jewish background. Some of the hypotheses and leads suggested by these data are tested and explored in a sensitive way in subsequent interviews with fifty additional chil-

dren of similar background. Long central chapters are devoted to anxiety in jokes, naming witticisms, the moron jokes, and the joking façade.

Several different "theories" of joking are blended into the text, some more discernibly than others. There is a glimpse (pp. 79, 127, 152) of the half-Freud, half-physiology theory: when it becomes unnecessary suddenly for the individual to hold back unacceptable feelings, he can use up his disengaged effort in laughter. A kind of sociological theory appears: fun occurs when the role of someone of rank is discredited during interaction. There is a set of psychological theories: joking is a way of renouncing and yet partly satisfying desires that have been prohibited, and a way of demonstrating control over matters that used to be more threatening. Dr. Wolfenstein implies that all these theories are surface ones, dealing with general statements about manifest content. She carries her analysis a distinct step further. Underlying the play at joking, and hiding behind the apparent identity of the characters in the jokes, there are serious matters closer to home: through a joking façade the child expresses aggressions toward family figures.

A contribution of this book, for the reviewer its best, are the data presented on changes through age of the child's joking pattern. Until six, these children are not interested in a precise learned formula or in joking riddles and do not dissociate their own mood from the one their joke is to produce. From twelve on, verbatim repetition becomes insufficient, and style in telling is required. By then, children are sure of who they are and can afford to take momentarily a despised role; by this age, too, they know that there are rules regarding unseriousness and that a logically correct answer may not be right enough psychologically to support a riddle.

I would like to point out a few faults in this book, although I do not know whether

these lie with Martha Wolfenstein, her publisher, or the psychoanalytical movement; some of the fault perhaps is mine for wanting this book to be written by a sociologist for sociologists. The language is simple and clear but occasionally gives the impression that it has been tolerantly written down to mothers—mothers docile enough to ask no questions and mature enough to be ready for a glimpse of Freud's fiery horsemen: Oedipus, Sibling Rivalry, Castration Threat, and Penis Envy. When a book is cited as authority for an idea, it would be nice to know on what page in the book the idea is to be found. When bed-wetting is described as a way in which the child attempts to break up sexual intercourse between his parents (p. 35), one feels bashful about accepting Melanie Klein as supporting authority. In the context of a full psychoanalytical case history it might be reasonable to see that the ticking of a clock symbolized genital pulsations (p. 119), but as a substitute for this context one is asked to accept occasional allusions to the family situation of particular informants or clinical articles dealing often with adult neurotics, and yet the terms that are "interpreted" on this basis are taken from jokes firmly established in the impersonal collective repertoire of the normal child. Joking, surely, is partly a way in which individuals of a given status relate themselves to others of a given status in given situations. If joking is not to be studied as a structural device, as Radcliffe-Brown has studied it, and if data are to be taken, not from observation of fun-provoking situations, but from what the informant brings the interviewer on a cold platter, then a modest manifest content analysis might have been the best method and would be one that Martha Wolfenstein has helped to develop. In the book itself there are good examples of it.

ERVING GOFFMAN

*National Institute of Mental Health
Bethesda 14, Maryland*

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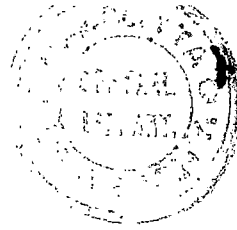
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THE DEVELOPMENT OF IDENTIFICATION WITH AN OCCUPATION

HOWARD S. BECKER AND JAMES W. CARPER¹

ABSTRACT

Interviews with graduate students in physiology, philosophy, and mechanical engineering indicate that changes in social participation in the course of graduate work lead to the acquisition or maintenance of specific kinds of occupational identities. Such participation affects identity through the operation of the social-psychological mechanisms of development of interest in problems and pride in skills, acquisition of ideologies, investment, the internalization of motives, and sponsorship. This mode of analysis may have more general utility in the understanding of changes in individual identity in the course of experience in groups.

One of the most compelling instances of personal change and development in adult life in our society is to be found in the typical growth of an "occupational personality" in the young adult male who, as he matures, takes over an image of himself as the holder of a particular specialized position in the division of labor. This paper is an attempt to specify the processes by which such occupational identifications are internalized by the individual in the course of his entrance into and passage through a set of training institutions and thus to provide an example of a mode of analysis suitable for the study of adult socialization.

We make use of two complementary sets of concepts in dealing with the development of identification. Changes in institutional participation and the contingencies on which these depend are analyzed in terms of the notion of career, which directs attention to typical sequences of movement and

to the way in which these depend (at least in part) on the evaluative responses of important persons and groups.² The subjective aspects of such movement are treated in terms of the concepts of self, identity, and transformation, which direct attention to the way in which situations present the person with experiences with objects and people out of which may come stabilization of self-conceptions into lasting identities, on the one hand, and their trans-

² The concept of career has been treated extensively in the sociological literature. See particularly H. H. Gerth and C. W. Mills, *From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1946), chap. iv, "Science as a Vocation"; Oswald Hall, "The Stages of a Medical Career," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (March, 1948), 327-37, and "Types of Medical Careers," *ibid.*, LV (November, 1937), 404-13; Melville Dalton, "Informal Factors in Career Achievement," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVI (March, 1951), 407-15; Howard S. Becker, "The Career of the Chicago Public School Teacher," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (March, 1952), 470-77, and "Some Contingencies of the Professional Dance Musician's Career," *Human Organization*, XII (Spring, 1953), 22-26.

¹ We wish to thank the Committee on the Ford Grant of the University of Illinois, which provided funds for clerical assistance.

formation into new identities, on the other.³

The analysis is based on interviews with graduate students in three departments in a large state university: physiology, mechanical engineering, and philosophy.⁴ The interviews ranged in length from one-half to two hours, were tape-recorded, covered students at all stages in graduate work, and were centered around the individual's feeling of work identity and the changes taking place in it. Analysis proceeded in terms of stages of development, looking in each case for the ways in which career movements into new situations made possible new experiences, transforming the self-image and thus creating the conditions for further movement.

It is clear that tension may arise where the newly acquired work identity fails to mesh with or to meet the specifications of other strongly held identifications, such as those growing out of participation in the family of orientation. The person finds it expedient to acquire a work identity, since general cultural emphases require some occupational attachment, some answer to the ubiquitous question, "What's your line?" But this may also produce conflict, as the individual is unable to achieve a desired

identity, or does not know what to want, and so ends up with an identity in some respects incongruent with his others. We have left consideration of such conflicts for later analysis.⁵

Descriptions of the types of change which occur in the three groups and the conditions under which they change are presented first, indicating the general type of change illustrated by each and thus the way each training institution operates to produce specific kinds of occupational identities. The physiology students are a group in which originally strong preferences for other fields are transformed by the graduate department into a well-developed identification with physiology. In the case of the philosophers, the experiences provided by their graduate training allow for a kind of moratorium in which a broad and unspecialized intellectual commitment can be maintained, being replaced only partially by a specialized work identification. For the engineers, graduate school serves to maintain a work identity already strongly established in college, little further change taking place.⁶

Viewed comparatively, as involving different degrees of change in identity, the three cases serve to locate some general mechanisms through which such change occurs, at least in those occupations whose recruits are trained in graduate schools and perhaps are also to be found in less pretentious settings. Taken singly, they exemplify various problems and sequences of development which no doubt have their analogues both within and beyond academic confines. Our discussion, while focused on the three cases at hand, may thus be thought of as raising questions and suggesting answers outside these limits.

³ On the self see George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934). On identity see Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (February, 1951), 14-22; and Anselm Strauss, "Identification" (unpublished manuscript). On transformation see Anselm Strauss, "The Development and Transformation of Monetary Meanings in the Child," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (June, 1952), 275-86.

⁴ Female and foreign students were not interviewed, to avoid the complications introduced by the variant career patterns and ambitions of these groups. Three philosophy students were excluded from the analysis when interviews showed they had no serious intentions of doing work in the field but were simply taking courses as a hobby. With these exceptions, we interviewed all the remaining students in philosophy (eleven) and mechanical engineering (twenty-two), and a randomly selected 50 per cent sample of those in physiology (eighteen), a total of fifty-one.

⁵ James Carper and Howard S. Becker, "Conflicts in the Development of Occupational Identification" (unpublished manuscript).

⁶ The characteristics of the identities found in these groups are described in Howard S. Becker and James Carper, "The Elements of Occupational Identification" (unpublished manuscript).

THE PHYSIOLOGISTS

Students typically begin graduate work in physiology without having done their undergraduate work in the field. This is true partly because the department faculty prefers students with a firm background in one of the sciences physiology draws on, such as chemistry or zoölogy, to those who would have to unlearn painfully the half-truths necessarily taught in undergraduate courses. It is true more importantly because these students had not intended to study physiology until shortly before entering graduate school. Twelve of the eighteen had instead fastened their hopes on the medical profession, eight of them turning to physiology only when they were not accepted into medical school. At this point they decide to spend a year in physiology, on the premise that when they *do* enter medical school the training will prove valuable; they do not give up the notion of becoming physicians but see physiology as the best available stopgap. The others have either had an early interest in biological science or acquired such an interest in the course of their premedical program. After receiving the B.S. degree, they feel that real professional success depends on higher degrees, and they enter physiology, perhaps out of an interest developed in undergraduate work, perhaps at the suggestion of an interested teacher.

In any case, no student enters the department irrevocably committed to the notion of becoming a physiologist; most, in fact, are still committed to medicine, and the others feel it quite possible that they may later want to switch fields. Further, they are vague as to the real nature of the field and the kinds of experiences they are likely to have in it, possessing not even the kind of unrealistic picture which may be provided by public stereotypes, such as are attached to other, more well-known occupations like law or medicine. (The absence of such stereotypes or public knowledge of the field is no doubt important in restricting occupational choices in the area

to the late college years.) They view their task as students as one of acquiring the vast body of certified knowledge in the field and thus earning good marks and, perhaps, degrees, a perspective created by their undergraduate experience. They are committed through their enrolment as students in the department to at least a year of such activity.

As the year progresses, the student is taught in a new way, with a tremendous stress on the many problems yet to be solved, on the research that needs to be done, and on the essentially problematic character of the "facts" so laboriously acquired as an undergraduate. At first disillusioned, he becomes excited at the thought that all the great work has not been done, that he too may make fundamental and important discoveries, and he begins to realize the value of small, carefully done studies. This interest in the specific problems of the field is enhanced by casual conversations with other students. Likewise, he begins to learn the techniques of research and to acquire a pride in his technical abilities through the evaluations of his instructors and comparisons of his own work with that of others. And, finally, he begins to take over an ideology which identifies physiology for him as the most comprehensive and important of the life-sciences, including medicine.

At the end of the first year the student may again apply for admission to medical school. Those who do and are rejected do not immediately give up all hope but do decide that they might as well continue until they get the Master's degree and perhaps beyond that the Ph.D. As medicine becomes more unattainable, their very real interest in physiology takes on new meaning as they come to consider it as the basis for an alternative career; those whose interests always lay in science begin to realize that unless they remain for a Ph.D. they will be doomed to careers as laboratory technicians.

No later than the end of the second year (and often earlier for those who hold assist-

antships) the student finds himself spending a great deal of time in the department laboratories, working on his own or his professors' research, and is thrown into continual day-and-night contact with "the clique." This is a loosely organized group of those whose work is centered around the laboratory; in no way exclusive, entrance into it is accomplished simply by being around and is an automatic accompaniment of the laboratory work of the advanced student. Conversations with third- and fourth-year students in this group take place at work and during "coffee breaks," and the student thus becomes integrated into a group whose major concerns are the problems and techniques of physiological research and the job and career prospects of the young physiologist. His interest in the science is reinforced, and he begins to develop specific notions as to the kind of occupational future he might expect as a physiologist, the kinds of jobs available, and the ways in which one gets them.

These changes are strengthened in the informal apprenticeship in which he now gets involved with professors in the course of beginning his thesis or working on their projects. He is told more of the beauties of physiological research and is often able to model his behavior after that of a professor or of an ideal constructed of the characteristics of several professors, learning through observation of them the kind of tasks which physiologists in fact perform. He learns the facts of their careers and becomes aware of the jobs for which he will qualify as a physiologist in universities, government, and the research departments of pharmaceutical concerns. Frequently, he is deliberately groomed by the professor for some particular kind of job, either because it is felt that he "has what it takes" or because it is felt necessary to point him toward a less difficult job but one which he will be able to handle. (Some students are thus encouraged to take technician jobs after the M.S. rather than try for the Ph.D.)

At the end of the second year he is thinking quite seriously of staying in physiology and can even envision turning down a place in medical school if one materializes (if, indeed, he has even bothered to apply a third time). He feels not only that physiology has something to offer him but that it would be a terrible waste of time to "start over," to give up what he has learned and begin again in a new field. Also, his newly acquired ideology gives him reasons to discount the prestige of the medical profession, a profession he now sees in terms of an invidious comparison between "art" and "science"; this ideology also serves to insulate him against the appeals of other sciences whose importance is deprecated.

All these elements combine to produce in these students an identification with the field of physiology and to lessen identification with other possible work statuses. At some point (for the medically oriented, the point at which they must decide whether to try for medical school again) they become aware of the new identity and accept it, perhaps with the proviso that this acceptance is only temporary and that after the Ph.D. they will again pursue the medical degree. Behavior is now reoriented in terms of what is proper and desirable for the bearer of such an identity, in terms of the motives they consider appropriate for the kind of persons they have become. Whereas first-year students are unable to understand, for example, the reasons why some of their seniors choose an academic career while others turn to a career in commercial research, the older student has acquired in interaction with teachers and still older students a set of explanations (motives) to be attached to such behavior, and it is in terms of these that he now orients his own behavior. He perceives his own dispositions in terms of these group-assigned motives and makes his choices accordingly, choosing the academic life if he feels himself more interested in "science," commercial research if he is more interested in "money."

In these later years of graduate work the professors begin to worry about placing the student, who comes himself (a consequence of his new identification) to take the problem seriously. It is probable (although we do not know this) that the seriousness of the student's attachment to his new identity influences the degree to which his teachers work on placing him satisfactorily. Sponsorship activities by professors obligate the student to do well in the position he will be put into, thus further strengthening the new identity as it relates to position in the formal and informal arrangements of the occupational world.

The man who wanted to become a doctor is now the man who is a physiologist. Even in those few cases in which the M.D. is still desired, there is no thought of entering medical practice; rather, it is seen as a necessary preparation for research in human, as well as animal, physiology.

THE ENGINEERS

The engineers have made a firm choice of occupation long before reaching graduate school; college and, in some cases, industrial experiences attendant on this choice have produced a very strong identification with engineering. They have acquired a characteristic ideology, centering around the notion of the engineer as a logical thinker, and have internalized the typical motives of the group, primarily "making money" and "getting opportunity for advancement." They expect to spend their careers in the field, with the qualification that they may move, as engineers, into the higher ranks of industrial management; a few older men are teachers of engineering who have found a Ph.D. necessary for further academic promotion. The others either are just out of college or have had a year or two in industry beyond this when they enter graduate school, feeling on the basis of knowledge of the job market (derived from work experience or interviews with employer representatives) that they will be able to command a higher salary if they

have additional training and/or an M.S. degree. The choice of graduate training is thus realistically oriented to a specific and limited goal.

The pattern for the younger group begins with a year of courses devoted to improving one's market price. Many students hold research or teaching assistantships, which do not begin to match financially what they might have had had they left school. The assistantships prevent them from finishing work for the M.S. in one year, and most require a second. But they leave as an open question whether they will continue work for the degree or move on (or back) to the far greater financial rewards of industry, for they will have lost no time by spending the year in school without completing the degree and so feel free to leave without doing so. They tend to reckon the benefits of their graduate work in terms of courses finished and new knowledge gained rather than degrees. New problems and skills interest them only to the extent that they are seen as useful in the pursuit of their basic aims.

In short, this move does not commit them to anything beyond a semester or year of school, which they expect will have immediate practical results; when the results are unsatisfactory, or the immediate goal is achieved, they leave. Most leave at the end of a year, having accomplished their purposes; this is suggested by the fact that, although there are thirteen first-year students, there are none at all in the second year. A few who have comparatively well-paying research jobs stay on, taking a minimal amount of course work. They are interested, although not greatly, in getting a degree; more importantly, they like their jobs and feel that they offer as much in money and in opportunity to meet important people in industry and become known through publication as does an industrial position. So they keep making these short-term commitments year after year without feeling constrained to do so, for it would cost them nothing to leave.

When they get the degree, they have become specialists in some particular area, know the people in it, and get jobs as technical experts.

A few others are tempted by the academic life sufficiently to continue as teaching assistants until they finish their Master's work, at which time they may well be offered faculty positions, since engineering schools find it difficult to keep younger faculty, not being able to match the salaries common in industry. They appear during this period to have come to like the relatively relaxed atmosphere of the campus and to have taken over the lower financial and class-mobility goals of academic life, so that industry no longer appears as attractive. And, in any case, if they find that academic life is not so desirable as they had imagined it, they can easily find an industrial position at an appropriate level.

There appears to be little in the way of organized peer relations, perhaps because the conditions of their work do not draw them into touch with one another. The students are typically employed on semiautonomous kinds of projects which do not provide situations in which they might meet and become friendly. It may also be true that the fact that they feel themselves to be in school only temporarily and always have an eye on the outside world mitigates against the development of such groups.

The engineers, then, maintain their basic identification with engineering, simply adding to their abilities during their further schooling in order that they may have a greater range of better jobs available to them as engineers, in industry and possibly in universities. Relations with professors are friendly but not close; where a close relation exists, it is one between younger and older professionals rather than between teacher and student. The older man's sponsorship is considered helpful but not in any way essential to getting a good job. The students' identification and goals do not change much and can be maintained in school or out.

THE PHILOSOPHERS

The philosophy students typically choose their field of graduate work as being the least bad among a set of undesirable possibilities. Sometime during college, and in some cases even earlier, they have chosen as an important basic identification that of the "intellectual." From the perspective of this identity their task is to be aware of and interested in the whole field of human intellectual endeavor, from science through aesthetics to metaphysics and ethics, to keep an open and inquiring mind, and to avoid the dangers and rigidities of specialization. Philosophy seems to offer the greatest opportunity to maintain such a stance vis-à-vis the world of knowledge.

Although they profess to be uninterested in jobs and financial matters, and do in fact show little apparent interest, they seem to consider a higher degree necessary. Thus the choice of fields is, they feel, forced on them by the organization of universities into departments, in one of which they must take their Ph.D. (They differ in this from intellectuals of earlier periods, who might as easily have gravitated toward the then socially acceptable role of the unattached intellectual.)

They enter graduate work with backgrounds ranging from the natural sciences to the arts and retain interests in these fields along with others they have become aware of since their commitment to the intellectual life. Some made this commitment early enough to escape ever having specialized at all. Their course work can easily cover an equally wide range, so that they are not constrained by departmental requirements to narrow the focus of their intellectual activity and concentrate on some particular specialty. They thus are able to maintain the over-all intellectual identification and avoid being shunted into activities which might have as their consequence the development of a specialized identity.

The formal and informal relationships of faculty and students, and of students with

one another, do not operate to make a cohesive group of the department but rather to provide conditions under which little essential change in identification will occur. Student-faculty relations are largely confined to the classroom and office consultations over classwork, and the student sees little and learns little of his professors' professional aims and activities; the professor, likewise, does not come to know students well enough to take a realistically active role in the shaping of their interests, even if he should so desire. Students do not in these circumstances develop any picture of their probable future as philosophers; nor does this trouble them, for they are determined resolutely to avoid the effects of such institutional commitments as jobs. They expect to have them, probably in college teaching, but consider such details unimportant. In the same way, they do not see their teachers at work and thus never learn in the detail that is crucial just what it is that a philosopher does and so do not come to identify themselves with any particular set of tasks.

Their student work does not provide the conditions in which they must come together in continuous association—the equivalent of the physiologist's laboratory is missing—and there is in fact no cohesive student grouping into which younger students are systematically recruited by older ones. Instead, they tend to find their friends scattered through the university, on the basis of those interests which override the boundaries of academic specialties: political and social ethics, art and music, the philosophy of science, and so on. Their primary group participation thus does not channel interest into the confines of a specialized occupational identity but rather reinforces its flowing into areas which cut across the traditional dividing lines between disciplines and academic identities, reinforces their concern with maintaining a "balanced" as opposed to a "specialized" approach to knowledge. If anything, these associations (as well as the professors' example) help them to discover new areas

of intellectual activity across which they may spread themselves.

Because philosophy suits the purpose of avoiding specialization so well, the students come increasingly to identify with it as they continue graduate work, viewing it as the academic identity which least constrains their intellectual pursuits; for this reason they do not switch fields as one might expect, given their wide-ranging interests. In addition, like the physiologists, they have after a few years made a sizable investment of time, if nothing else, in a philosophy degree and feel that it would be wasteful to begin again on a degree in another field; they do not question, however, the necessity of getting the degree, as well they might, given their views on jobs and specialization.

As they approach graduation, it becomes clear that they will have to get jobs somewhere and engage in some kind of work. This comes as something of a surprise, for neither faculty nor student associates talk about such things, and the matter has never before been brought forcibly to their attention. Their professors provide relatively little sponsorship, and so they are not constrained to remain in the field because of obligations to such sponsors. Faced with the problem of getting jobs, they do realize that their work futures must be seen in terms of their identification by others as philosophers, and they tend to accept this fact and incorporate it into their own self-images. In looking for jobs, they become aware of a number of kinds of positions besides that of member of a college philosophy faculty which they might hold; for example, depending on their other interests, they may find it possible to compete for teaching posts in tangential fields such as literature, research jobs as specialists in logic, and so on. They are thus able to maintain a nonspecialized task orientation even upon entering the labor market.

These heavily intellectually oriented students become Ph.D.'s with a less specialized job potential than most but, except in

this respect, do not change their basic identification much during their graduate training, rather deepening their commitment to the intellectual life and incorporating consciously more of the implications of this commitment. The attachment to the identity is built from this commitment and from the recognition that their jobs, whatever they may be, will be gotten as a result of their academic work in the field of philosophy.

DISCUSSION

Our analysis suggests the operation of certain specific mechanisms producing changes in identity. These mechanisms, as our introductory statements indicate, consist of ways in which participation in organized groups of various kinds affects experience and, through this, self-image. Among the mechanisms operating in the cases under consideration are the development of problem interest and pride in new skills, the acquisition of professional ideology, investment, the internalization of motives, and sponsorship.

Among graduate students changes in participation are the result of movement into the orbits of three kinds of groups: the informal peer group or student clique, the apprentice relationship with professors, and the formal academic structure of the university, involving courses, grades, credits, and degrees. Each such movement generates characteristic kinds of experiences for the person and consequently creates a potential for change in or development of occupational identification. Comparison of our three cases indicates the conditions under which these mechanisms come into play and the way they produce work identification in three of the areas outlined elsewhere: attachment to occupational title, task commitment, and commitment to particular work organizations and/or positions in them.⁷

⁷ These are discussed by Becker and Carper (*ibid.*).

Movement into the academic structure, through matriculation as a graduate student, sets the *investment* mechanism going.⁸ Such a move is an investment of an irreplaceable quantum of time in a particular career, and not to follow that career means a loss of the investment. It is a first step up a ladder, and a misstep necessitates a new start and thus a falling-behind in the competition. Such a mechanism works only where general cultural expectations emphasize age-graded mobility (as they do in this country) and where movement out of the academic structure entirely or into some other specialty would actually prove costly in this respect. The case of the engineers is instructive, for leaving graduate school costs them nothing, and they feel free to leave at any time; they show little change in their occupational identification. The opposite is true of the philosophers and physiologists who, in differing degree, do make this kind of investment. Once in the graduate program, they must continue through until the degree if they are not to lose precious time by having to "start over"; and, once they have the degree, they must remain what they have become in order to cash in on their investment. To the extent that this is true changes take place in their identification, particularly in the area of identification with particular work institutions and positions within them.

Movement into the formal academic structure places the person in classroom contact with men teaching materials new to him and teaching them, owing to the different aims of graduate training, in a quite different way. Matters presented to undergraduates as fact are now interpreted as problematic, as requiring further research, and the person's interest in these problems is aroused. New work techniques are presented, and the student is faced

⁸ See the discussion by Eli Ginzberg and associates in *Occupational Choice: An Approach to a General Theory* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1951), pp. 193-96.

with the challenge of mastering them. Thus constrained by the school situation, perhaps with the opportunity to observe his professors making use of these skills, he acquires them and the interests they presuppose and so becomes associated in the eyes of others with the particular work identity they symbolize. Since his future depends in part on how others identify him, he is pushed in the direction of assuming the identity that goes with his new interests and skills in order that he may satisfactorily meet the expectations of others in the work world. This kind of identification process occurs most strongly where techniques are highly specialized and there is opportunity to see professors using them and where the graduate program keeps interests clearly pointed in one direction, both being the case with the physiologists and to a smaller degree with the philosophers, whose graduate program does not so direct their interests and who have no techniques to learn and no chance to watch their professors at work. (The engineers simply maintain and deepen previous interests and skills, and there is little change in identification, except in the case of those who become teachers, where the interest aroused by teaching experience is influential.) This mechanism of *development of interest* and *acquisition of skill* thus operates to produce identification in the area of task commitment.

The mechanism of *acquisition of ideology*, which operates to produce commitment to occupational title, appears to be closely related to participation in informal student groups and, secondarily, to classroom and informal participation with teachers. It comes into operation when the person begins to raise questions, or have them raised for him, about the worth of the activity he is engaged in, when he asks himself why he is doing this rather than something else. He looks for answers, finds them in the developed professional ideology he becomes aware of in interaction with older students and professors, and takes them

over for his own use. Thus armed, he is able to say why one should be interested in his field rather than others and why it is the best of all possible pursuits. Both the physiologists and the engineers have this strongly, the former acquiring it in their intensive interaction with students and faculty, the latter having already developed it in their undergraduate work. The philosophers have no such specialized ideology tying them to the field of philosophy and correspondingly little attachment to occupational title, a consequence of the fact that they do not participate in cliques of fellow-philosophers and have relatively little informal interaction with teachers.

The *internalization of motives*,⁹ most effective in producing attachment to institutional positions associated with a given work identity, seems to operate primarily in clique and apprenticeship relations. As the person learns about the kinds of positions he may expect after finishing his schooling, he also learns why people want these things. The gossip of the student clique, as well as the talk of his teachers about "placing" him, provides him with a set of reasons for wanting the things which will be available to him and for making choices between them, in the terms of the professional identity he is assuming. He becomes able to explain and understand the choices and acts of others and thus acquires the means of developing impulses and translating them into socialized action in the sphere of work. Among the groups studied this is clearest for the physiologists, who have the greatest degree of clique interaction and apprenticeship.

The structural functions of the *sponsorship*¹⁰ pattern have been explored in many studies, in which it has been described as a means by which persons low in an occupational hierarchy are recommended by more highly placed persons for better positions;

⁹ Foote, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ Hall, "The Stages of the Medical Career," *op. cit.*, and Becker, "Some Contingencies of the Professional Dance Musician's Career," *op. cit.*

MEASURING ROLE CONFLICT¹

JOHN T. GULLAHORN

ABSTRACT

In a study of role conflict among labor-union leaders it was found that certain desired information could not be secured by traditional techniques. Interviews and observation had uncovered a number of typical role-conflict dilemmas met by union officers. Using these situations, a forced-choice questionnaire was devised to assay the importance of pressure from groups in competition for the men's loyalty. The questionnaire measured sensitivity to both positive and negative pressures from the same reference groups and at the same time provided a technique for detecting and estimating the extent of felt role conflict.

This paper is a report on the use of a cumulative scale with three response categories as a technique for detecting and measuring felt role conflict. The study on which it is based began as an attempt to explore role conflict among leaders of labor-union locals. In the beginning the research followed such typical techniques as interviewing, observing meetings, and talking informally with union officers over drinks. Attention was focused on one local union of 950 members and 6 officers; however, supplementary research was conducted with officers of the international union and of two other locals within the same company.

"Role" is used here to mean the way in which a person carries into action the configuration of rights and obligations of a status or structured position he occupies within a group. It includes the way he defines himself and the behavior appropriate to his position and also the way others define him and what his behavior ought to be. "Role conflicts" refers to the situation in which incompatible demands are placed upon an actor (either an individual or a group) because of his role relationships with two or more groups. Generally the person(s) involved feel internally the obligation to meet the competing demands, face the

threat of possible sanctions if they fail to fulfil either demand, and yet find it impossible to comply fully with opposing obligations.

One major area of role conflict in the union locals studied occurred between the family and the union. An illustration is found in the problem faced by an officer whose wife was rushed to the hospital for an emergency operation on an evening when he felt his presence at a union meeting would mean the difference between victory and defeat for himself and his group in an election. Unable to resolve the dilemma, he tried to fulfil both obligations: he spent the evening rushing between the hospital and the meeting, concentrating on neither.

The other groups whose interests were opposed most frequently to those of the local union were the company, the community, subgroups within the local, and the national union. It seemed impossible, however, to rank reference groups according to their relative power to influence decision-making by using only traditional techniques. In the complexity of actual situations it was sometimes uncertain just what groups were placing the union officer in conflict, and the force exerted by any one group usually remained positive or negative within the context of any single problem, so that its power in the reverse direction could not be tested.

An attempt was made in the present study to overcome these difficulties by devising a questionnaire which posed situations that required making decisions important to union members. Each situation was

¹ The author wishes to express appreciation to the Laboratory of Social Relations and the Jacob Wertheim Committee, Harvard University, for financial support of the research on which this paper is based; to Professors Samuel A. Stouffer and Andrew F. Henry, of Harvard, for helpful criticism; and especially to Robert Potter for technical assistance and suggestions.

established so as to place in conflict the roles of the individual answering the questionnaire. Various reference groups which research had indicated were important were placed first in opposition to and then in support of each other. The point of view of each reference group was varied to ascertain whether it exerted greater pressure in a positive or negative direction or was about equally forceful. One page from the questionnaire will demonstrate the format and the type of situation used (see appendix).²

The situation poses two roles: a union chief stewardship and a responsible position in the company-sponsored Employees Club. An attempt is made to establish the role-playing respondent's moral commitment to

TABLE 1

	Average Percentage Who under the Eight Combinations of Pressure Would Resign
From Employee Club office.....	43
From chief stewardship.....	22
Difference.....	21

each. Then moral and practical sanctions are brought into the situation and systematically varied by the qualifying pressures. The respondent is invited to make an either-or choice, withdrawing from one role or the other. However, he is offered an alternative: "Retain both positions." This third course is plainly labeled a decision of desperation, for he is told, "You really haven't time to do both jobs well." Responses in the middle column are thus a rough index of unresolved and felt role conflict.

The format adopted seems to have several advantages. First, by utilization of the

² Frequencies for each response category are as shown in the sample page from the questionnaire. Effective *N* was 149. Reproducibility is .969. Two triplets and a doublet use 7 of 8 items. Class scale frequencies are 12, 40, 63, 34. The distribution of marginals was made less satisfactory by having only two cutting points for each item available for use in contrived items. For a description of the H-technique see S. A. Stouffer *et al.*, "A Technique for Improving Cumulative Scales," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, XVI, No. 2 (September, 1952), 273-91.

"H-technique," it forms a satisfactory scale. Scalability serves notice that the manufactured conflict sits astride a single dimension. It is also evidence that, in the situation used, the qualifying pressures bear a pattern of cumulative force toward one goal or the other. Since the cumulative patterns of pressure belong to a common dimension, it is justifiable to average over the eight pressure combinations the percentage adopting one role to the exclusion of the other, this to be compared with the corresponding average percentage adopting the opposite choice and act of exclusion. The results offer a rough estimate of the relative pull of one commitment over the other. In this situation the picture is given in Table 1.

The greater reluctance to resign from the chief stewardship indicates a stronger commitment to the union (the union as a whole, the executive committee, and those one represents), and a relatively weaker commitment to the Employees Club (management, the group of employees who strongly favor the club, and those who participate actively in club programs). Of equal importance is the indication given by the respondents' choices of relative sensitivity to the welfare and desires of the groups represented by the roles which are in conflict. It is largely this sensitivity which lends the power of influence to a reference group.

A second advantage of the format is that it makes possible the ranking of the influence of the three reference groups used as qualifying pressures and that, while ranking each group's power, the pressure of the other two can be held constant.

All three pressures were effective in introducing consistent differences in responses. The greatest shift in the decision of the role-playing respondents came from yielding to those they represented as chief stewards. The results are presented in Table 2. In determining the effectiveness of each reference group, the pressures of the other two groups are held constant.

The primacy of "the people you represent" is clear. As a reference group it exerts greater influence on behavior than the other

two groups combined. Second in amount of change it can effect in behavior in the situation posed is the executive committee, with management close behind. Because of the small difference between the latter two groups, their relative influence as shown in the table should be viewed with caution.

There are supporting data for the ranking given, if we shift our attention to the opposite response column, "Resign from position of chief steward." All three reference groups exert detectable pressure upon the answers of the respondents. And again the rank of effectiveness in working a shift in response shows "people you represent" at the top. Management pressure, however, exerts a slightly greater force in this situation than does the executive committee.

Further evidence is found to validate the ranking of pressures. Several questions on background data are included on the final page of the questionnaire. Twelve subsamples were selected on the basis of these items. Four combined the categories of sex and union responsibility: male—union membership plus some responsible union duty; male—union membership only; female—union membership plus; female—union membership only. Four subsamples were derived from combinations of sex and length of service (over 15 years or 15 years and under). The third group of four subsamples came from combining length of service and union responsibility. Comparisons of the efficacy of each of the three qualifying pressures were then made for each subsample. In 11 out of 12 cases the pressure of "people you represent as chief steward" proved strongest. The exception was a tie. Eight out of 12 times the executive committee took second place. All three pressures showed weight in influencing responses.

Reference-group pressures proved in this scale (as throughout most of the questionnaire) to be roughly additive. But an interesting variation occurs when the two stronger pressures, "people you represent" and "executive committee" are set to discourage one from retaining the Employees Club office. When these pressures are combined,

the rise in resignation rates from the club is greater than the total afforded by pressures from "people you represent" and from the "executive committee" taken singly and summed. This suggests that when the two stronger of three competing reference groups are in accord, their effectiveness becomes greater. Hence the power of the third disagreeing group would be diminished.

If a person favors (or feels more strongly committed to) one of two competing roles, then role conflict will increase in intensity as reference-group pressures build up in favor of the other role. In the situation presented, we have evidence that the respondents favor retaining the chief stewardship. As pres-

TABLE 2
PER CENT WHO WOULD RESIGN FROM CLUB
OFFICE UNDER PRESSURE

Source of Pressure	Favors Chief Steward	Favors Club Office	Dif- ference
1. People you represent.....	57.26	29.22	28.04
2. Executive committee.....	49.83	36.66	13.17
3. Management....	48.65	37.84	10.81
Average.....	51.91	34.57	17.34

ures which support retaining the club office increase, felt role conflict should also rise in intensity. One possible characteristic of unresolved role conflict is an increasing tendency to view the situation unrealistically—to attempt more than one can accomplish. It is possible to test whether this is so, for the alternatives offered the respondents are rejection of one of the roles or retaining both under the condition that they "really haven't time to do both jobs well." The hypothesis will be supported if, as pressures mount in favor of the Employees Club, a higher percentage of answers fall in the "Retain both positions" category.

With the ranking of pressures which has been established (persons represented being greatest, executive committee second, and management lowest), the pattern of decreasing frequencies of response in the "Retain both positions" category, as shown in Table

3, should prevail if the hypothesis is correct.

In only one comparison do the results fail to support the suggested order. Question 7 pushes a larger number into this desperation category than does question 3. The differ-

ence is only one point, however. On the whole, the results substantiate what was anticipated. Wherever there is a clear-cut difference in the frequency, it is in the direction predicted. Since the range is only 33 (from 32 to 65), the results are encouraging.

The present paper grew out of a research project designed to explore role conflict among union leaders. It discusses a cumulative-scale questionnaire which offers a technique for measuring sensitivity to positive and negative reference-group pressures, and at the same time for detecting and estimating the extent of felt role conflict which the respondents are unable to resolve. Support is presented for the hypothesis that one characteristic of such role conflict is an increasing tendency to view the dilemma unrealistically.

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TABLE 3

Predicted Rank Order of Questions by Fre- quency of Response in Middle Column	Pressures Favoring Employees Club
1.....	All three
5.....	Persons represented and execu- tive committee
3.....	Persons represented and manage- ment
7.....	Persons represented
2.....	Executive committee and man- agement
6.....	Executive committee
4.....	Management
8.....	None
Predicted order.	1>5>3>7>2>6>4>8
Actual fre- quencies.....	65>59>57<58>53>48>36>32

APPENDIX

Assume you are an officer of the Employees Club, which is largely supported by the company. You believe strongly in the union and attend meetings regularly. Your fellow workers have chosen you to be their Chief Steward, and you wonder whether you should resign from the club office so you can devote your time to the job of Chief Steward. *You really haven't time to do both jobs well.* You feel responsible for the continued success of a program which you have started for the club, and at the same time you feel obligated to do a good job as Chief Steward.

In each of the following situations, please check the appropriate space to indicate the action you would be most likely to take.	I would be most likely to do the following		
	Resign from club office	Retain both positions	Resign from position of chief steward
<i>An officer of the company tells you that if you continue your good work in the Employees Club it may lead to a management position. What if—</i>			
1. Both the union Executive Committee and the people you represent as chief steward want you to keep the club office	28	65	55
2. The executive committee wants you to keep the club office—the people you represent want you to serve as steward	63	53	32
3. The executive committee wants you to serve as steward—the people you represent want you to keep the club office	43	57	48
4. Both the executive committee and the people you represent want you to serve as steward	90	36	22
<i>Your work as Chief Steward will give you more chance to make a favorable showing before management than will the club office. What if—</i>			
5. Both the executive committee and the people you represent want you to keep the club office	45	59	44
6. The executive committee wants you to keep the club office—the people you represent want you to serve as steward	81	48	19
7. The executive committee wants you to serve as steward—the people you represent want you to keep the club office	57	58	33
8. Both the executive committee and the people you represent want you to serve as steward	105	32	11

THE EXTRA-PROFESSIONAL ROLE OF THE LAWYER¹

WALTER I. WARDWELL AND ARTHUR L. WOOD

ABSTRACT

Some lawyers participate primarily in politics, others primarily in non-political organizations; still others are relatively inactive in community affairs. The differences are related to differences in organization of professional practice. But whether lawyers participate in community affairs as a means to professional success or as an end in itself, the active lawyer is more likely to be thought of as behaving *as a lawyer should*, i.e., as fulfilling the lawyer's extra-professional role.

Little attention has been paid in sociological literature to the way in which occupation affects one's other social obligations. Some of the correlates of occupation, such as socioeconomic level or style of life, have been studied; but not much attention has been devoted to the expectations and obligations based on occupational role which determine a person's other behavior.

The lawyer (and the same thing appears to be true of some other professional groups) is expected to do certain things not part of his technical work but demanded of him simply because he is a lawyer. For example, political activity has long been almost an attribute of the lawyer's role even though it is clearly not part of his specific function. To what extent is there an extra-professional, or citizenship, role peculiar to lawyers, and what theoretical and practical significance has it? That is the topic of this paper.

We discuss the lawyer's professional role only to exclude it from our inquiry. Whether the lawyer be functioning as *advocate* (pleader in court), *attorney* (agent or rep-

resentative in negotiations), or legal *counselor* (adviser), he is subject to three general sets of obligations laid down in the canons of legal ethics—obligations to clients, to colleagues, and to society at large, the latter most specifically as an officer of the court. Although there are potential conflicts between these different role-obligations, as Carl Taeusch has adequately shown,² the obligations themselves are usually clearly stated, generally known to lawyers, and to a substantial degree observed by them.

The lawyer's citizenship role is by no means so clear cut. It is in the penumbra of the professional role, so to speak. We may define it residually as *those behavior expectations pertaining to the lawyer in relation to his community and society which are not those of every citizen and which are not part of the technical function of the lawyer*. It excludes such things as the lawyer's general obligation as an officer of the court to see that the administration of justice is properly carried out. It is also intended to exclude behavior expectations common to broad segments of the community which may happen to include lawyers among them, such as upper socioeconomic groups, professional people in general, etc.; for there are obviously special citizenship obligations (*noblesse oblige*) common to such groups which are hence not peculiar to lawyers. The lawyer's citizenship role thus excludes behavior expected of any citizen, *qua* citizen, and includes only those special community role-expectations pertaining to the lawyer, *qua* lawyer.

² *Professional and Business Ethics* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1926), chaps. ii and iii.

¹ Data on which this paper is based were collected by the authors for a research project entitled "Study of the Lawyer and the Community," part of the American Bar Association's Survey of the Legal Profession. Lawyers in two communities—a large southern city and a small New England city—were interviewed at length concerning their professional careers and their community activities, to include such things as organization of law practice, relation between law practice and community activity, types of activity engaged in, attitudes on selected social issues, etc. The 266 lawyers interviewed included all those in the New England city and a 40 per cent representative sample of lawyers in the southern city.

One other general area of extra-professional role-expectations, tangential, as it happens, to the subject of this paper, is the lawyers' social relationships with persons with whom they interact professionally. There are three such groups. First, "extra-technical" relationships with colleagues appear not only within a firm but among most members of the bar. Friendly association on a first-name basis is expected of lawyers outside the courtroom.

Clients comprise the second group. A most interesting phenomenon is the indefinite line between what constitutes legal and extra-legal problems of clients. By the latter we mean such things as problems of personal adjustment, purely business decisions, labor relations policy, etc. A few lawyers particularly enjoy the opportunity to be amateur psychologists and become quite adept at counseling. Others become expert in referring clients to specialized community agencies and individuals. And still others say that they just "get rid of" such clients.

A somewhat different aspect of lawyer-client relations is the problem of keeping professional relations separate from friendship, for friendship is precisely what a professional relationship is not. The lawyer is interested primarily in his client's *case*, not in his client *as a person*. If he should let himself become involved in his client's emotional problems or should himself develop an affective relationship with his client (either positive or negative), he might not be able to provide him with efficient legal service. However, pressures for the professional relationship of lawyer and client to break down into something more personal are inherent in the situation because of the client's fear and anxiety and his psychological dependence on the professional expert.

The third group of people with whom the lawyer deals professionally and develops extra-technical relationships is made up of court and law-enforcement personnel. To the extent that the lawyer cultivates these relationships as necessary to the conduct of his practice, as in the case of such unethical devices as client solicitation through the

police or connivance in the matter of court dockets, they would, of course, not be considered "extra-technical." However, personal friendships do arise and may modify the structure of law practice by the appearance of what can be called the informal organization of courts and the administration of justice. Naturally, the incidence of such informal contact varies considerably as between lawyers, depending on their type and field of practice. This subject has been more fully analyzed by Arthur L. Wood in a report prepared for the Survey of the Legal Profession.³

In the "lawyer's citizenship role," what is the positive content?⁴ We suggest the following: First, it is generally expected that a lawyer will be available as a public servant. While the connotation of this term is different from that of "politician," the denotation in general seems to be the same. Although many lawyers in large cities do not enter politics, our data suggest that in smaller communities practically all lawyers are at some time political officeholders or are otherwise active in politics and that even in large cities there are social pressures, although somewhat attenuated, encouraging lawyers to be active in politics.

Second, it is generally assumed that lawyers will be available for various kinds of non-political leadership, particularly where a community service or philanthropic purpose is involved. And related to such organizations are the fund-raising drives which maintain them. There seem to be strong sentiments that lawyers should and will serve on such committees—as, indeed, they do.

Third, there are law-related activities, such as legal-aid societies and lawyer-reference plans, for which the legal profession as

³ "Survey of Criminal Law and Litigation" (unpublished); cf. also his paper "Informal Relations in the Practice of Criminal Law" (submitted for publication).

⁴ See also in this connection Albert P. Blaustein and Charles O. Porter, *The American Lawyer* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954), esp. chap. iv.

a whole feels a collective responsibility. Although not all lawyers may be active participants, some feel a personal or perhaps a professional obligation to work on such problems.

To what extent are there social pressures on the lawyer to fulfil this extra-professional role? Interviews with lawyers reveal a wide range of attitudes. At one extreme is the lawyer who says: "A lawyer is naturally interested in the government of his community. It's almost a part of his profession. He knows more about it than the layman." At the other extreme is the man who is in politics solely to build up his practice: "You can't afford to ignore politics. . . . Other things being equal, I would like not to be in politics. I suffer the torture of the damned when I have to speak. . . . It's not the money in politics, it's the contacts. As a lawyer it's nice to know people. . . . You won't make a nickel unless people know you are there." The following account lies somewhere in between these two types of social pressures: "I was brought up that way. My father was [active in politics]. Soaked it up with my pabulum. . . . After a while it gets to be a habit. When election time comes around you begin to run a temperature." In the case of non-political activity there are similar pressures to be active:

Whether he likes it or not a lawyer has to be active in some civic affairs.

I wish now that I had taken an active part [in community affairs]. It is something that could have been done that wasn't done.

Lawyers are fairly well qualified. Others won't or can't get up to speak. If a town is good enough to bring your kids up in, it's good enough to help out.

The pressure to be active varies with the type of practice the lawyer has, particularly as between solo practitioners and members of well-established firms. This inference is based on actual rates of participation in politics and non-political organizations found in the study already referred to. In a large southern city, where the total amount of lawyers' political participation was far less

than in a smaller New England community, 56 per cent of the solo practitioners had been active in politics, as compared with 40 per cent of the partners and 28 per cent of the associates in firms. In the case of participation in non-political organizations the relationship was reversed—48 per cent of the partners being in the more active group, as compared with 36 per cent of the solo practitioners and 23 per cent of the associates in firms.

The key to this difference lies in the relation of political and non-political activity to career advancement. An associate in an established firm does not need to attract clients to himself personally but merely to do a good technical job on the cases to which he is assigned. There is little reason for him to seek political office. In fact, many firms prefer that their members not become involved in politics at all, for fear of alienating clients. As the associate advances within his firm, however, he seeks wider contacts within the community. These enhance the "public relations" of the firm and are important in attracting and retaining important clients. Thus we can understand why firm members are more active than other lawyers in non-political organizations. Since they feel obliged as lawyers to be active in community affairs and since politics is often distasteful or closed to them, they participate more frequently in non-political organizations than do solo practitioners.

Solo practitioners have a difficult time getting established in law practice. They need to become known in the community not merely as public-minded individuals but *as lawyers*, because only in this way will they attract clients. A young lawyer can establish this kind of reputation most easily if he goes into politics, a field that is formally open to all citizens who desire to enter, in contrast with some non-political organizations which demand high social qualifications. Politics also provides lawyers with a natural outlet for their talents and brings them more into the public eye than most other kinds of community service. Although they usually have to accept very minor po-

litical offices at first, young lawyers ordinarily have sufficient time to devote to them and to the party tasks which can lead to more important political offices. Hence solo practitioners are more likely to adopt the political route to prominence in civic affairs. Nevertheless, it is not uncommon for lawyers to abandon politics as soon as they get established in practice.

The lawyer's extra-professional role is thus not independent of his professional role but is, in fact, closely related to it. However, we cannot escape the fact that he has "extra-curricular" obligations of a special kind simply because he is a lawyer. While the same may be true of certain other occupational groups, such as physicians, the lawyer's extra-professional obligations are distinguished by being related closely to the organized political unit and to formally organized groups serving community purposes. This brings the lawyer's extra-professional activities to public attention more

than is true of other groups and gives them special significance. There results a sense of urgency about the lawyer's citizenship role which does not exist in the case of other occupational groups. This is revealed both in the internalized feelings of lawyers and in the expectations and demands by others that lawyers should be active in community affairs. From this point of view it makes little difference whether lawyers perceive community activity principally as a *means* to getting a reputation as a lawyer and building a practice or as an *end in itself*. There is no doubt that at least some segments of the public view the man who is active in community affairs as behaving *as a lawyer should*. Other things being equal, this man will be recognized professionally as a lawyer more quickly than one who is not active. These attitudes and expectations constitute the social pressure on the lawyer to fulfil his role as a citizen.

UNIVERSITY OF CONNECTICUT

THE DRUGGISTS' DILEMMA: PROBLEMS OF A MARGINAL OCCUPATION

THELMA HERMAN MCCORMACK

ABSTRACT

Pharmacy, a marginal occupation between business and profession and currently undergoing major economic and technological changes, creates identification problems for its trainees. Findings based on a questionnaire given to a group of pharmacy students suggest a general pattern of conflict avoidance, idealizing both small business protected from competition and medical careers. Comparisons with Hatt-North data indicate greater prestige given to medical-scientific occupations than the latter elicit from the general population. Evidently, socioeconomic status determines whether business or professional orientation will give the profession its character.

The findings reported here are based on a study of attitudes among first-year students in a school of pharmacy. Specifically, we were concerned with (1) their general ideological frame of reference; (2) the occupational image which they projected of themselves; and (3) whether their orientation was predominantly toward business or professional goals.

More generally, we were interested in how persons entering a marginal occupation handle their special status subjectively: whether occupational marginality creates in them a self-consciousness which, assuming it to be externalized, would appear in their allocations of prestige to their own and other occupations. Do such persons view the prestige ratings of the occupational hierarchy differently from others, and do they entertain a different ordering of occupations as to prestige? And to what degree is their sensitivity, as it might appear in their ratings and ranking, checked and restrained by reality?

The considerations which prompted this inquiry were several, among them a growing appreciation of the importance of marginal occupations for theories of social stratification. Processes of change and adjustment are frequently more visible in the occupations which lie along the edges of any given system of occupational classification than elsewhere. And such processes must, indeed, be understood if a classificatory scheme is to do more than account for mere numbers in the labor force.

Pharmacy is of special interest because, unlike new or antisocial occupations, its marginality is of degree rather than of kind. Its structure is sufficiently undefined so that it may attract persons who are marginal in the social structure and who impose the concomitants of the ambiguous status on the occupation.¹ Its functions are sufficiently unclear that the problems of acquiring sanction and legitimacy persist.² But what primarily distinguishes pharmacy as marginal is its incorporation of the conflicting goals of business and profession. The role of the pharmacist is unstable to the degree that it is beset by the cross-pressures of the business and professional worlds. These pressures are by no means unique to pharmacy. On the contrary, the numerous observations that businesses are becoming professionalized or that the professions are becoming businesses show that the dualism is endemic and a common problem. In the case of pharmacy it is more acute.

The special intensity of the conflict in pharmacy can be explained largely by the rapid economic and technological developments of the last thirty years. At an earlier time pharmacy was more clearly a small retail business and the pharmacist an entrepreneur. But the growth of chain stores and

¹ For a more complete and analytical discussion of marginal occupations see Everett Cherrington Hughes, "Dilemmas and Contradiction of Status," *American Journal of Sociology*, L (1945), 353-59.

² Walter I. Wardwell, "A Marginal Professional Role: The Chiropractor," *Social Forces*, XXX (1952), 339-48.

other forms of large-scale retail enterprise have increasingly threatened the businessman status of the pharmacist. In 1948, for example, corporations which accounted for only 17 per cent of the number of drugstores did approximately the same amount of business as the two-thirds which were individual proprietorships.³ And as the trend toward concentration continues, fair-trade agreements notwithstanding, the pharmacist is harder pressed to find new goods and services to offer the consumer. In the United States, as in England, in the near future there may well be increasingly less freedom to choose whether one will be a self-employed pharmacist or a salaried employee.⁴

Professionalization by means of formal training has been the major counteracting force. The movement for higher and more uniform educational standards for pharmacists began at the turn of the century and was stimulated in part by increasing knowledge of scientific medicine and therapeutic agents. Since 1932, four-year programs beyond high school are required by states for a pharmacy license; five- and six-year programs are currently under consideration. These programs require university courses in mathematics, chemistry, biology, and related sciences. But, more important, they project a model of the pharmacist as a disinterested scientist, a man who understands "the principles upon which the methods of pharmacy depend."⁵

The young pharmacist who develops a professional identification through his education may not view the present economic development of pharmacy with alarm. Instead, he may look upon the loss of entrepreneurial opportunity as a blessing in disguise, freeing him from demands which interfere with the full realization of his inter-

ests. A job with a large pharmaceutical company, a hospital, or a university may seem more attractive than an independent business. But to others with a business orientation, the pleasures of being a member of the "new middle class" may seem more dubious. Many of them will be able to own or partly own their own pharmacies, only to discover that their education has failed to equip them for the hard facts of the market place. Finally, a fourth group includes those who have a professional identification but are in business for themselves.⁶ Such a pharmacist must pay dearly in time and energy for the small part of his work which gives him his claim to professional status.⁷

It is the fourth group for whom the dilemma is most keen and on whom may depend the long-range outcome of the occupation, whether it becomes more clearly a profession or a business. In the interim he is able to function because of the overlapping of business and professional demands. As Parsons has indicated, both are rational as contrasted with traditional; both seek universalistic solutions; both make authority dependent on technical competence and view authority as highly specialized rather than diffuse.⁸ Yet within this framework the two systems are not in accord, and the "collective" or service objectives of a profession are at odds with the pecuniary goals of a business. Continually the pharmacist faces decisions which involve a choice of one or the other. How these decisions are made will depend to some degree on his value-system—whether he sees himself as a professional performing a social service or acting in the capacity of a seller.

⁶ For an insightful study of pharmacy and its career patterns see Anthony Weinlein, "Pharmacy as a Profession with Special Reference to the State of Wisconsin" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Chicago, 1943).

⁷ It has been estimated that prescription sales account for about 20 per cent of the total volume of sales (*Drug Trade*, p. 82).

⁸ Talcott Parsons, "The Professions and Social Structure," in *Essays in Sociological Theory Pure and Applied* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), pp. 185-99.

³ *U.S. Census of Business, 1948, The Drug Trade* (Washington, D.C.: Department of Commerce, Government Printing Office, 1948), p. 78, Table 28A.

⁴ A. M. Carr-Saunders and P. A. Wilson, *The Professions* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1933), p. 138.

⁵ *Pharmaceutical Survey* (Washington, D.C.: American Council of Education, 1948), p. 8.

A questionnaire was given to students entering a college of pharmacy. The schedule included the Hatt-North list of occupations, so that comparisons could be made of prestige ratings given to occupations by student-pharmacist respondents with those given by business and professional respondents in the national sample.⁹ The number of student-pharmacist respondents was 117 and consisted of the entire Freshman class of the school; median age was eighteen years; all but 4 were male; and but 6 were nonveterans, and all but 11 per cent were single. One-third of the group were Protestant, one-third Catholic, and one-fourth Jewish. The remainder were either "independent" or gave no religious affiliation.¹⁰ Over half had spent most of their lives in cities of over 100,000, and only 16 per cent were the grandchildren of farmers. The respondents came from families in which the median number of children was two; in almost 20 per cent of the cases the respondent was an only child. Among youngest children, i.e., cases in which it could be assumed that family size was fixed, 45 per cent were from families of two children. Among Catholic respondents, 24 per cent were only children.

The impression that pharmacists are drawn from small, upwardly mobile urban families is confirmed by the socioeconomic status of the students. Only one-third came from homes where the chief wage-earner was a manual worker; the remaining two-thirds were from the small-business and white-collar classes. None were from high-status professional groups—medicine, law, or the

ministry. Only one was the son of a teacher, and only one was the son of a manufacturer, in this instance, a pharmaceutical manufacturer. Seventeen per cent were sons of pharmacists, while another 11 per cent had some "near relative" who was a pharmacist.¹¹ Pharmacy appears, then, to be an occupation partially open to lower-income groups and unappealing to those in high-income groups, which draws mainly from within the middle class with occupational inheritance still in evidence.¹²

Mobility and other economic expectations.—If these data suggest that pharmacy is more often a point on a horizontal than on a vertical mobility continuum, it is not seen as such by those entering the occupation, 85 per cent of whom expected to have incomes greater than their fathers'. The expectation of economic ascent is, of course, part of the ideology in our culture, and prevailing full employment of pharmacists encourages the optimism. But the factor which sustains this belief, perhaps more than any other, is the educational mobility already realized by the group. As first-year college students, 63 per cent had more education than their fathers, and if the entire group completes the four-year program, 78 per cent will have had more education than their fathers. To the degree, then, that formal education is instrumental in upward mobility and correlated with it in an absolute sense, their expectations may not be entirely unrealistic.

Another indication of their aspirations is the images they have of themselves for the future. Overwhelmingly they saw themselves as owners of retail drugstores (85 per

⁹ The list of occupations and the method of computing prestige ratings were developed by Hatt and North (see Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," *Opinion News*, September, 1947, pp. 3-13). The original list of Hatt and North was used here except for the following changes: (1) "Pharmacist," not in the original list, was substituted for "sociologist"; (2) "Owner of a factory that employs a 100 people" was omitted. The late Professor Hatt generously made the original data of the national sample available to me.

¹⁰ The ethnic heterogeneity of the group further emphasized the uncertain status of the occupation (see Hughes, *op. cit.*).

¹¹ Comparing first-year pharmacy students with first-year accountancy students, Kaback found the family tradition greater for pharmacists (Goldie Ruth Kaback, *Vocational Personalities* [New York: Bureau of Publications, Teachers College, Columbia University, 1946], p. 18).

¹² The trend for schools of pharmacy to be attached to state universities or other tax-supported institutions should have the effect of making the training more accessible to lower-income groups. But this democratization would presumably be canceled if the length of training required is, as contemplated, extended to five or six years.

cent), located in medium-sized cities or small towns (73 per cent), and carrying out their businesses in residential rather than business districts (80 per cent). There was a decided disinclination to run a small business in a large city or commercial district where conditions would be strongly competitive and the conflict between professional and commercial demands greatest. The dream of working in suburbia, like the dream of living in it, lessens the threat of conflicting interests.

How the images of one's economic role are formed still eludes precise analysis. These respondents appear largely to agree that personality, ethnic, and socioeconomic differences are of little importance. What appears to be operating is a situational image capable of withstanding the assault of selective needs. But this image is by no means spontaneous. Historical factors enter into it. Some light is thrown on it by a comparison of students of pharmacy with students of accounting. When they were asked about their goals, student pharmacists mentioned "ownership of organization" significantly more often than student accountants.¹³ Since it is extremely unlikely that there is an ideological bias here which would make accountants *more* critical of business values than pharmacists, the explanation appears to be the organizational differences between the two occupations: pharmacy, with its small-business tradition, encourages the expectation of being an employer; accountancy, so closely tied to the development of large-scale corporate finance, projects an image of being an employee.

The pervasiveness and strength of the situational image would seem to be more puzzling. It would be understandable enough in the case of well-established non-marginal occupations, but presumably the stereotypes of marginal occupations offer more opportunity for individual and arbitrary projection. And, indeed, this may well be the case, nor is it contradictory to suggest

that the marginal occupation, no less than others, requires some conformity by its members. To the extent that occupational stereotypes function to curtail disruptive deviations, pharmacists are required to subordinate their individual differences to its demands, regardless of how inconsistent the image may be with the changing economic environment.

In pharmacy, apprenticeship, one of the oldest and most effective means of transmitting and preserving an occupational stereotype, is important. Ninety per cent of the respondents had worked in drugstores prior to enrolling in the school. Moreover, for 79 per cent of the cases, this face-to-face contact with the older generation took place in independent stores; only 11 per cent had worked in chain stores exclusively.

Class identification.—It was not unusual to find that three out of four thought chain drugstores were undesirable, and nine out of ten disapproved of pharmacies in department stores. Those with chain-store experience were significantly less opposed to chains than were those whose experience was restricted to independent stores.¹⁴ Also, those who came from working-class families were more favorably disposed toward chains than those from middle-class families. The consumer advantages of big business and its rationalized employment policies were possibly better known and more attractive to the lower-income groups. However, the higher-income groups did not view themselves as executives of chains or in other ways in control of large organizations. Their limited economic aspirations protected their professional interests, for, along with low-income groups, they saw big business as interfering with "professional" performance.

Attitudes toward trade-unions were slightly more sympathetic. More than two-thirds said they would not join unions. But put in the situation of employers, more than half said they would probably approve if their employees wanted to join unions. In

¹³ Kaback, *op. cit.*, Table 12, p. 109.

¹⁴ Unless otherwise specified, the term "significance" used in connection with statistical findings will refer to the .95 confidence level.

each case the favorable attitude toward unions was significantly greater for those who came from low-income groups and for those who had chain-store experience. Many of them, more experienced with unions, were more aware of their functions and more critical of the negative stereotypes of organized labor. Already many of them had had firsthand knowledge of the wide gap between themselves and top management and knew the obstacles in the way of individual bargaining.

Although the majority expected to own pharmacies, not all preferred to start out this way. Forty per cent wanted to begin as employees. In most cases they felt that there were tricks of the trade not taught in schools, and to this extent they were skeptical of the "impractical" professional emphasis of their formal training.

Whether they saw themselves starting out as proprietors or working up to it, they regarded economic self-sufficiency and professional status as both within reach. Their failure to question the possibility of enjoying the best of two worlds was reflected largely in their admiration of the physician. When asked what occupation they would advise a young man to go into, 37 per cent mentioned medicine.

Reasons for selecting pharmacy.—Medicine had a real hold on their imagination,¹⁵ yet 7 per cent were convinced that pharmacy is instrumental to a later career in medicine, and 7 per cent said that they chose pharmacy because they were unable to go to medical school. Fifty per cent said they chose it because of an aptitude; economic security was mentioned by 40 per cent, and 14 per cent mentioned a desire to contribute to social welfare.

The importance given to aptitude and the indifference to the social function of pharmacy points again to an individualism which seems to characterize the group. Paradoxically, there is some evidence that the popu-

¹⁵ The discrepancy between occupational prestige and one's own occupational aspiration was even more apparent in Form's study of Greenbelt, Maryland (William H. Form, "Toward an Occupational Social Psychology," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXIV [1946], 85-99).

lar stereotype of the pharmacist credits him less with skill than with "idealism" and a desire to serve the community.¹⁶ This misunderstanding between the pharmacist and his public may have an adverse effect on the former. If the opportunities for the use of aptitude are sufficient in the practice of pharmacy, he may find it satisfying enough to dismiss the public's attitude. But if, on the contrary, the work provides fewer opportunities for the use of his scientific training and aptitude than anticipated, serious adjustment difficulties may ensue.

Most of our respondents were aware of the extra-aptitudinal demands of their calling. When asked to describe the most important characteristics of a successful pharmacist, 56 per cent mentioned personality traits. And when asked why some pharmacists did not succeed, technical ineptitude was mentioned by only 27 per cent, as contrasted with an undesirable personality mentioned by 51 per cent and lack of business ability by 41 per cent. Yet some doubt persists as to how realistic they are about success or failure. Specifically, a question may be raised about their preoccupation with "personality": whether it is, in a debased form, an expression of what they view as American individualism and hence the survival of an older ideological tradition, or whether it is, as Mills has suggested, a new value emerging concurrently with the decline of skill.¹⁷ In any case it reflects the pharmacist's insight that he cannot survive alone by dispensing a necessary service and that he must, like a businessman, give some attention to marketing techniques. Though not conclusive, there is some evidence that pharmacy is seen by others as a highly impersonal occupation.¹⁸

¹⁶ Lillian Wald Kay, "The Relation of Personal Frames of Reference to Social Judgment," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 283 (May, 1943). Her sample ranked pharmacy sixth in a group of twelve occupations requiring "social usefulness"; seventh for requiring "idealism" (above engineering and business); and ninth for requiring intelligence.

¹⁷ C. Wright Mills, *White Collar* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1951), pp. 182-88.

¹⁸ Kay, *op. cit.*, p. 39.

Occupational prestige.—A similar lack of agreement between pharmacists and outside groups occurs with respect to the prestige of pharmacy. Pharmacists rated only four of the eighty-nine occupations above their own: U.S. Supreme Court justice, physician, nuclear physicist, and scientist. In the same rank as their own they placed chemist and dentist, thus denying their marginal status. Table 1 shows, too, that pharmacists rated (and ranked) chemist and dentist higher than either the national sample or subgroups within it. And it is from this that we can infer the tendency of phar-

macists; for the pharmacists' tendency was to construct within the professional series a group of scientific occupations with physician at the top.

The priority given to scientific occupations meant that public service occupations were depressed (Table 2). Note, too, that the ranking by pharmacists of clergymen—minister (18) and priest (14)—below scientific occupations points to an urban secularism in the group and complements Anderson's earlier study, in which rural students gave relatively high prestige ratings to clergymen.²¹

TABLE 1
COMPARISONS OF PRESTIGE RATINGS AND RANKS GIVEN BY
PHARMACY STUDENTS (NATIONAL SAMPLE AND
SUBGROUPS WITHIN NATIONAL SAMPLE)*

OCCUPATIONS	PHARMA- CISTS	TOTAL	NATIONAL SAMPLE	
			Professional	Business
U.S. Supreme Court justice.....	97 (1)	96 (1)	98 (1)	98 (1)
Physician.....	96 (2)	93 (2)	93 (4)	93 (4)
Nuclear physicist.....	95 (3)	86 (15)	91 (6)	88 (12)
Scientist.....	93 (4)	89 (7)	91 (6)	90 (7)
Pharmacist.....	91 (6)	Not included in national sample		
Chemist.....	91 (6)	86 (15)	87 (12)	87 (17)
Dentist.....	91 (6)	86 (15)	86 (16)	87 (17)

* Numbers in parentheses are ranks.

macists to vest more prestige in pharmacy than others would be willing to do.

Although pharmacists idealized their chosen occupation (and it may be recalled that for 28 per cent it was the occupation of a near relative), they were not without what Hartmann has called "occupational insight" as to its position in the occupations hierarchy: they rated it high, but not highest.¹⁹ Unlike full-fledged professionals, they deferred to recognize professions above their own.²⁰ Their modesty might have been more apparent if "physician" did not occupy an inordinately high rank and exert an upward pull on other scientific and medically related

From these data it might be thought that marginality in this instance makes for a deviant outlook, at least as far as the prestige of occupations is concerned. But this conclusion would be unwarranted, for if we examine even the raw prestige scores given to major occupational categories, there is a striking agreement between pharmacists and the national sample (Table 3). The average prestige score, based on the total list of occupations, was 67 for pharmacists and 69 for the national sample.

A more justifiable conclusion would be that pharmacists deviate in their prestige judgments only for the class of occupations in which they perceive their own. There perception error was restricted to the professional situs,²² where they (1) allied them-

¹⁹ George W. Hartmann, "The Prestige of Occupations," *Personnel Journal*, XIII (October, 1934), 144-52.

²⁰ Walter Coutu, "The Relative Prestige of Twenty Professions as Judged by Three Groups of Professional Students," *Social Forces*, XIV, No. 4 (1936), 522-29.

²¹ W. A. Anderson, "Occupational Attitudes and Choices of a Group of College Men," *Social Forces*, VI, No. 2 (1927-28), 278-83, 467-73.

²² The term "situs" was first introduced by Émile

selves with a medical-scientific group, (2) upgraded themselves within this group, and (3) raised the entire group above other professional occupations. But outside their own situs, they perceived the occupational hierarchy much as it is perceived by others.

Professional and business prestige judgments.—It is clear from the tendency of pharmacists to equate themselves with dentists and chemists that they do not see themselves as marginal to the professional group. Nor do they, at the present time, clearly differentiate between the self-em-

sons were made between pharmacist respondents and each of these two groups. The coefficient of rank-order correlation for pharmacists and professionals was .95; for pharmacists and business people, .96. The average prestige score for pharmacists based on this selected group of occupations was 60; for professionals, 57; and for business respondents, 64.

There seems to be little doubt, then, that there is a strong ambivalence in the attitudes of pharmacists. Father's occupation had a slight influence on the business or pro-

TABLE 2

PRESTIGE RATINGS AND RANKS GIVEN TO SELECTED GROUP OF OCCUPATIONS BY PHARMACY STUDENTS AND A NATIONAL SAMPLE*

Occupations	Pharmacists	National Sample
State governor.....	90 (7.5)	93 (2)
Cabinet member in the federal government.....	88 (10.5)	92 (4)
Diplomat in the U.S. foreign service.....	87 (14)	92 (4)
Mayor of a large city.....	86 (18)	90 (6)
College professor.....	87 (14)	89 (7)
Scientist.....	93 (4)	89 (7)
U.S. representative in Congress.....	87 (14)	89 (7)
Banker.....	86 (18)	88 (10)
Government scientist.....	89 (9)	88 (10)
County judge.....	83 (21.5)	87 (12)
Head of a department in a state government.....	87 (14)	87 (12)
Minister.....	86 (18)	87 (12)
Architect.....	88 (10.5)	87 (12)
Chemist.....	91 (6)	86 (15)
Dentist.....	91 (6)	86 (15)

* Numbers in parentheses are ranks. In ranking occupations by pharmacists, pharmacy was omitted, so that the two lists would be comparable.

ployed professional dentist and the employee professional chemist. But the more basic problem raised in this discussion was whether they gravitate toward business or professional values when the two are either in conflict or separated.

To examine this problem, occupations in which there were significant differences between the ratings of business and professional groups in the national sample were selected from the Hatt-North data, and compared

Benoit-Smullyan in "Status, Status Types, and Status Interrelations," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 151-61, and was used by Hatt to describe subscales within a list of occupations which did not, as a whole, scale (see Paul K. Hatt, "Occupations and Social Stratification," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV (May, 1950), 533-43).

TABLE 3

AVERAGE PRESTIGE SCORES FOR MAJOR CATEGORIES OF OCCUPATIONS GIVEN BY PHARMACY STUDENTS AND A NATIONAL SAMPLE

Occupational Categories	Pharmacists	National Sample
Government officials.....	88	91
Professional and semiprofessional.....	80	77
Proprietors, managers, and officials.....	71	74
Clerical, sales, and kindred....	64	68
Craftsmen, foremen, and kindred.....	65	68
Farmers and farm managers....	59	61
Protective service workers....	53	58
Operatives and kindred workers.....	50	53
Farm laborers.....	46	53
Service workers.....	45	47
Laborers (except farm).....	42	46

professional orientation, contrary to expectation: pharmacists with working-class backgrounds behaved more like the professionals than like the business respondents. Specifically, they rated middle-range occupations lower than these were rated by pharmacists who had white-collar and middle-class backgrounds. The explanation for this may lie in a differential mobility aspiration: students with low socioeconomic status backgrounds may judge occupations near their own class backgrounds harshly, since they are more dissatisfied with their own economic environment and more eager to disengage themselves from it. If this is the case, it raises more problems than it answers, for it is inconsistent with the present theory of mobility: that if and when upward mobility occurs, it is within the narrow range of adjacent classes. To the extent that pharmacists with working-class backgrounds behave like the top prestige groups, whatever their motivation, they are, in effect, jumping the business group.

But this leap is not so clear-cut as it appears at first. There were three occupations to which pharmacy respondents with working-class backgrounds gave unusually high prestige ratings: local official of labor union, official of international union, and tenant farmer who owns livestock and manages the farm. Again, it may well be that this group is better informed about union officials; yet this fact and the earlier findings on trade-union sympathies make it appear probable that they retain certain loyalties to their own class, despite their high mobility aspirations.

The young pharmacist today is trained as a professional; his interests and ability for scientific research are carefully developed, preparing him for the laboratory work required by hospitals, schools, and pharmaceutical companies. Yet few pharmacists see themselves in this position. Most expect to become proprietors, with the status of inde-

pendent professionals, thus fusing the two systems and avoiding a final choice. In this process the entrepreneurial drive is modified by criticism of big business and by retreat from highly competitive circumstances; the professional drive is blunted by subordinating a service goal to individual achievement for its own sake.

At best, this adjustment is not capable of providing the satisfactions of either pole. A search for prestige is one of the devices used to acquire a sense of importance apart from the work itself. Pharmacists, as we have seen, give greater prestige to their own occupation than it would ordinarily be accorded. But more important and more revealing of marginality was the way in which this prestige was acquired, i.e., by viewing it as part of a medical-scientific group. In this instance the tendency toward closure, often regarded as an inherent characteristic of professions, was reversed. The pharmacists' aim was to force the established medical-scientific professions to include pharmacy.

But if the young pharmacist inflates his own prestige by inflating that of the group in which he sees himself, his manipulation of reality ends there. For his general view of the occupations structure was the same as others. His judgements outside the medical group were in agreement with those of the larger population. A marginality of kind, rather than of degree might show a greater distortion.

Our data consistently suggested that the socioeconomic backgrounds of trainees may well influence the way they finally resolve their problem of identification. Those who come from low-income groups have fewer loyalties to business and may find it easier to adjust to the role of a salaried professional. But, ironically, they may be the very ones excluded as the professional training required is lengthened. In that case the marginality which now exists may be prolonged over a greater period of time.

McGILL UNIVERSITY

ROLE-TAKING, ROLE STANDPOINT, AND REFERENCE-GROUP BEHAVIOR¹

RALPH H. TURNER

ABSTRACT

In order to clarify the meaning and usefulness of the concept of "role-taking," some major types of role-taking behavior are differentiated and their relations to the concepts of "empathy" and "reference group" are explored. Role-taking may or may not include adoption of the standpoint of the other as one's own and may or may not be reflexive, these distinctions being related to its functions in the acquisition or implementation of values and to the element of self-consciousness in behavior. Coincidence of certain reference-group meanings with types of role-taking and possibilities for enhancing the usefulness of the reference-group concept are discussed.

For decades sociologists have made reference to "taking the role of the other" ("role-taking" for short) as a basic explanatory concept in relating the acts of the individual to the social contexts of his actions. In general, the term has been employed as a broadly "sensitizing concept"² rather than with precise denotations suitable to empirical research. Some years after these terms had become commonplace in sociological literature a new school of social relations appropriated the term "role-taking" to describe the particular procedures involved in the psychodrama and sociodrama.³ On top of this earlier vagueness have been superimposed recent discussions of "role-taking capacity" and "empathic ability."⁴ Finally, a new concept of "reference group," which has achieved meteoric prominence, quite obviously overlaps in some respects the earlier role-taking.

In this paper we shall consider the value

of the concept "role-taking" in its more traditional senses by an examination of some of the special variations in meaning which can be assigned to it. We shall suggest some conceptual distinctions which, by differentiating types of role-taking activity, can render use of the concept more specific and more precise. Based on this discussion, we can then suggest boundaries to forestall tendencies which broaden the concept beyond all usefulness. Finally, we shall note the light which our analysis of role-taking may shed upon the idea of reference group and attempt to designate the specific scope of each concept.

THE MEANING OF ROLE-TAKING

Role-taking in its most general form is a process of looking at or anticipating another's behavior by viewing it in the context of a role imputed to that other. It is thus always more than simply a reaction to another's behavior in terms of an arbitrarily understood symbol or gesture.

(By role) we mean a collection of patterns of behavior which are thought to constitute a meaningful unit and deemed appropriate to a person occupying a particular status in society (e.g., doctor or father), occupying an informally defined position in interpersonal relations (e.g., leader or compromiser), or identified with a particular value in society (e.g., honest man or patriot).⁵

¹ The author is indebted to Helen P. Beem for a critical reading of the manuscript.

² Cf. Herbert Blumer, "What Is Wrong with Social Theory?" *American Sociological Review*, XIX (February, 1954), 3-9.

³ Cf. J. L. Moreno, *Psychodrama* (New York: Beacon House, 1946).

⁴ Cf. Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and Rosalind F. Dymond, "The Empathic Responses: A Neglected Field for Research," *Psychiatry*, XII (1949), 355-59; Rosalind F. Dymond, "A Scale for the Measurement of Empathic Ability," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XIII (1949), 127-33; Harrison G. Gough, "A Sociological Theory of Psychopathy," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIII (March, 1948), 359-66.

⁵ Role is conceived more inclusively here than in Linton's famous definition (Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* [New York: Appleton-Century Co., 1936], pp. 113 ff.). The term "appropriate"

We shall stress the point that a role consists of behaviors which are regarded as making up a meaningful unit. The linkage of behaviors within roles is the source of our expectations that certain kinds of action will be found together. When people speak of trying to "make sense" of someone's behavior or to understand its meaning, they are typically attempting to find the role of which the observed actions are a part.

Role will be consistently distinguished from status or position or value type as referring to the whole of the behavior which is felt to belong intrinsically to those subdivisions. Role refers to behavior rather than position, so that one may *enact* a role but cannot *occupy* a role. However, role is a normative concept. It refers to expected or appropriate behavior and is distinguished from the manner in which the role is actually enacted in a specific situation, which is *role behavior* or *role performance*.⁶ While a norm is a directive to action, a role is a *set of norms*, with the additional normative element that the individual is expected to be consistent. The role is made up of all those norms which are thought to apply to a person occupying a given position. Thus, we return to our initial emphasis that the crucial feature of the concept of role is its reference to the assumption that certain different norms are meaningfully related or "go together."

With only unimportant qualifications, we shall accept the delimited meaning of role-taking proposed by Walter Coutu,⁷ which distinguishes the imaginative construction of the other's role (role-taking) from the overt enactment of what one conceives to be one's own appropriate role in a given

in the definition is purposely left without a further referent, since the particular content of the role (i.e., that which is regarded as appropriate) will vary depending upon the vantage point of the person or persons formulating the role conception. Cf. also Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), I, 223-58.

⁶ Cf. Theodore M. Newcomb, *Social Psychology* (New York: Dryden Press, 1950), p. 330.

situation (role-playing) and from the overt enactment of a role as a form of pretense ("playing-at" a role). Role-taking may proceed from identifying a position to inferring its role and in this manner anticipating the behavior of an individual. Or it may proceed from observing a segment of behavior to identifying the feelings or motives behind the behavior or to anticipating subsequent behavior. In either case certain actions are interpreted or anticipated upon the basis of the entire role of which they are assumed to be a part.

In the present discussion the manner in which an individual conceives the role of another will not be examined as an isolated form of behavior. The self-other relationship will be viewed as an aspect of a total social act.⁸ The actor takes the role of another in carrying out some behavior of his own; role-taking is an adjunct to the determination or application of one's own role in a given situation. Accordingly, for present purposes we shall disregard the usage of role-taking as the enactment of roles in the sociodramatic setting when that usage detaches the roles from their specific implications for the way in which the actor

⁷ "Role-playing vs. Role-taking: An Appeal for Clarification," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1951), 180-87. Coutu's reference to role taking as "imagining what the other person 'thinks he is supposed to do'" (p. 181) corresponds to our usage if the word "supposed" is used in a broad sense. However, the distinction between attitude and role that Coutu mentions (p. 181) is well taken but need not be applied in the manner he suggests. If an attitude is a tendency to act toward a particular category of objects, a role is made up of attitudes. When one seeks to identify a particular attitude of some other person, he does so by placing himself in that other person's position, imaginatively reviewing that other's role until the attitude in question is indicated. Thus, taking the attitude of the other is part of a role-taking process, and Mead's usage does not do violence to contemporary use of the concept of role.

⁸ "Social act" is used in the sense indicated by Ellsworth Faris and George Herbert Mead. For a brief statement of this conception see Ellsworth Faris, *The Nature of Human Nature* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1937), pp. 144 ff.

will define his own role.⁹ Furthermore, our purpose in understanding how the role-taking process shapes the actor's own behavior will determine the basis on which we shall distinguish types of role-taking activity. The critical differentiae for types of role-taking will revolve about the manner in which the self-other relationship affords a directive to the individual in the formulation of what his own behavior shall be.

ALTERNATIVE CLASSIFICATIONS OF ROLE-TAKING

It will help to convey the boundaries of the concept of role-taking as we are using it and clarify the major task of this paper if we first mention two alternative schemes for classifying role-taking behavior which we do not plan to emphasize, although we recognize their great importance. First, role-taking is frequently used to refer to an ability or capacity, and attention is accordingly centered about the accuracy with which the role of the other is inferred. Studies dealing with role-taking capacity or *empathic ability*¹⁰ attempt to measure the degree to which the other-role as imaginatively constructed corresponds to the actual role as that other experiences it, and the individual is said to be taking the role of the other only when he accurately infers the other's feelings or anticipates his behavior.

From our standpoint, however, the process of role-taking is not inherently different when the inference is accurate from when it is inaccurate. Furthermore, once the actor formulates a conception of the role of the other, the manner in which that conception serves to shape his own behavior is unaffected by the accuracy or inaccuracy of the conception. Accordingly, we shall speak of the actor as taking the role of the other irrespective of whether his imputation is accurate or not.

⁹ E.g., Theodore R. Sarbin, "The Concept of Role-taking," *Sociometry*, VI (August, 1943), 273-85.

¹⁰ Cottrell and Dymond, *op. cit.*; Dymond *op. cit.*; Gough, *op. cit.*

Another important basis for classifying role-taking behavior which will not be elaborated here has to do with the criteria which are used to infer the role of the other. (a) As we have already noted, role-taking may be a matter of first observing some behavior of the other and then inferring the total role of which that behavior is assumed to be a part. In this sense one responds to the behavior of the other as a *gesture*, as an "incomplete act" which one completes in imagination by supplying the role of which it is an indication.¹¹ (b) Or role-taking may take place without any visible behavior on the part of the other, the role being inferred from a knowledge of the situation, from the supposed status or value. Role-taking of these two types undoubtedly calls upon somewhat different skills, so that the individual who has high facility in identifying the meanings of gestures may not be equally adept at supplying the role from a mere knowledge of the situation.

The criteria used to infer the role of the other may also be either projection or knowledge of the other. (a) In the case of projection, one constructs the other-role as he would if he himself were in the situation or had made the particular gesture. When role-taking proceeds in this manner, the particular identity of the other is immaterial to the role content, since the role conceptions of the actor are simply imputed to the other. (b) In contrast to projection one may interpret the other's gesture on the basis of prior experience with that individual or other individuals assumed to be like him. Or one infers the other's role from prior experience with that other's behavior in similar situations or from prior experience with the behavior of people like him in comparable situations.

Again, these distinctions are of considerable importance. But from our present standpoint the manner in which the role of the other is inferred must be distinguished from the manner in which the in-

¹¹ George Herbert Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 42 ff.

ferred other-role shapes the enactment of the self-role. In focusing upon the latter in this paper, we shall disregard the former. And we shall use the concept of role-taking to include these varied bases for inferring the other-role—whether from gesture or from situation and whether by projection or by knowledge of the other.

Distinctions which we shall discuss in greater detail have to do with the ways in which the imputed other-role is related to the choice or enactment of the self-role. We assume that two persons may identify and imaginatively construct the role of a relevant other in the same manner and yet themselves act in quite different ways. We shall emphasize two major axes for distinguishing types of other-determining-self relationships. The first of these is the *standpoint* which is adopted in the process of taking the role of the other.

STANDPOINT IN ROLE-TAKING

Taking the role of another may or may not include adopting the standpoint of the other as one's own. The role of the other may remain an object to the actor, so that he understands and interprets it without allowing its point of view to become his own, or the actor may allow the inferred attitudes of the other to become his own and to direct his behavior. Another way of stating the distinction is to note that an individual who is taking the role of another may identify with the role of that other, or else he may retain a clear separation of identity between the self-attitudes and the attitudes of the other. When role-taking includes adoption of the standpoint of the other, the role-taking process is an automatic determiner of behavior. One simply acts from the standpoint of the role. When the standpoint of the other is not adopted, some other factor must intervene to determine the kind of influence which the role imputed to the other will have on the actor.

An occasional confusion between taking the role of another and adopting the standpoint of another is partly responsible for the view that facility in role-taking nec-

essarily results in altruistic or sympathetic behavior or eliminates divergence of purpose between opposing factions. Certain types of exploitation, for example, require elaborate role-taking behavior on the part of the exploiter. The "confidence man" frequently succeeds because of his ability to identify accurately the feelings and attitudes of the person with whom he is dealing while completely avoiding any involvement or identification with these feelings.

The standpoint is not, of course, something apart from the role. It is the core of the role. The difference to which we are referring concerns the ability to engage in an imaginative construction of the role of another while maintaining the separation of personal identities.

The early role-taking activity of the child does not make such a separation. To the degree to which he thinks or feels himself into a situation of another, he adopts as his own the attitudes appropriate to that situation. The more complex behavior in which the actor is able to see the other's role while maintaining a separation of identities appears to develop through two processes. First, the individual becomes concerned simultaneously with *multiple others*. As he takes the roles of two others simultaneously, he cannot simultaneously adopt the standpoints of each. Thus, in simultaneously taking the roles of his mother and his playmate, he cannot orient himself from each standpoint at the same time. Hence he may take the role of a playmate, but, in reacting to the imputed role, he may adopt the standpoint of his mother. The existence of conflicting standpoints in the varied roles which the individual has learned to take forces upon him a separation between taking the role and adopting its standpoint.

On the other hand, the presence of *stable purposes or needs* gradually leads the individual to engage in role-taking in an adaptive context. Such rudimentary understandings of the roles of others as the child may achieve are quite early put to use in the attempted pursuit of his own objectives. Role-taking makes possible both

the manipulation of others and adjustment to them, becoming a means to a pre-existing end of some sort. The attitude and skill of role-taking which were learned in a relationship of identification become divorced from that relationship as it is discovered to be useful in promoting the individual's own purposes.

These two ways in which role-taking is divested of identification remain as two somewhat different kinds of standpoint which can be adopted toward the imputed role of the other. (1) In the former instance the standpoint adopted is that of a third party. The third-party standpoint indicates what behavior is expected of the actor, depending upon the inferences made concerning the role of the other. The point of view of the mother, for example, may be that her child should be friends with a neighbor only if that neighbor conceives his role as being a decent and respectable child. The role of the other, when divorced from adoption of its standpoint, becomes a datum in carrying out the standpoint of the third party.

The third-party standpoint may be recognized as that of a specific person or group, or it may be depersonalized into a norm. Such a norm provides the individual with a directive to action which is contingent upon his placing some construction on the role of the relevant other. In a study of college students' reactions toward a friend who had committed a hypothetical breach of the mores, for example, the majority volunteered some estimate of the role context in which the friend had committed the disapproved act. Some respondents found it appropriate not to report their friend's theft to the authorities when it could be assumed that the general role of the friend was still that of an honest, law-abiding person whose inconsistent behavior reflected unusual stress. For these respondents the norms defining their own responsibility were more dependent upon the role of the other than on any specific behavior in which he had engaged.¹² Whether the third-party standpoint is personalized or not, the actor engages in role-taking in or-

der to determine how he *ought* to act toward the other.

(2) When role-taking is in the adaptive context, however, the standpoint consists of a purpose or objective rather than a specific directive. The actor must examine the probable interaction between the self-role and the other-role in terms of the promotion of a purpose. He lacks a specific or detailed directive supplied by the standpoint of a third party and consequently must shape his own role behavior according to what he judges to be the probable *effect of interaction* between his own role and the inferred role of the other.

This latter kind of role-taking behavior may be clarified with George Herbert Mead's classic distinction between "play" and the "game," as illustrated in baseball.¹³ The skilful player in a game such as baseball cannot act solely according to a set of rules. The first baseman can learn in general when he is to field the ball, when to run to first base, etc. But, in order to play intelligently and to be prepared for less clearly defined incidents in the game, he must adjust his role performance to the roles of all the other players. This adjustment is in terms of the effect of interaction among roles toward the end of minimizing the score of the opposing team. Whether the first baseman fields the ball, runs to first, throws to home, etc., will depend upon what he thinks each of the other players will do and how his action will combine most effectively with theirs to keep the score down.

Mead has pointed out that in the "game" the actor must have in mind the roles of all the other players. However, there is more which is distinctive about this kind of role-taking than merely the simultaneous attention to multiple other-roles. The manner in which the actor relates his own role to the others is in terms of their *interactive effect* rather than simply in terms of accepting their direction. It is not so much

¹² "Moral Judgment: A Study in Roles," *American Sociological Review*, XVII (January, 1954), 72-74.

¹³ *Op. cit.*, pp. 149 ff.

what the pitcher wants him to do that determines the first baseman's action as what the first baseman judges will be the consequences if each acts in a particular way.¹⁴

This type of role-taking can be even more clearly illustrated in the case of exploitation or of salesmanship directed toward a reluctant buyer, in which cases the actor's purpose is not shared by the relevant other. In these instances the actor holds constantly in mind his imaginative construction of the role of the other and adjusts his own behavior so as to elicit and take advantage of behavior in the other which will enhance his own objectives. He sensitizes himself to the attitudes of the other while divesting himself of any identification with these attitudes. And these attitudes enter into determination of his own behavior through the criterion of effect in interaction with potential self-behavior.

Recapitulating this section, we have observed that an individual who in some sense puts himself in the position of another and imaginatively constructs that other's role may do so from one of three general standpoints. First, he may adopt the other's standpoint as his own, in which case he is identifying with the other-role and allowing it to become an automatic guide to his own behavior. Second, the role of the other may remain an object viewed from the standpoint of some personalized third party or depersonalized norm, in which case the role of the relevant other becomes a datum necessary in implementing the third-party directive. Third, the role of the relevant other may be viewed from the standpoint of its effect in interaction with potential self-behavior, as contributing toward some individual or shared purpose. The stand-

point of the actor in role-taking may change in the course of a single act, or he may be plagued by alternative standpoints. But the manner in which the imagined other-role affects the actor's behavior will be different with each standpoint.

REFLEXIVENESS IN ROLE-TAKING

Borrowing a term from George Herbert Mead, we shall suggest that a second major distinction be made between reflexive and nonreflexive role-taking.¹⁵ Mead uses the term "reflexive" in referring to the "characteristic of the self as an object to itself." When the role of the other is employed as a mirror, reflecting the expectations or evaluations of the self as seen in the other-role,¹⁶ we may speak of *reflexive role-taking*.

While role-taking is a process of placing specific behaviors of the other in the context of his total role, the attention of the actor is never equally focused upon all the attitudes implied by that role. Rather, one's orientation determines that only certain attitudes of the other-role will be especially relevant to the determination of his own behavior. Role-taking in abstraction is importantly different from role-taking in a situation which calls for a determination of how the actor's role should be played, for the demands of the actor's role determine the selection of aspects of the other-role for emphasis. In one context one particular set of attitudes may be relevant to the determination of the actor's behavior; in another context the same set of attitudes may be irrelevant.

One of the most important distinctions which can be made among the kinds of other-attitudes is between those which are expectations or evaluations or images directed toward the self and those which are not. When the attention of the role-taker

¹⁴ The anticipation of approval or disapproval from others may operate simultaneously with the mechanism being described here. However, the determination of a specific course of action to be followed at a particular instant in the game requires a more precise indication. This indication is afforded by viewing the consequences of particular combinations of roles involving self and others against the criterion of winning the game.

¹⁵ *Op. cit.*, pp. 136 ff.

¹⁶ The identity between reflexive role-taking and Cooley's "looking glass self" should be evident (Charles Horton Cooley, *Human Nature and the Social Order* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922], p. 184).

is focused upon the way in which he appears to the other, the role-taking is reflexive.

Reflexiveness is connected with what we popularly call "self-consciousness." When role-taking is reflexive, the individual is led not merely to consider the effects of his action or their compatibility with some standard or code but to picture himself specifically as an object of evaluation by someone else. An additional perspective is added to his conception of his own behavior.

The criteria of reflexiveness and standpoint placed in combination serve to delineate more sharply the different ways in which the self-other relationship can determine behavior. We shall examine role-taking from each of the three standpoints in order in its nonreflexive and reflexive forms.

1. When the standpoint of the other-role is adopted, the other may serve as a model or standard which is accepted without self-consciousness either in the absence of alternative models or because of prestige or dependence in the relationship. Role-taking which is nonreflexive and identifying is probably the simplest and earliest form. The child's "playing-at" various roles shifts fairly imperceptibly into such role-taking in real-life situations. When confronted with situations like those in which he has seen a parent or older sibling enact a role, the child adopts as his own the attitudes of the role as he understands them. For example, a child of three or four who has been taught in a firm but kindly manner not to touch various objects will suddenly adopt as his own the entire role and standpoint of the parent when he finds himself in company with a younger and less responsible child. The behavior of the younger child calls up in the older the role which adults have taken toward him. Accordingly, he naïvely acts toward the younger child as he has learned to understand the role of the parent toward himself.

The same pattern of role-taking continues to be a major source of the values

and attitudes of the individual. Whenever there is close attachment of one person to another, there is a tendency for the standpoint of the other to be adopted. Probably the attachment need not be positive in character. An attachment loaded with negative affect giving rise to intense rivalry leads each person to take the role of his rival and unwittingly adopt that rival's standpoint in many respects. Whenever prestige is accorded to someone, there is a tendency to take the role of the prestigious person without disentangling that other's standpoint.

2. In contrast to this nonreflexive relationship a desire to conform to the other's expectations or to appear favorably in the other's eyes may shape the self-behavior into conformity with the other.

When role-taking involves identification and is reflexive, the self becomes specifically an object evaluated from the standpoint of the other. The attitudes of the other which are adopted as one's own are the attitudes toward one's self rather than toward external objects and values in the environment. At this stage a self-image is beginning to be formed, though it is not yet independent of the particular other whose role is being taken. From reflexive identifying role-taking the individual begins to develop an estimate of his own adequacy and worth. His own self-esteem is the adoption of the estimate of himself which he infers from the standpoint of the role of the other. The bonds of intimacy and prestige or the absence of alternative standpoints determine that the evaluations of relevant others will become the self-evaluations of the individual.

3. The distinction in self-consciousness is also important when the standpoint of a third party or norm is being adopted. Non-reflexive role-taking of this sort directs attention to attitudes in the role of the other whose recognition makes it possible to act according to a pre-existing directive. This pre-existing directive (incorporated in the third-party standpoint) may be of two sorts. It may, as already illustrated, make

the appropriate self-behavior conditional upon the role of the other. Or it may direct the actor to employ the roles of certain others as standards or models to compare with his own behavior. The third-party standpoint enables the actor to react discriminatingly toward the aspirations and attitudes of others in determining which shall be used as standards for his own aspirations and attitudes.

4. When role-taking from a third-party standpoint is reflexive, the standpoint enables the actor to react selectively to his audiences. His concern is not merely how he compares with the other but how he appears to the other. But his appearance to the other does not direct his own behavior in an automatic manner as in the case of identification. Instead, he can accept the evaluations of certain others as legitimate and reject the evaluations and expectations of different others as lacking legitimacy.¹⁷

As the third-party standpoint becomes stabilized and generalized so as to become a fairly consistent standpoint in the individual, it operates in reflexive role-taking as a fully evolved self-conception or self-image. Such a self-conception permits the actor to react selectively on two bases. First, it may tell the subject whose approval is worth seeking and whose is not. The parent tries to teach his child, for example, to seek the respect of his teachers and the children from "good" homes, while disregarding the opinions that children "without breeding" have of him. Second, it may designate the type of image one wishes to see reflected in the other's conception of one's self. The individual may wish to appear to all as an honest man, as an independent person, or as a good fellow. The self-conception directs the individual to behave in a manner which will evoke such an image of himself in the role of his audience. The two bases of selection may also operate together. Thus, the self-image (or

third-party standpoint) may tell the actor that he should appear strong and distant to others in subordinate relations with himself, easy to get along with to others who are his peers and intimates, liked by others who are loyal citizens, and hated by others who are not loyal citizens.

5, 6. When role-taking occurs from the standpoint of interactive effect, it becomes reflexive when the reflected self-image is manipulated by the actor as a means of achieving his ends. The salesman who tries to create the impression that he would rather lose the sale than sell a person what he does not want, the propagandist attempting to appear "folksy," and the counselor responding nonevaluatively to his client are all trying to manipulate the image of themselves held by the other so as to foster their purposes. On the other hand, in baseball the role-taking is more concerned with the attitudes of the others toward the game than toward each other and is therefore nonflexive. The difference between reflexive and nonreflexive role-taking of this sort appears in two levels of playing a game such as poker. Each player will attempt to judge what other players are likely to do. But the superior player will also attempt by such techniques as bluffing, conspicuous misplay, randomized strategies, or the "poker face" to establish a false image of himself which will modify the play of others in anticipated directions.

SIGNIFICANCE OF THE TYPES

The types we have suggested are important because each finds the actor in a somewhat different relationship to the relevant other whose role he is attempting to infer. The types also differ in the complexity of the process and in the kind of discretion they permit the actor in shaping his own behavior. Though they are analytically distinguishable, however, the types are not characteristically found in complete empirical separation. They are importantly interrelated in the behavior of any individual in two ways: (a) hierarchically and (b) as alternative orientations to the other.

¹⁷ "Legitimacy" in role-taking is discussed in Ralph H. Turner, "Self and Other in Moral Judgment," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (June, 1954), 254-55, 258.

a) The fundamental source of social values appears to be the *standpoint of the other*. Accordingly, we may speak of role-taking which involves identification as being *derivative* with respect to the values of the individual: The person derives his values through adopting others' standpoints. In contrast, the other types of role-taking are implementive or validative with respect to values. They serve as means through which the values already acquired may be validated by reference to some standard or implemented in practice. Hence, these types are dependent upon role-taking with identification in two ways. They are dependent upon some prior role-taking as the source of values they express. And they are dependent upon prior learning of the skills of role-taking before the role-taking can be detached from adoption of the role standpoint.

Validation has to do with determining the personal relevance of values which one already accepts. One may adopt a value without making it a demand upon one's self. Or one may adopt a value with varying levels of aspiration regarding its achievement. Such validation—setting degrees of personal relevance and levels of aspiration—takes place in part through the simple laws of effect in learning theory and in part through role-taking. To the extent that it occurs through role-taking, it does so either via the reflexive attention to what others expect of the individual or through the comparison of the self with designated standards.

Part of the particular significance of reflexive role-taking lies in its validative function. When one adopts the other's standpoint in reflexive role-taking, he does more than simply adopt certain values; he adopts a definition of what is expected of him regarding that value. The child, for example, who identifies with the parent and adopts his attitudes toward others often does not see the personal relevance of these attitudes except in limited situations. The child is typically "hypocritical" and is distressed when the parent directs attention

to his own behavior. At other times the child attempts to make every value a directive to his own behavior and must learn that what he admires in others is not necessarily required of himself.

The values derived in identification role-taking also point to certain groups or persons who serve as standards of comparison in performing the validation function. The individual takes the role of those to whom his attention is thus directed in order to judge what their attitudes are toward the values they profess, what their aspirations are, what effort they put forth, so that he may use these estimates comparatively in setting his own levels.

The *implementive function* of role-taking is carried out, as we have already described, either as demanded by a norm which makes the actor's behavior conditional upon the role of the relevant other or through the consideration of probable effects of the interaction of roles in promoting a given objective. Such implementation is dependent upon both the derivative and the validative functions. The individual must have both adopted values and formed some conception of their personal relevance before he proceeds to carry them out.

b) The hierarchical relationship among types of role-taking is important from the point of view of socialization or the genetic backgrounds of current attitudes. But, from the point of view of the act in process, the important relationship among types of role-taking lies in the fact that they are *alternative relationships* which the individual can establish to the role of the other which will make the effect of that other's attitudes quite different. In order to predict the behavior of a person, it is not sufficient to know that he will take the role of another or to know how accurately he will take that role. A small cue may change his relationship toward the perceived other-role. The high-pressure salesman who is exploiting the attitudes in the other-role to the full may suddenly begin to identify with the attitudes of that other and be rendered incapable of continuing

his sales talk. Or an individual identifying with the role of another who is in misfortune may suddenly remember a social norm which leads him to detach himself and treat the other-role as an object.

The alternative relationships to the other-role may exist as recognized conflicts to the individual. The most frequently noted conflict between standpoints is between adopting the standpoint of the other and subjecting the role of the other to the scrutiny indicated by some norm. For example, a subject who inferred a set of attitudes in a friend which would account for his having committed a theft concluded that his obligation was to report the friend to the authorities. By adding that "he will probably hate me for it," he gave explicit recognition to the conflict.¹⁸ Important also is the conflict between derivative and validating orientations, when the values adopted as part of a standpoint are not adequately supported in the indicated validating relationships. Conflicts also frequently exist between role-taking from the standpoint of interactive effect and the other types.

From the distinction among types of role-taking emerges a major theoretical problem for the study of role behavior. The problem is to isolate the variables which determine what kind of role-taking relationship the individual will assume with respect to any specific relevant other. We have already suggested that strong affect directed toward the other makes the more complex forms less likely to take place and that according prestige to the other has a similar effect. Another determinant is the degree to which the roles of different statuses receive normative sanction from the standpoint of a generalized other. For example, the tendency for a parent to iden-

tify with the role of his child when the latter has been hurt is reinforced by the fact that this is in keeping with the generalized standpoint in the society. Thus there is a more generalized imperative operating on the parent than the spontaneous identification arising out of affective involvement. There are also differences in the situational focus of attention which affect role-taking relationships.

BOUNDARIES TO ROLE-TAKING

The coexistence of different relationships in role-taking leads us to the further question of whether the concept has been so broadened in application as to lose its analytic utility. If we say, as some writers have, that, whenever an individual experiences an attitude toward some object, he is taking the role of some relevant other toward that object, then every action has been made into role-taking. On the other hand, if we limit role-taking to instances in which the subject recognizes and can conceptualize what he is doing, we make a dividing line which is indefensible in light of modern psychological understanding. The criterion of consciousness, then, is too narrow and the criterion of attitude source is too broad.

The key to a useful delimitation of the term becomes clear when we distinguish between a genetic or socialization framework in which we look into past experiences for the explanation of present behavior and an action framework in which we examine the dynamic interrelations among the elements contemporarily operating to determine action. The concept of role-taking belongs in the latter framework, designating a kind of relationship which may be contemporarily assumed toward a relevant other in the context of an act in process. Within the action framework we may say that a person is engaged in role-taking whenever the individual's conception or performance of his own role is altered by modifying his construction of the other-role.¹⁹

¹⁸ To conceptualize such a situation as merely a conflict between norms or roles would be an oversimplification. The third-party standpoint is experienced as a fully sanctioned norm conveying obligation. It is opposed by the discomfort of having to think of one's self in a bad light to the degree to which one identifies with the other-role. The latter does not carry a sense of obligation such as the former.

¹⁹ Merton and Kitt point out that "individuals

Even though we may suppose that all attitudes originate in some role-taking, the self-role can become autonomous; that is, it can become independent of the role-taking relationship which originally gave rise to it. Under the latter circumstance the self-role becomes stabilized so that the role-taking process is omitted or role-taking ceases to modify the self-role. One form of this autonomy is indicated when a person is said to have interiorized a social norm, meaning that an earlier process of role-taking has become truncated. The self-role may then persist unchanged even if the perceived attitudes of the relevant other change or if the affective relationship between self and other change.

A NOTE ON EMPATHY

Of the many senses in which *empathy* has been used, five can be particularly related to our current discussion. (1) By most traditional usage empathy refers to nonreflexive identifying role-taking, in which the individual unwittingly puts himself in the position of another and adopts his standpoint. (2) Sometimes empathy is presented as an ability that is desirable in personnel relations, in which case it designates the ability to understand the role of another while retaining one's personal detachment. According to this usage, empathy includes all role-taking except that in which the standpoint of the other is adopted as one's own. (3) Empathy is sometimes used to designate the process of seeing one's self as others see one, the ability to react to one's own behavior as others are reacting to it. This usage makes empathy identical with reflexive role-taking, regardless of standpoint. (4) Empathic capacity is sometimes used synonymously with role-taking capacity, to include all the forms of the process we have described. (5) When em-

unwittingly respond to different frames of reference introduced by the experimenter" (Robert K. Merton and Alice Kitt, "Contributions to the Theory of Reference Group Behavior," in *Continuities in Social Research*, ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1950], p. 69).

pathy is distinguished from projection, it refers to one criterion for inferring the other-role. In this usage all our types would be included so long as the role-taking is not based upon projection.

To make a choice among these usages by fiat would be an empty gesture. However, there are at least three implications of our present discussion for the current work dealing with empathy. First, the *tendency* to empathize, in whatever sense this is meant, is at least as important a variable as the *ability* to empathize. Under what circumstances will a person employ such empathic abilities as he has rather than merely enact a rigidly predetermined role or react to the other's gestures with standardized responses? Second, given the tendency and ability to empathize (using the term in its broader senses), what relationship to the inferred other-role will determine its effect on the individual's behavior? The tendency and ability in role-taking must be seen in combination with the tendency to assume certain kinds of relations with relevant others. Third, the standpoint in role-taking operates to focus attention selectively on the role being taken. Consequently, certain aspects of the other-role are seen more clearly or are more salient than others, depending upon the standpoint governing the empathic process. Since empathy or role-taking is not normally performed in a vacuum, the accuracy of empathic behavior will vary according to the focus of attention supplied by the governing standpoint. Consideration of empathic ability might profit from taking this observation into account. A quite tentative suggestion from one study of empathic ability that empathy is more accurate with respect to reflexive than nonreflexive aspects of the other-role may tell something about the focus of attention in the role-taking process within a clinical counseling situation.²⁰

²⁰Thomas G. Macfarlane, "Empathic Understanding in an Interpersonal Interview Situation" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Psychology, University of California, Los Angeles, 1952), pp. 115-16.

REFERENCE-GROUP BEHAVIOR

Two commentaries have recently pointed out different usages of the term "reference group."²¹ Both have noted that a reference group may mean a group with which one compares himself in making a self-judgment. This usage prevails in the original work of Hyman and the more recent discussion by Merton and Kitt.²² Both commentaries have also noted an alternative usage of reference group to mean the source of an individual's values (Kelley) or perspectives (Shibutani). Sherif, Newcomb, and Hartley have employed the concept chiefly in this sense.²³ A third usage suggested by Shibutani refers to a group whose acceptance one seeks. In the literature, however, the desire to be accepted is depicted as the mechanism which leads to the adoption of the values and perspectives of the reference group.²⁴ These are not, therefore, separate usages of the term but merely definitions, on the one hand, in terms of the effect of the reference group and, on the other hand, in terms of the mechanism of the reference group.

²¹ Harold H. Kelley, "Two Functions of Reference Groups," in *Readings in Social Psychology*, ed. Guy E. Swanson, Theodore M. Newcomb, and Eugene L. Hartley (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952), pp. 410-14; Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (May, 1955), 562-69.

²² Herbert Hyman, "The Psychology of Status," *Archives of Psychology*, No. 269, June, 1942; Merton and Kitt, *op. cit.*

²³ Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), pp. 105-6, 123, *et passim*; Sherif, "The Concept of Reference Groups in Human Relations," in *Group Relations at the Crossroads*, ed. Muzafer Sherif and M. O. Wilson (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), pp. 203-31; Newcomb, *op. cit.*, pp. 220-32; Eugene Hartley, "Psychological Problems of Multiple Group Membership," in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, ed. John H. Rohrer and Muzafer Sherif (New York: Harper & Bros., 1951), pp. 371-86.

²⁴ "A fraternity or sorority to which you hope some day to belong is a reference group for you if your attitudes are in any way influenced by what you take to be its norms" (Newcomb, *op. cit.*, p. 226).

When a reference group is the source of values and perspectives, the identity of meaning with role-taking is apparent. One takes the role of a member of the group, which is synonymous with having "a psychologically functioning membership"²⁵ in the group, and one adopts the group's standpoint as one's own. Thus, except for emphasizing that the source of values need not be a group of which the individual is objectively a member, this use of reference group corresponds to one traditional usage of role-taking.

Reference group as a point of comparison corresponds partially to certain meanings of role-taking. The self-other relationship is essentially that which we have described as role-taking from a third-party standpoint. Merton and Kitt note the operation of a third-party standpoint in "the institutional definitions of the social structure which may focus the attention of members of a group or occupants of a social status upon certain *common* reference groups."²⁶ However, the actor may or may not take the role of a member of the reference group. So long as the actor is using the reference group only as a point of comparison in estimating his own social standing or in deciding whether to be satisfied or dissatisfied with his lot, external attributes of the other alone are involved. The role of the relevant other is not being taken. But when levels of aspiration, degrees of determination, and the like are being compared, the individual must necessarily take the role of the other in order to make a comparison.

In the preceding sense reference group as a point of comparison is a broader concept than role-taking from a third-party standpoint. However, in our discussion of role-taking we recognized that the standpoint of the third party might direct attention to the relevant other in more ways than simple comparison. Comparable rela-

²⁵ Newcomb, "Social Psychological Theory," in *Social Psychology at the Crossroads*, ed. Rohrer and Sherif, p. 48.

²⁶ Merton and Kitt, *op. cit.*, pp. 64-65.

tions of individual to group appear not to have been included in reference-group usages.

Dispute over the proper meaning of "reference group" seems to center about the acceptable generality of the concept. The limited usage which Sherif and Shibutani prefer, referring to the source of the individual's major perspectives and values, might well be named the *identification group*. The identification group is the source of values, since the individual takes the role of a member while adopting the member's standpoint as his own.

At the opposite extreme the individual's behavior is affected somewhat by groups whose members constitute merely conditions to his action. The groups are neutrally toned to the actor; he must merely take them into account in order to accomplish his purposes. The manner in which he takes them into account may or may not require role-taking, and they may or may not constitute his membership group. Such a group might well be designated by some such neutral term as *interaction group*.

In between are those groups which acquire value to the individual because the standpoint of his identification groups designates them as points of reference. Conforming to the standpoint of his identification group (or of an autonomous self-image which has become stabilized independently of the identification group from which it was derived), the individual compares himself with certain groups or notes the impression he is making on them or in some other way takes account of them. Again, whether this relationship does or does not involve role-taking will depend upon the directive supplied by the identification group or self-conception. These groups might be called *valuation groups*, since their effect upon the individual's behavior is determined by the valuation which his more basic orientations lead him to place upon them.

Finally, if reference-group theory is to encompass the ways in which individual-group relationships shape the roles and role behaviors of the individual, we should note a dichotomy cross-cutting the preceding distinctions. Certain reference groups within each of the preceding types might usefully be regarded as *audience groups* to the individual. These are the groups by whom the actor sees his role performance observed and evaluated, and he attends to the evaluations and expectations which members of the group hold toward him. The actor takes the role of his audience reflexively. An individual's relations with his identification groups may place the latter on some occasions as his audience and on other occasions not. The reaction to the audience may be that of uncritical acceptance of their evaluations and expectations toward him, or the responses of his audience may be interpreted in an interactive context or as directed by his identification group or self-conception.

In general, then, it appears that the concepts of reference group and role-taking are closely related. In the broadest sense reference-group behavior is somewhat more inclusive than role-taking, since one may take account of a reference group without taking the role of a member. The terms "reference group" and "relevant other" refer to essentially the same phenomena. The reference group is a *generalized other* which is viewed as possessing member roles and attributes independently of the specific individuals who compose it. The same general differentiations seem applicable on the bases of standpoint and reflexivity (audience). Likewise, the same theoretical problems apply, and a similar principle regarding the boundaries of the concepts seems applicable.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

NATIONAL COMPARISONS OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

ALEX INKELES AND PETER H. ROSSI¹

ABSTRACT

The prestige accorded by popular opinion to comparable occupations is compared in six industrialized countries: United States, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, and Germany. High correlations are found, indicating that the occupations are ranked in a relatively standard hierarchy, despite the cultural differences among the six nations. An interpretation is offered in terms of the universal features of the industrial occupational system and the centralized national state to be found in each nation. Variations in prestige as between one country and another center mainly about the agricultural and service occupations.

During the latter part of the nineteenth and the first half of the twentieth centuries the factory system of production was introduced, at least on a small scale, to most areas of the world. The factory has generally been accompanied by a relatively standard set of occupations, including the factory manager (sometimes also owner) and his administrative and clerical staff, engineering and lesser technical personnel, foremen, skilled, semiskilled, and unskilled workers. In the factory, authority and responsibility are allocated largely according to the degree of technical or administrative competence required for the job. In addition, the allocation of material and social rewards, the latter generally in the form of deference, is closely adjusted to levels of competence and degrees of authority and responsibility. The pattern of differentiation of authority is undoubtedly functionally necessary to the productive activity of the factory, and it may be that the associated pattern of reward differentiation is also functionally necessary.

There is, however, no clear-cut imperative arising from the structure of the factory as such which dictates how the incumbents of its typical statuses should be *evaluated* by the population at large. One possibility is that in popular esteem the typical occupations will stand relative to one another in a rank order strictly comparable to their standing in the formal hierarchy of competence, authority, and reward in the factory.

It is also possible, however, that the popular evaluation of these occupations will be quite different. Indeed, where the factory system has been introduced into societies like those of Spain or Japan, with well-established values based on tradition and expressive of the culture, one might expect significant differences between an occupation's standing in the formal hierarchy of the industrial system and its position in the popular ranking scheme.

Thus the interaction of the two systems—the standardized modern occupational system and the individual national value pattern for rating occupations—presents an interesting and important problem in comparative sociology.

We may posit two extreme positions in this interaction, while granting that it might be difficult to find live exponents of either. The extreme "structuralist" would presumably insist that the modern industrial occupational system is a highly coherent system, relatively impervious to influence by traditional culture patterns. Indeed, he might go so far as to insist that the traditional ranking system would in time have to be subsumed under, or integrated into, the industrial system. Consequently, his argument would run, even such occupations as priest, judge, provincial governor, not part of the modern occupational system and often given unusual deference, would come in time to have roughly the same standing relative to one another and to other occupations, no matter what their national cultural setting.

¹ We wish to express our appreciation to Edward A. Tiryakian for his voluntary services as research assistant and to Alice S. Rossi for a critical reading.

By contrast, an extreme "culturalist" might insist that within each country or culture the distinctive local value system would result in substantial—and, indeed, sometimes extreme—differences in the evaluation of particular jobs in the standardized modern occupational system. For example, he might assume that in the United States the company director would be rated unusually high because of our awe of the independent businessman and large corporations or that in the Soviet Union the standing of industrial workers would be much higher relative to managerial personnel than in Germany, with its emphasis on sharply differentiated status hierarchies. Furthermore, he might argue that the more traditional occupational roles assigned special importance in particular cultures would continue to maintain their distinctive positions in the different national hierarchies. Indeed, he might hold that the characteristic roles of the modern industrial system would come to be subsumed within the traditional rating system, each factory occupation being equated with some traditional occupation and then assigned a comparable rank.

A systematic test of these contrasting positions is not beyond the capacity of contemporary social research. A standard list of occupations—say thirty or forty in number—might be presented for evaluation to comparable samples from countries presenting a range of culture types and degrees of industrialization. The list should contain both standard industrial occupations and the common, but differentially valued, traditional roles (e.g., priest, legislator, etc.).

Data are available which, though far from completely adequate, will carry us a long way beyond mere speculation on these matters. In the postwar years studies of occupational ratings have been conducted in and reported on five relatively industrialized countries: the United States, Great Britain, New Zealand, Japan, and Germany.³ In addition, the authors have available previously unpublished data for a sixth country, the Soviet Union.

Since these six studies³ were, on the

whole, undertaken quite independently, our ideal research design is clearly far from being fulfilled. Nevertheless, the data do permit tentative and exploratory cross-national comparisons.

I. THE COMPARABILITY OF RESEARCH DESIGNS

The elements of similarity and difference in the six studies may be quickly assessed from the following summary of their essential features:

A. Population studied

United States: National sample of adults fourteen years and over; 2,920 respondents

Japan: Sample of males twenty to sixty-

² Additional studies of occupational prestige are available for the United States and for Australia. The authors decided to restrict the United States data to the most comprehensive study available. The Australian case (Ronald Taft, "The Social Grading of Occupations in Australia," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 2 [June, 1953]) was not included in this report because it was felt that little was to be gained by the inclusion of another Anglo-Saxon country.

³ (1) A. A. Congalton, "The Social Grading of Occupations in New Zealand," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. IV, No. 1 (March, 1953) (New Zealand data); (2) John Hall and D. Caradog Jones, "The Social Grading of Occupations," *British Journal of Sociology*, Vol. I, No. 1 (January, 1950) (Great Britain); (3) National Opinion Research Center, "Jobs and Occupations: A Popular Evaluation," in Reinhard Bendix and S. Martin Lipset, *Class, Status, and Power* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953) (United States data); (4) the Schleswig-Holstein data are taken from an article published in *Der Spiegel*, June 30, 1954, reporting a study by Professor Karl-Martin Bolte, of Christian-Albrecht University, in Kiel, Germany, to be published early in 1955; (5) Research Committee, Japan Sociological Society, "Report of a Sample Survey of Social Stratification and Mobility in the Six Large Cities of Japan" (mimeographed; December 1952) (the authors are grateful to Professor Kunio Odaka, of the University of Tokyo, for bringing this valuable study to their attention); and (6) the Soviet materials were collected by the Project on the Soviet Social System of the Russian Research Center at Harvard University. The authors plan to publish several articles dealing with the special features of the occupational ratings secured from former Soviet citizens.

eight years of age in the six large cities of Japan; 899 respondents

Great Britain: Written questionnaires distributed through adult-education centers and other organizations; 1,056 returns (percentage returned unspecified)

U.S.S.R.: Sample of displaced persons, mostly in DP camps near Munich, Germany, and some former DP's now residing on eastern seaboard of U.S.; 2,100 written questionnaires

New Zealand: Sample collected mainly by interviews with inhabitants of town of 2,000, partly by mailed questionnaires (12 per cent returns) sent out to town of 4,000; 1,033 questionnaires and interviews used

given pair of countries, occupations were matched which were only very roughly comparable, e.g., Buddhist priest and minister, or collective farm chairman and farm owner and operator. In most cases, however, a direct correspondence characterizes the pairs of occupations which are being equated. The reader is invited to turn to Table 5 (below), where the lists of occupations used from each of the researches are printed. The occupations listed on any row or line were matched. The number of pairs of similar or identical occupations for each cross-national comparison is shown in Table 1.

C. Nature of rating task

United States: Respondents were asked:

TABLE 1
NUMBER OF IDENTICAL OR SIMILAR OCCUPATIONS
RATED BETWEEN SIX COUNTRIES

	U.S.	Great Britain	U.S.S.R.	Japan	New Zealand	Germany
United States.....	..	24	10	25	24	20
Great Britain.....	7	14	30	12
U.S.S.R.....	7	7	8
Japan.....	14	19
New Zealand.....	12
Total occupations studied	88	30	13	30	30	38

Germany: 1,500 Schleswig-Holsteiners: vocational-school students, university students, and male adults (not otherwise specified); adult sample only used here

B. Overlap among occupations studied

Each study involved a different number of occupations, ranging from 88 in the case of the National Opinion Research Center American study to 13 in the Soviet research. Only the New Zealand and the British groups studied exactly the same occupations. Each of the remaining four studies used a different, but partially overlapping, set of occupations.

In order to make comparisons between pairs of countries, each occupation studied in each research was matched, when possible, with an occupation in the data gathered in the other country. In many cases it was necessary to disregard the information about an occupation in one of the paired countries because no comparable occupation was studied in the other. In other instances, in order to increase the number of occupations which could be compared for any

"... Please pick out the statement that best gives your own *personal opinion* of the *general standing* that such a job has. Excellent standing, good standing, average standing, somewhat below average, poor standing."

Japan: Respondents were given a set of thirty cards and asked: "... Think of the general reputations they have with people, and sort them into five or more groups, from those which people think highly of to those which are not thought so well of."

Great Britain: Respondents were told: "We should like to know in what order, *as to their social standing*, you would grade the occupations in the list given to you. [Rate them] ... in terms of five main social classes ... ABCDE."

U.S.S.R.: Respondents were asked: "Taking everything into consideration, how desirable was it to have the job of (——) in the Soviet Union? Very desirable? Desirable? So-so? Undesirable? Very undesirable?"

New Zealand: Same as in Great Britain.

Germany: The source is unfortunately not very specific about the rating task assigned. The respondents were apparently asked to rank-order a list of 38 occupations presented as one slate.

D. Computing prestige position

With the exception of the German study, each research presents a "prestige score" for each of the occupations studied. These scores, computed variously, represent in each case the "average" rating given to each of the occupations by the entire sample of raters used. The German study presented only the rank-order positions of the occupations.

efficients which result are presented in Table 2.⁴ It will be seen immediately that the levels of correlation are considerably higher than the magnitude to be expected if there were only rough agreement on placement in the top and bottom halves of the prestige hierarchy. Indeed, twelve of the fifteen coefficients are above .9, and only one is below .8. The three coefficients below .9 all concern the Soviet ratings, which, it will be recalled, involve only a very small number of occupations, maximizing the chances for lower correlations arising from merely one or two "mismatches."

TABLE 2*
CORRELATIONS BETWEEN PRESTIGE SCORES (OR RANKS) GIVEN TO
COMPARABLE OCCUPATIONS IN SIX NATIONAL STUDIES

	U.S.S.R.	Japan	Great Britain	New Zealand	U.S. [†]	Germany [†]
U.S.S.R.....74	.83	.83	.90	.90
Japan.....92	.91	.93	.93
Great Britain.....97	.94	.97
New Zealand.....97	.96
United States.....96
Av. correlation...	.84	.89	.93	.93	.94	.94

* See Table 1 for numbers of occupations involved in each comparison.

[†] All coefficients are product-moment correlations, with the exception of those involving Germany, which are rank-order coefficients.

One is not sure whether differences between nations are generated by the differences in the questionnaires or the differences in the nations themselves. However, similarities in the prestige hierarchies, particularly when they are striking, are somewhat strengthened by the same lack of comparability in research designs and in the occupations matched to one another. Similarities may be interpreted as showing the extent to which design and other differences are overcome by the comparability among the prestige hierarchies themselves.

II. COMPARABILITY OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE HIERARCHIES

Since each study included some occupations used in another study, it is possible to compare the prestige hierarchies of occupations in pairs of countries by computing correlation coefficients for the scores (or ranks) of occupations. The fifteen correlation co-

For most of the comparisons, furthermore, the findings go beyond establishing mere comparability of rank orders. With the exception of the correlations involving Germany, each coefficient represents the relationships between prestige *scores* given to the same occupations in two different nations. Hence there is a high relationship between the relative "distance" between occupations, as expressed in score differences, as well. In other words, if, of two occupations, one is given a much lower score than the other by the raters in one country, this difference in prestige scores and not merely crude rank order also obtains in another country.

⁴ Note that the correlation coefficients are all product-moment correlations, with the exception of the five coefficients involving the German study, which are rank-order correlations. With the exception noted, these coefficients represent the degree of similarity between the prestige *scores* given to the occupations.

It should also be noted that these high correlations were obtained by using samples of occupations which were not strictly identical from country to country, including such very crude comparisons already mentioned as that of collective farm chairman and farm owner and operator. One may anticipate that if the occupations studied were more uniform, the similarities of prestige hierarchies from country to country would be even higher.

In other words, *despite the heterogeneity in research design, there exists among the six nations a marked degree of agreement on the relative prestige of matched occupations.* To this extent, therefore, it appears that the "structuralist" expectation is more nearly met than is the expectation based on the culturalist position.

Each of the six nations differs in the extent to which its prestige hierarchy resembles those of other nations. The average of the correlations for each nation, contained in the bottom row of Table 2, expresses these differences among nations quantitatively. Thus we may see that the American and German occupational prestige hierarchies are most similar to those of other nations, while the Soviet and Japanese hierarchies are most dissimilar. When we consider that the Soviet Union and Japan are, of the six, the more recently industrialized cultures, we may see there some small degree of evidence for the culturalist position.

Furthermore, if we examine the correlations among the three nations which have the closest cultural ties and which share a common historical background and language—Great Britain, the United States, and New Zealand—we find these coefficients to be among the highest in Table 2. Again, the evidence to some extent supports the interpretation of a small "cultural" effect. However, the coefficients in question are not sufficiently distinguished in size from those involving Germany⁵ and the three Anglo-Saxon nations to allow much weight to be given to the influence of the common Anglo-Saxon culture. In other words, what-

ever the national differences between the six, they do not greatly affect the general pattern of the prestige hierarchy.

III. NATIONAL PATTERNS OF OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE

Although the relationships among the six occupational hierarchies are very high, they do not indicate one-to-one correspondences among the national ranks of occupations. Each nation shows some variation from every other, and the international discrepancies may perhaps throw further light on the relationships between social structure, culture, and occupational prestige.

One possibility is that unique aspects of the culture or social structure of a particular country determine distinctive appraisals of a certain type or types of occupation. National differences are thus to be interpreted in a unique fashion for each country.

A second possible explanation is that it is the type of occupation which engenders disagreement, some occupations being similarly rated everywhere and others yielding no consistent rating. To some extent these contrasting explanations are similar, respectively, to the culturalist and structuralist positions discussed earlier.

Here again the available data place marked limits on the possibility of a definitive answer, but it is nevertheless feasible for us to go some distance in exploring the problem. In order to obtain some means by which to assess the presence or absence of disagreement among nations, regression equations were computed to predict the prestige positions of the occupations in one country as against the prestige positions of the comparable occupations in each other country. Ten such equations were computed, interrelating the prestige hierarchies in

⁵ Since the correlations involving Germany are rank-order correlations, it is difficult to make comparisons of such coefficients with others in Table 1. However, the relationship between rank-order correlations and product-moment correlations is rather high in the upper ranges, and it can be taken for granted that if prestige scores were available for the German ratings, the analysis shown in Table 2 would not be materially altered.

the United States, Japan, Great Britain, New Zealand, and the Soviet Union but excluding Germany, since the published data on that country indicated only the rank order of occupations. Those occupations which lay more than one standard deviation of the estimate off the regression lines were arbitrarily characterized as occupations over which there was a disagreement between the two nations involved.

appear in all the pairs of comparisons. Some occupations, such as judge, were rated in only two countries and therefore appear in only one paired comparison.⁶

Table 3 serves to highlight the special positions held by certain occupations in particular countries. For example, the Japanese Buddhist priest rates lower than a minister in each of the three available comparisons, and this undoubtedly reflects

TABLE 3
DISCREPANCIES* IN THE RATING OF MATCHED OCCUPATIONS BY PAIRS OF NATIONS

	Rated Higher in Japan	Rated Higher in U.S.	Rated Higher in Great Britain	Rated Higher in New Zealand	Rated Higher in U.S.S.R.
Rated lower in Japan		Minister, farmer, insurance agent, carpenter	Minister, farm- er, insurance agent	Minister, farmer, insurance agent	Account- ant
Rated lower in U.S.	Company director, labor leader, re- porter (news), street sweeper, shoe shiner		Accountant, chef, street sweeper	Accountant, farm- er, truck driver, street sweeper	Engineer, worker
Rated lower in Great Bri- tain	Reporter (news), street sweeper	Civil servant, truck driver, minister, build- ing contractor, electrician		Truck driver	Worker
Rated lower in New Zea- land	Reporter (news), street sweeper	Civil servant, building con- tractor, book- keeper, electri- cian, dock worker	Chef, bartender		Worker
Rated lower in U.S.S.R.	Factory manager, farmer	Scientist, farmer	Farmer	Farmer	

* We consistently designate any cited occupation by the title closest and most familiar to Americans. For example, we used minister in preference to Buddhist priest, electrician rather than fitter (electrical). For the exact titles see Table 5.

Applying this criterion, we have, in Table 3, presented the discrepancies in ratings between all the relevant pairs of nations. The columns show the occupations rated higher by a given country in relation to each of the other countries represented in the rows. Reading the table by rows, we find the occupations rated lower by one country than by other nations, not forgetting that each comparison of a pair of countries involves a somewhat different set of occupations from the comparison of ratings for any other two countries. Only a few occupations, such as farmer, teacher, doctor, factory manager, and some form of industrial worker, were rated in all five countries and therefore ap-

pear in all the pairs of comparisons. Some occupations, such as judge, were rated in only two countries and therefore appear in only one paired comparison.⁶

⁶ Table 5 (below) will be found a useful aid in this connection, since by reading across the rows of that table one can tell quickly how many times a particular occupation was evaluated and by which national samples.

a special ambivalence arising out of the position of agriculture in the Soviet economy during the last three decades.

Despite the clarity with which a particular occupation may stand out, it is difficult to find any definite *pattern* characterizing the disagreements expressed by any one country. Of course, such a pattern, if it does exist, may be obscured in our data by the modest number of occupations rated by each country. There are seldom more than one or two occupations of a given type in each of the comparisons, and it is hazardous to assume from the fact, for example, that since the Japanese rate the occupation newspaper reporter higher than Americans, Britishers, or New Zealanders, they would rate occupations of *this type* higher than the other two countries. Nevertheless, it will be noticed that in the country with the largest number of comparisons, the instances of disagreement involve a wide variety of quite disparate occupations. Those rated higher in the United States, for example, range from building contractor to farmer and from scientist to dock worker and appear to have little in common. The same range and absence of a common denominator are shown by the occupations rated lower in the United States. Furthermore, the discrepancies do not consistently appear in all the relevant comparisons: farm owner is out of line in only two out of four comparisons; as to truck driver, the two recorded disagreements go in opposite directions, that occupation being rated higher in comparison with Britain and lower in comparison with New Zealand.

IV. INTERNATIONAL COMPARABILITY OF TYPES OF OCCUPATION

If there is no clear-cut pattern of deviance by country, is there perhaps a tendency for certain types of occupation to be foci of disagreement? Perhaps if we classify occupations according to the features of social structure or culture to which they are most closely related, we may gain further insight into the interaction between culture, social structure, and occupational prestige hier-

archies. To explore this question, we grouped all the occupations into seven basic types: industrial, clerical and commercial, professional, political, traditional crafts, agricultural and service occupations.⁷ In Table 4 we have indicated the number of international comparisons between pairs among the five countries, again excluding Germany, which could be made involving the occupations in each class of occupations. We have also indicated the proportions of those comparisons which yielded disagreements. Disagreements were recorded on the same basis

TABLE 4
DISCREPANCIES IN PRESTIGE POSITION ACCORDING TO TYPE OF OCCUPATION

Occupation Types*	Proportion of Discrepancies (Per Cent)	No. of Comparisons
Professional.....	16	31
Industrial.....	24	29
Political.....	25	16
Traditional crafts.....	27	11
Clerical and commercial.....	32	37
Agricultural.....	50	16
Service.....	63	20

* Examples of occupations included in each type are as follows: *Professional*: doctor, minister, teacher, etc.; *industrial*: industrial worker, company director, factory manager, engineer; *political*: judge, civil servant, etc.; *traditional crafts*: bricklayer, carpenter, fisherman; *clerical and commercial*: accountant, book-keeper, salesman, small entrepreneur, etc.; *agricultural*: farm owner and operator, farm hand; *service*: shoe shiner, barber, porter, streetcar conductor, etc.

as in the preceding table, that is, on the basis of predictions from regression equations.

Because our findings so far have so strongly supported the structuralist expectation concerning the influence of industrialization in producing uniformity, our initial expectation may well be that occupations closely allied to the industrial system will enjoy highly comparable standings from country to country, while occupations more remotely connected would be the focus of international discrepancies. Table 4 indicates that industrial occupations do enjoy comparable standing in all five countries. Nevertheless, the *lowest* proportion of disagreements is shown by the professions. In

⁷ See note to Table 4 for examples of occupations included in each type.

TABLE 5

Occupation	Score	Occupation	Rank	Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score
<i>United States:</i>		<i>Germany:</i>		<i>Great Britain:</i>		<i>New Zealand:</i>		<i>Japan:</i>		<i>U.S.S.R.:</i>	
Physician	93	Doctor	2	Medical officer	1.3	Medical officer	1.4	Doctor	7.0	Doctor	75
State governor	93							Prefectural gov.	3.8		
College professor	89	Univ. professor	1					Univ. professor	4.6	Scientific worker	73
Scientist	89										
County judge	87							Local court judge	4.7		
Head of dept. in state government	87	High civil servant (Regierungsrat—höherer Beamter)	4	Civil servant	6.0	Civil servant	7.0	Section head of a government office	7.2		
Minister	87	Minister (Pfarrer)	6	Non-conformist minister	6.4	Non-conformist minister	5.9	Priest of a Buddhist temple (Architect)	12.5		
Architect	86	(Elec. engineer)*	10						9.5		
Lawyer	86			Country solicitor	2.6	Country solicitor	3.8				
Member of board of directors of large corporation	86	Factory director (Fabrikdirektor)	5	Company director	1.6	Company director	3.6	Officer of large company	5.5	Factory manager	65
Civil engineer	84										
Owner of factory that employs about 100 people	82	Elec. engineer	10					(Architect)†	9.5	Engineer	73
Accountant for a large business	81							Owner of a small or medium-sized factory	10.2		
Captain in regular army	80			Chartered accountant	3.2	Chartered accountant	5.7	(Company office clerk)‡	16.1	Bookkeeper	62
Building contractor	79	Major (in armed forces)	8							Officer in the armed services	58
Instructor in public schools (teacher)	78			Jobbing master builder	11.4	Jobbing master builder	10.7				
		Elem.-school teacher (Volksschullehrer)	11	Elem.-school teacher	10.8	Elem.-school teacher	10.3	Elem.-school teacher	11.7	Teacher	55
Farm owner and operator	76	Farmer (Bauer—mittelgrosser Betrieb)	13	Farmer	7.3	Farmer	8.1	Small independent farmer	16.4	Chairman of collective farm	38
Official of international labor union	75							Chairman of national labor federation	10.8		
Electrician	73			Fitter (elec.)	17.6	Fitter (elec.)	15.8				
Trained machinist	73	Skilled industrial worker (Industriefacharbeiter)	24								
Reporter on daily newspaper	71			News reporter	11.8	News reporter	13.8	Newspaper reporter	11.2		
Bookkeeper	68	Bank teller (bookkeeper in bank)	19	Routine clerk	16.1	Routine clerk	16.4	Company office clerk	16.1	(Bookkeeper)§	62

* Used here only for comparison with Japan. For comparison with other countries, see line beginning "United States civil engineer."

† Architect is the only occupation of a technical nature in Japan and was used here as a comparison only with the Soviet Union.

‡ Used here only for comparison with the Soviet Union. For comparison with other countries, see line beginning "United States bookkeeper."

§ Used here only for comparison with Japan. For comparison with other countries, see line beginning "United States accountant for a large business."

TABLE 5—Continued

Occupation	Score	Occupation	Rank	Occupation	Score	Occupation	Score	Occupation
<i>United States:</i>		<i>Germany:</i>		<i>Great Britain:</i>		<i>New Zealand:</i>		<i>Japan:</i>
Insurance agent	68	Insurance agent	20	Insurance agent	14.6	Insurance agent	16.1	Insur
Traveling salesman for wholesale con- cern	68			Commercial traveler	12.0	Commercial traveler	14.1	
Policeman	67			Policeman	16.1	Policeman	15.5	Polici
Mail carrier	66	Postman	23					
Carpenter	65	Carpenter	18	Carpenter	18.6	Carpenter	17.0	Carp
Corporal in regular army	60	Non-commissioned officer	31					
Machine operator in factory	60	Machine operator (Maschinen- schlosser-Geselle)	26	(Composite of fitter, carpenter, brick- layer, tractor driv- er, coal hewer)||	20.5	(Composite of fitter, carpenter, brick- layer, tractor driv- er, coal hewer)||	20.9	Lath
Barber	59	Barber	16					Barb
Clerk in a store	58	Store clerk (Ver- käufer im Lebens- mittel geschäft)	28	Shop assistant	20.2	Shop assistant	20.2	Depa clei
Fisherman who owns own boat	58							Fishe
Streetcar motorman	58	Conductor	33					Bus c
Restaurant cook	54			Chef	13.8	Chef	21.8	
Truck driver	54			Carter	25.8	Carrier#	20.2	
Farm hand	50	Farm laborer (worker)	36	Agricultural laborer	25.5	Agricultural laborer	24.4	
Coal miner	49			Coal hewer	23.2	Coal hewer	24.7	Coal
Restaurant waiter	48	Waiter (Kellner)	30					
Dock worker	47			Dock laborer	27.0	Dock laborer	28.3	
Bartender	44			Barman	26.4	Barman	28.3	
Street sweeper	34	(Unskilled labor- er)**	38	Road sweeper	28.9	Road sweeper	28.9	Road
Shoe shiner	33							Shoe
		Bricklayer	27	Bricklayer	20.2	Bricklayer	19.3	
		Clothing-store own- er	12					Owne sto
		Tailor	14					Tailo
		Street peddler	35					Stree
				Business manager	6.0	Business manager	5.3	
				Works manager	6.4	Works manager	7.9	
				News agent and to- bacconist	15.0	News agent and to- bacconist	15.4	
				Tractor driver	23.0	Tractor driver	22.8	
				Railway porter	25.3	Railway porter	25.3	

|| Used here only for comparison with the Soviet Union. For comparison with other countries, see individual occupations as they appear later in the table.

As there was no comparable occupation.

** Used here only for comparison with

addition, other occupational types, such as the political occupations and the traditional crafts, which are not necessarily closely allied to the industrial system, manifested levels of disagreement as low as that enjoyed by the industrial occupations. Only the agricultural and service occupations yield a degree of disagreement which sets them apart from the other occupational groups.

Accounting for these discrepancies appears to require a combination of arguments. In the first place, some types of non-industrial occupations are easily assimilated to the industrial system. The traditional crafts serve as the prime example here, since the skills involved in such occupations as bricklayer, carpenter, and plumber have a close resemblance to the skills of industrial workers. Indeed, some crafts have been partly incorporated into the industrial system, and, it may be argued, such occupations are easily placed within the hierarchy of industrial occupations and may tend to assume roughly the same position vis-à-vis industrial occupations. Likewise, some professions, such as engineering and applied scientific research, have a most immediate connection with the industrial system, and others, such as architecture, are easily equated with it.

However, closeness or assimilability to the industrial system will not suffice to explain the relatively stable position of other professions, such as doctor. Nor will it serve to explain the low proportion of disagreement concerning the political occupations. We must recognize that the nations being compared have certain structural and cultural features in common, in addition to the presence of industry. For example, they share certain needs, as for socialization, and values, such as health and systematic knowledge, which insure relatively comparable standing to doctors, teachers, and scientists. Furthermore, all the countries compared have in common the national state, with which is associated a relatively standardized occupational structure ranging from ministers of state to local bureaucrats.

In addition, both the professions and the political occupations are highly "visible," and agreement as to their standing is probably facilitated by the relatively objective and easily perceived indexes of power, knowledge, and skill manifested by their incumbents.

The types of occupation which generate the greatest amount of disagreement are highly variant and unstandardized or difficult to assimilate to the industrial structure. Agriculture may be conducted, as in Japan, on relatively small holdings, on collective farms as in the U.S.S.R., or, as in the western plains of the United States, in "agricultural factories." Being a farmer means very different things in each of the five countries, quite unlike the standardized image of the machinist or the factory manager. It can be anticipated, however, that as agriculture tends to be similarly organized in different countries, agricultural occupations will achieve more uniform standing.

The "service" occupations—barber, shoe shiner, chef, street sweeper—show the greatest amount of variation. Many of them antedate the industrial system and are in agrarian as well as industrial societies. They have no fixed position relative to the industrial order, nor are they similar to typical industrial occupations, as are many of the traditional crafts. They therefore appear to be most easily evaluated according to the traditional culture. Personal service in countries like Japan and Great Britain, in which a servant class was historically well developed and benefited from intimate association with an aristocratic upper class, may still be regarded as not so degrading as in the more democratic societies, such as the United States and New Zealand. In fact, the greatest discrepancy to be found among all the comparisons involves the differences in prestige position accorded to chef in Great Britain as compared with either the United States or New Zealand, although in the case of the former the match was poor, since the comparable occupation was "restaurant cook." As these services come to be organized and mechanized—as in modern laun-

dries or restaurants—they will become more thoroughly integrated into the larger economic order and may in time achieve more strictly comparable status from country to country.

All told, it would appear from this examination of international discrepancies that a great deal of weight must be given to the cross-national similarities in social structure which arise from the industrial system and from other common structural features, such as the national state. The greatest incidence of discrepancies occurs for occupations which are hardest to fit into either the one or the other structure. To this extent the structuralist position which we outlined earlier seems to be more heavily borne out in these data.

V. SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

To sum up, our examination of occupational ratings in six modern industrialized countries reveals an extremely high level of agreement, going far beyond chance expectancy, as to the relative prestige of a wide range of specific occupations, despite the variety of sociocultural settings in which they are found. This strongly suggests that there is a relatively invariable hierarchy of prestige associated with the industrial system, even when it is placed in the context of larger social systems which are otherwise

differentiated in important respects. In addition, the fact that the countries compared also have in common the national state and certain needs or values, such as interest in health, apparently also contributes to the observed regularity of the ratings, since both professional and political occupations are foci of agreement. Perhaps the most striking finding is the extent to which the different classes of occupation have been woven together into a single relatively unified occupational structure, more or less common to the six countries. At the same time, there is strong evidence that this relatively standardized occupational hierarchy does not apply without major exception to all occupations in all large-scale industrialized societies. In some instances, important disagreement may arise from the distinctive role of a single occupation in a particular country. In the majority of cases, however, the disagreement appears to involve certain classes of occupation, notably agricultural and service, about which there is only modest agreement. Disagreement probably reflects differences in the length and “maturity” of industrialization in various countries but also clearly results from differentiations in sociocultural systems which may well be relatively enduring.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

CORRELATIONS BETWEEN INCOME AND LABOR- FORCE PARTICIPATION BY RACE

SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH¹

ABSTRACT

A major postulate of wage theory in economics is the negative relationship between the level of income in area and the proportion of persons in the labor force. When broken down into racial components for the first time, the association is positive for young white females. The analysis suggests that variation in the evaluation of work can be of sufficient importance to force revision of a theory formed in another social context.

Introduction.— Previous investigators have found a negative correlation between the level of income of a community and its proportion in the labor force.² The state of knowledge is well summarized by Long:

The conclusions Douglas derived from studying city data for 1919–1920 and 1929–1930 command considerable support from ours gotten by examining the same cities for 1899–1900 and 1939–1940. The correlation between income and labor force is fairly good and certainly inverse. In cities where the average wage or salary income was relatively low, the labor force per 1,000 of working age population was relatively high. Among urban areas of the 48 states in 1940, among 38 cities in 1940, 1930, 1920, and among 34 cities in 1900, inverse associations were definite for persons 14 and older, were rather more so for females than for males over 24, and were especially distinct for boys and girls of high school age and for women living with their husbands (or the economic equivalent). Also fairly evident was the inverse association for men and women 65 and older. Since this study covered, in addition to large cities,

urban areas of the 48 states, and the 1900 and 1940 studies covered (except for four cities in 1900) the same cities separated by four decades, the support appears all the stronger. No support for a negatively sloping association between income and labor force of different cities could be discovered for 1947. But this study was for fewer cities and was based on sample survey data which may not be as reliable as the complete census enumerations.³

The inverse correlation observed by Douglas and Long may be the result of differences in the proportion of non-whites in each city. If southern cities have lower median incomes and a higher proportion of non-whites and if non-whites have a higher rate of labor-force participation than whites, then a negative correlation between income and labor-force participation would be a result.

Douglas attempted to take the number of Negroes in a city into account in relating labor-force participation and income. In using partial-correlation techniques, no great change was produced by considering this variable.⁴ Long did not adjust for color differentials in any way, although he showed the importance of race in analyzing the trend of labor-force participation through several decades.⁵ In this study the relation of income and labor-force participation will be viewed for the first time as it affects the white and non-white components of the total labor force.

¹ This paper is part of a larger study, "The Family in the Labor Force: A Study of Supplementary Workers in the United States, 1940" (unpublished Ph.D. diss., University of Chicago, 1952). Other articles stemming from this dissertation are "The Prediction of Total Family Unemployment," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (August, 1954), 472–75, and "A Test of the Additional Worker Hypothesis," *Proceedings of the Pacific Sociological Society: Research Studies*, State College of Washington, XXII (1954), 103–9.

² Paul H. Douglas, *The Theory of Wages* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934); and Clarence D. Long, "Labor Force, Income, and Employment" (New York: National Bureau of Economic Research, 1950) (mimeographed).

³ Long, *op. cit.*, pp. 14, 15.

⁴ Douglas, *op. cit.*, pp. 290–93.

⁵ Long, *op. cit.*, Appendix E.

The cities in the study.—The 1940 Census gives labor-force participation for non-whites by age and sex groups only for those cities having a sizable non-white population.⁶ Such data are available only for 50 of the 92 cities with a population of over 100,000 in 1940. Of the 38 cities studied by Douglas and Long, non-white data are available for 28. The other 22 cities were not included in the samples of Douglas and Long.

Standardization for age and sex.—Long has stated that standardization of age and sex, using any population base in the United States, would give similar results in the analysis of labor-force participation. The greatest variability between cities arises for the age group under fourteen, and this group is not considered in the labor force.⁷ Yet, studying changes in labor-force participation between decades, Long finds that the standard used is of extreme importance.⁸ The safer choice is to ascribe considerable importance to the standardization process and thereby use discretion in the choice of a base population.

Douglas used Chicago and Detroit as his standard populations, while Long used only Chicago. There seems to be no particular reason for the choice of these specific cities. In the present analysis, labor-force participation and income will be studied in relation to the non-white and white populations of 50 selected large cities for 1940. The non-white population of these large cities is produced to a considerable extent by migration. Therefore, to use any one or two of the cities as the standard population is to risk biasing the results.

In order to get a standard population which is relatively independent of accidental factors related to an individual city, a random sample of 20 of the 50 cities was select-

ed by means of Tippet's numbers. For each age-sex-color group the populations of the 20 cities were added together, then divided by 20. This gave the standard population for the calculation of labor-force participation rates adjusted for differences in age and sex composition within color groups.⁹

Money income and real income.—A correlation between earnings and the size of the labor force might be based on circular reasoning. The total number of workers includes women and children, whose yearly earnings are lower than those of adult males. Therefore, a high proportion of women and children in the labor force would decrease the level of income for the community, producing the observed negative correlation. By using the median annual income of all experienced male workers who worked twelve months in 1939, circular reasoning in studying the relation of income to labor-force participation is avoided. However, it is still necessary to use income of all males, for no color breakdown of income is available. There remains, in addition, the problem of devising a measure of real income.

Twenty-five of the 50 cities in our sample are included in the areas whose cost of living

⁹ The only source of data on labor-force participation for fourteen-, fifteen-, sixteen-, and seventeen-year-old children is Vol. IV: *Characteristics by Age*, of the 1940 census of population and housing. For 22 of the 50 cities, all other age categories must be sought in Vol. IV because non-white data are not given in Vol. III: *The Labor Force*. For the other 28 cities, however, Vol. III is used for the age groups fourteen and fifteen (checking purposes), sixteen and seventeen (checking purposes), eighteen and nineteen, twenty to twenty-four, twenty-five to forty-four, forty-five to sixty-four, and sixty-five and over. Volume III gives the eighteen and nineteen and twenty to twenty-four age-group data directly, and fewer categories have to be combined in order to obtain the other age groups. Volume IV has smaller age groups, so that more combinations are necessary. Unfortunately, Vol. IV must be used for all categories for almost half the cities.

The 20 cities included in the random sample for deriving the standard population are: Akron, Atlanta, Baltimore, Buffalo, Chattanooga, Cleveland, Dallas, District of Columbia, Fort Worth, Gary, Kansas City (Missouri), Memphis, Miami, New Orleans, Oakland, Richmond, San Francisco, Tulsa, Wilmington (Delaware), and Youngstown.

⁶ Data for 23 cities can be found in U.S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940; Population*, Vol. III: *The Labor Force, Reports, by States*. Data for all 50 cities can be found *ibid.*, Vol. IV: *Characteristics by Age, Reports by States*.

⁷ Long, *op. cit.*, chap. iii, p. 14.

⁸ *Ibid.*, Appendix E.

was studied in 1935¹⁰ and 1941.¹¹ Since we are using income figures for 1939, one might expect an interpolation process by which two-thirds of the difference between the 1935 and 1941 estimates would be added to the 1935 figures. However, the rise in the cost of living was probably appreciably steeper in the period 1939-41 than in 1935-39. In the former period the defense boom had begun to bring the economy out of the depression. Therefore, the mean of the two estimates of cost of living will be used as the estimated cost of living in 1939. Dividing

Kendall's tau.—Kendall has developed a measure of rank correlation which he calls τ .¹² It is a coefficient of disarray, a function of the minimum number of interchanges between neighbors necessary to change one ranking into the exact order of the other ranking. Putting one ranking into an order from 1 to n , every pair of rank members in the other ranking is compared with the natural order to see whether they occur in the proper order or the inverse order. Let S be the number of paired comparisons which are in the proper order minus the number of

TABLE 1
KENDALL'S τ OF MONEY INCOME AND LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION, FOR 50 SELECTED CITIES, BY AGE, COLOR, AND SEX, 1940

	Total Both Sexes	Total Male	Total Female	Total Non- white	Non- white Male	Non- white Female	Total White	White Male	White Female
14 and over.	-.28*	-.20*	-.39*	-.36*	-.36*	-.45*	-.01	-.13	-.15
14 to 17.	-.60*	-.67*	-.40*	-.57*	-.58*	-.52*	-.49*	-.60*	-.20*
14 and 15.	-.53*	-.52*	-.60*	-.55*	-.56*	-.50*	-.47*	-.46*	-.46*
16 and 17.	-.52*	-.62*	-.33*	-.53*	-.55*	-.49*	-.44*	-.57*	-.16
18 and 19.	-.01	-.31*	+.16	-.36*	-.46*	-.30*	+.04	-.18	+.18
20 to 24.	-.14	+.01	+.14	-.37*	-.20*	-.32*	+.21*	+.04	.20*
25 to 44.	-.36*	+.12	-.47*	-.36*	-.20*	-.46*	-.16	+.08	-.26*
45 to 64.	-.12	+.13	-.44*	-.26*	-.07	-.45*	+.18	+.08	-.24*
65 and over.	-.27*	-.21*	-.41*	-.24*	-.16	-.42*	-.19	-.25*	-.20*
Unstandardized									
14 and over.	-.28*	-.15	-.39*	-.36*	-.31*	-.44*	-.05	-.10	-.18

* Significant at the .05 level or lower.

the median annual income by the cost-of-living relative index gives an estimate of real income.

The 1935 relative cost of living for a four-person manual worker's family is expressed for each city relative to the average cost of living for the 59 cities studied. The 1941 estimates, however, use the cost of living for Washington, D.C., as the base. Accordingly, in order to make the indexes comparable, the indexes were recomputed, with the average of the 33 cities studied as the base for the computation of relative indexes.

¹⁰ Margaret Loomis Stecker, *Intercity Differences in Costs of Living in March, 1935, 59 Cities* ("Works Progress Administration, Division of Social Research, Research Monographs," Vol. XII [1937]).

¹¹ U.S. Bureau of Labor Statistics, *Handbook of Labor Statistics* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1942), I, 99.

paired comparisons which are in the inverse order: $\tau = S / [\frac{1}{2}n(n-1)]$. Tau may take values ranging from -1 to +1. It is a non-parametric measure, making no assumptions about the form of the distribution function. Therefore, it is preferable in this case to the Pearsonian product-moment correlation coefficient, since the Pearsonian r assumes a bivariate normal distribution. Tau is also superior to Spearman's rank-correlation coefficient, for it is possible to compute confidence limits for τ for any given value, while ρ can be tested only for significant differences from $\rho = 0$. However, τ is more difficult to compute than either of the other correlation measures.

Income and labor-force participation.—Table 1 presents the correlation coefficients

¹² Maurice J. Kendall, *Rank Correlation Methods* (London: Charles Griffin & Co., 1948).

by Kendall's τ between income and labor-force participation for 50 cities in the sample. It represents the first breakdown by color for such an analysis. Total sex and color correlations are the result of the interaction of the more detailed breakdowns by color and sex.

Non-white females show a significant negative correlation for every age group. White females, however, show a significant negative correlation only for young girls and for women over twenty-five. For the eighteen and nineteen group, the correlation with income is positive, and it becomes signifi-

cation found by previous investigators is the result of a negative association for non-white males, since the white male labor-force participation, twenty to forty-four, is positively associated with income.

The labor-force participation rates of white females eighteen and nineteen and twenty to twenty-four are positively associated with income; in the latter group is found the only significantly positive correlation in the analysis. Non-white females, however, show a significant negative correlation between income and labor-force participation.

TABLE 2

KENDALL'S τ OF REAL INCOME AND LABOR-FORCE PARTICIPATION, FOR 25 SELECTED CITIES, BY AGE, COLOR, AND SEX, 1940

	Total Both Sexes	Total Male	Total Female	Total Non- white	Non- white Male	Non- white Female	Total White	White Male	White Female
14 and over. . . .	-.36*	-.22	-.38*	-.20	-.29*	-.37*	.03	-.22	-.09
14 to 17.	-.45*	-.46*	-.38*	-.42*	-.43*	-.44*	-.28*	-.36*	-.10
14 and 15.	-.35*	-.29*	-.39*	-.35*	-.44*	-.31*	-.22	-.23	-.21
16 and 17.	-.44*	-.46*	-.28*	-.39*	-.38*	-.43*	-.23	-.32*	-.11
18 and 19.	-.07	-.29*	+.10	-.25	-.29*	-.22	-.05	-.09	+.11
20 to 24.	+.03	+.01	+.01	-.36*	-.03	-.23	+.07	+.09	+.01
25 to 44.	-.31*	+.07	-.35*	-.21	-.10	-.41*	-.08	-.05	-.10
45 to 64.	-.19	-.03	-.31	-.08	-.05	-.35*	+.09	-.11	.02
65 and over. . . .	-.26	-.28*	-.38*	-.14	-.18	-.23	-.23	-.32*	-.08
Unstandardized									
14 and over. . . .	-.27	-.25	-.41*	-.24	-.26	-.35*	-.07	-.24	-.13

* Significant at the .05 level or lower.

cantly positive for the white women twenty to twenty-four.

Non-white males show a negative correlation for all ages, with only the correlation for older persons forty-five to sixty-four and sixty-five and over failing to be significant. The white males, however, are significantly negative only for youths and the aged. There is a slight positive correlation for the age groups twenty to sixty-four.

Youths, both male and female, show a highly significant negative correlation between labor-force participation and city income. Aged persons sixty-five and over also show a negative correlation between labor-force participation and income, usually significant. In the ages when most men work, twenty to forty-four, the negative correlation between income and labor-force partici-

Real income and labor-force participation.

—Using Kendall's τ for real income and labor-force participation gives results similar to those using money income (Table 2). Within each age group the correlations by real income were ranked from most negative to least negative. The same was done for money-income correlations for the same age group. Kendall's τ was used for a rough measure of the similarity of the correlations by each method. The coefficients were, respectively, .57, .58, .77, .44, .92, .59, .89, .61, .35, and .58. All the coefficients are positive, all are high, although the number of cases is too small for a test of their significance.

Conclusion.—This paper has analyzed the relation of income and labor-force participation by age, sex, and color for the 50 cities

over 100,000 which gave data for non-whites in 1940. The effect of the color breakdown is to show that the previously observed universal negative correlations are based to a considerable extent on the non-white component of the labor force. The negative correlations are found for non-white males and females of all ages. For white persons, the correlations are negative for youths and the aged, but white males twenty to sixty-five show a very slight positive correlation. The most striking phenomenon is the positive correlation between income and labor-force participation for white females eighteen and nineteen and twenty to twenty-four. The latter group shows a sig-

nificant positive relationship, the first time this has been observed for a group of supplementary workers.

White women now often work by choice in the period between school and marriage or childbirth, and northern cities provide many suitable positions. The changing definition of work may explain the positive association for young white females. The different patterns for non-white females may reflect a divergence in values or a lack of job opportunities. Regardless of the underlying explanation, the labor economists must necessarily revise their theory to place it within a social setting.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY

GROUP PRESSURE AND FAMILY BREAKUP: A STUDY OF GERMAN COMMUNITIES

EUGENE LITWAK¹

ABSTRACT

This paper considers family stability as a problem in social control. In certain German communities overwhelming religious majorities or bare majorities increased family stability, regardless of whether the majority was Catholic or Protestant. In contrast, refugee majority-minority structures played no role. Yet refugees in Catholic areas had higher rates of breakup than refugees in Protestant areas. These findings suggest that majority-minority structures are pertinent only for positive reference groups and external modes of control operate best in closed structures, while internal modes of control operate best in open structures.

Much of the current work on family dissolution has emphasized social-psychological factors. The present paper will address itself to a complementary, but different, question: How might aspects of group structure activate some of these social-psychological factors leading to breakup?² If it can be assumed that family stability is one of the norms of Western culture, the latter question then becomes a problem in social control. The following kinds of questions will therefore be raised:

1. Will a group which has homogeneous values enforce its norms as well as a group which has heterogeneous values?
2. Will a group which is structured so as to allow its members easy ingress and egress be able to enforce its norms as well as a group which is not?
3. Under what conditions will formal organization act as a mode of enforcing norms as opposed to informal organization?
4. Will a group which is structured to utilize external modes of control be able to enforce its norms better than a group which uses internal modes of control?

Questions such as these differ consider-

ably from questions on the personality needs of a spouse to be met in order to maintain a successful marriage. Or what abilities must a spouse possess in order best to insure marital success? In the following sections the foregoing questions will be explored.

THE ADDITIVE THEORY OF GROUP STRUCTURE: RELIGION AND FAMILY BREAKUP

The religious tenet that marriage is a good per se has played a great role in keeping the rates of family breakup low in Western society as compared to many primitive non-Westernized cultures.³ Within the Western world the Catholic church has generally put more organized effort into maintaining marriage as a good per se than have the Protestant churches. The Roman Catholic church does allow separations, but separation permits no remarriage and thus may be harsher than the Protestants' divorce. The Catholic church, therefore, more than the Protestant churches, officially discourages *de facto* family breakup. If this is granted, then the relation between family breakup⁴ and one of the simplest concepts of

¹ This research is part of a larger project on the effects of law on family stability, sponsored jointly by the Family Study Center at the University of Chicago and the University of Chicago Comparative Law Research Center.

² The term "group structure" is used to signify patterns of interaction independent of the value orientation or personalities of the individuals involved.

³ George P. Murdock, "Family Stability in Non-European Cultures," *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences*, CCLXXI (November, 1950), 197-201.

⁴ Unless otherwise specified, "breakup" will refer to both separated and divorced persons. The figures used for family breakup are therefore the sum of two ratios. The first is the total divorced

group structure can be tested. Those who advocate an "additive" theory of group structure would state that the group is a sum of the individuals in it.⁵ Translated into terms of the present subject matter, this would mean that the more Catholics living in an area, the less likely is family breakup.

To test this hypothesis, a sample of areas from the German census of 1950 was grouped in terms of the proportion of Catholics living in them.⁶ If breakup rates decrease as the proportion of Catholics increases, it would support the summation theory of group structure.

The figures in Table 1 indicate that the data do not support an additive theory of group structure. In fact, in several instances the opposite appears. Areas which contain

population per 100 of the total married population. The second is the total who (for marital reasons) are living separately from their spouses per 100 total married population. People were considered to be living separately from their spouses for marital reasons if they gave as their reason for separate residence something besides (a) occupational reasons, (b) housing shortage, and (c) husband a prisoner of war or missing. The assumption is that if any systematic error occurs (such as under-reporting of separations), it will be randomly distributed among the population.

This index of marital breakup has several potential weaknesses. A serious one is that it is subject to effects of migration. People might have obtained a divorce in one area and come to live in another. To associate the characteristics of the area they now live in with factors of breakup might therefore be fallacious. In the present discussion this error will be minimized, since we are able to some extent to provide separate figures for old residents and new ones (refugees). Perhaps another serious error might be the reliability of such classifications as religion, refugee status, etc. It will be generally assumed that where the census lists more Catholics in an area, there will actually be more than in another area where it lists fewer Catholics.

⁵ Floyd H. Allport, *Social Psychology* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1924), pp. 295 ff. In so far as the "culture-personality" school of anthropology assumes that the culture is a mirror image of individuals, they also make the assumption of a simple additivity. The findings of much of current survey research seem to assume the additive group-structure theory, e.g., Negroes vote Democratic more than white, leaders are more tolerant than non-leaders, etc.

only 10 per cent or fewer Catholics have a lower rate than areas with 90-100 per cent Catholics. This seems paradoxical in view of the strenuous efforts made by the Catholic church to prevent breakup.⁷

MAJORITY-MINORITY STRUCTURE: RELIGION AND FAMILY BREAKUP

An additive theory of group structure is not pertinent, but a theory of majority-minority structure may be. The fact of being

TABLE 1

RELATION BETWEEN MARITAL BREAKUP AND PROPORTION OF CATHOLICS IN AREAS*

Proportion of Area Catholic (Per Cent)	Marital Breakup (Separations and Divorces per 100 Marriages)
100-90.....	4.07
89-75.....	5.46
74-55.....	4.57
54-50.....	3.56
49-45.....	4.31
44-25.....	5.56
24-10.....	5.54
9-0.....	3.68

* In this table and all succeeding ones, whenever a relationship is asserted to hold, it is significant at least to the .05 level. The test of significance for all succeeding tables and the population figures have been given in the subsequent discussion centered around Tables 5A, 5B, 5C, and 5D. In none of the following tables do the figures indicate whether it is Protestants or Catholics who break up in a given area. All that is stated is that certain types of groups lower or raise the rate, regardless of whose marriage dissolves.

⁶ *Die Bevölkerung in der Bundesrepublik Deutschland*, Heft 2: *Die Bevölkerung nach der Religionszugehörigkeit*, Vol. XXXV (Wiesbaden: Statistisches Bundesamt, 1950). All data in this paper were taken from German census publications and from unpublished material provided by them from their 1950 census. The basic data consist of 301 German *Kreisen* (areas). There are approximately 543 *Kreisen* altogether (see *Statistisches Jahrbuch für die Bundesrepublik Deutschland* [1953], pp. 32 ff.). Since separate tabulations were made for refugees and non-refugees, there are actually 602 independent units of analysis.

⁷ Data which have not been presented indicate that Catholics (as expected) have fewer divorces but more separations than Protestants. What is paradoxical about the present finding is that *in toto* they are no more successful than the Protestants in keeping the family living under the same roof, despite their much stricter views.

a minority or a majority member of a group might lead to enforcement of the norm all out of proportion to the sum of the people in the group holding the norm. To test this formulation, each area was classified into those with populations of 100-90 per cent Catholics or Protestants, 90-75 per cent, 75-55 per cent, and those with a bare majority of less than 55 per cent.

An examination of Table 2 reveals a curious pattern. Those structures containing 100-90 per cent majority and those having a bare majority of less than 55 per cent had the lowest breakup rates. This fact holds regardless of whether they are Catholic or Protestant.

Assuming for the moment that these findings are not spurious, we might ask what role is played by majority structure in the enforcement of group norms. One type of explanation was given by Durkheim—i.e., the more homogeneous a group is, the more strictly its norms are enforced. Durkheim postulated a circular effect: public enforcement leads to stricter adherence, which leads to greater enforcement, etc.⁸ Many other theories, such as differential association, which some criminologists postulate, might also account for the low rate of breakup or high enforcement of norms in a majority structure of 100-90 per cent. The strict enforcement of norms by homogeneous Puritan groups would illustrate Durkheim's thesis.

However, his thesis would not explain the low rates in areas which have a bare majority of 55 per cent or less. Theories such as those advocated by Sorokin are necessary. Sorokin points out that an explicit threat to

the power position of a group leads to greater enforcement of its norms.⁹ This theory, properly detailed, might explain why religious structures with majorities of 55 per cent or less have low breakup rates. Perhaps groups containing only bare majorities (other things being equal) are more likely to feel threatened. If the simultaneous operation of both conformity based on similarity of values and conformity based on threat to values could be postulated, then the curvilinear relation between religious majority structure and family breakup might be explained. Rather than an additive theory, our data suggest that group structures in which there exists either extreme homogeneity or a

TABLE 2
RELATION BETWEEN MAJORITY STRUCTURES, TYPE OF RELIGION, AND MARITAL BREAKUP

	RELIGIOUS MAJORITY STRUCTURE (PER CENT)			
	100-90	89-75	74-55	54-50
Breakup among Catholic areas...	4.07	5.46	4.57	3.56
Breakup among Protestant areas.	3.68	5.54	5.56	4.31

threat to values are the most propitious for the enforcement of group norms. This is exemplified in Germany, where family dissolution occurs primarily in social structures with either an overwhelming or bare religious majority; it occurs less where only moderate majorities exist.

The extent to which minority-majority aspects of group structure influence the enforcement of norms would, of course, depend on other factors of group structure. Some of these will be discussed in the following sections.

OPEN AND CLOSED STRUCTURE: REFUGEES AND FAMILY BREAKUP¹⁰

An examination of the German refugees might be pertinent, for from one point of view they can be considered as prototypes of

⁸ Pitirim A. Sorokin, *Social and Cultural Dynamics* (New York: American Book Co., 1937), Vol. II, chap. xv.

¹⁰ Data on German refugees were provided by the Statistisches Bundesamt, Wiesbaden, Ger-

⁸ Émile Durkheim, *The Division of Labor in Society* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1947), Book I, chaps. ii and vii. It is interesting to note that many years later Kurt Lewin in his "Group Decision and Social Change" in *Readings in Social Psychology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1947), pp. 330-45, pointed out in a series of experiments the importance of public commitment for enforcement of group norms. In order to study more fully the social-psychological mechanism by which control takes place, data on individual Catholics and Protestants would have to be gathered and contrasted with the group data. Unfortunately, this information was not available.

the mobile and alien individual. From the viewpoint of group structure this means groups which allow easy ingress and egress or groups made up of strangers. It might be argued that, since the refugee is a stranger, customary rewards and punishments which the society uses might not affect him, e.g., ostracism for living in sin might not worry him. If so, high rates of breakup should occur for refugees. On the other hand, it might be argued that the refugee is seeking to enter the non-refugee group and, as a stranger who is suspect, will have to conform the most to group norms.¹¹ Still again it might be said that, as an "isolated" individual, he ought to turn to his family for succor. If so, this should lead to low rates of breakup.¹² It is

TABLE 3
MARITAL BREAKUP OF REFUGEES
AND NON-REFUGEES

	Breakup Rates	Ratio of Separation to Divorce
Refugee	7.43	4.74
Non-refugee	4.79	0.34

obvious that many hypotheses can be advanced to relate the "stranger,"¹³ the relatively open character of the group structure,¹⁴ and the enforcement of group norms. It is, of course, possible that all the foregoing

many, from their unpublished figures. There were several types of refugees: the figures here refer to people whose residence on September 1, 1939, was in the eastern provinces of Germany which are now under foreign rule, the Saar, and people who lived outside the former boundaries of Germany whose mother-tongue was German. I do not refer to any whose spouse is a prisoner or missing as a consequence of the war.

¹¹ Muzafer Sherif, *An Outline of Social Psychology* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1948), p. 139. It is pointed out by T. M. Newcomb that his finding in the Bennington study can be accounted for by the fact that individuals acquire the attitudes and norms of a group to the extent that they want to join the group, etc. For a general discussion of open and closed structures see Max Weber, *The Theory of Social and Economic Organization*, trans. A. M. Henderson and Talcott Parsons (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947), pp. 139 ff.

hypotheses might hold; the real question is the strength of each.

Our data seem to indicate that the refugee in Germany is a nonconformist. Table 3 shows that refugees have a much higher breakup rate than non-refugees. A further look at the ratio of separation to divorce (Table 3) indicates that the refugees make much greater use of separation. This may be an index of several things: for instance, that as aliens they do not feel impelled to use the institutional forms of breakup, that they are poorer and cannot afford a divorce, or that they are seen as a threat to group norms and therefore laws are more strictly enforced against them. Again it may be that the index is weak and that people who seek an excuse to separate from their spouses are more prone to become refugees willingly. Likewise, many refugees who flee for political reasons may have difficulty in escaping with their entire families. However, if the index is sound, the figures definitely do not support the hypothesis that the refugee family is "stable," as some recent writers on the Ger-

¹² The most recent statement of this point is made by Helmut Schelsky, "The Family in Germany," *Marriage and Family Living*, XVI, No. 4 (November, 1954), 331 ff. The pros and cons of the general point as to what happens to families in isolation and under stress have been discussed by studies of the family in the depression and more recently during wars. It might also be noted that students of mass cultures (Huizinga, Erich Fromm, Ortega y Gasset, and David Riesman) have argued that the isolation of the individual in a mass society leads to an outward conformity rather than to a primary group cohesion. This might well mean low breakup rates if family stability is a norm of the mass society.

¹³ Georg Simmel, "Stranger," *The Sociology of Georg Simmel*, ed. Kurt Wolff (Glencoe: Free Press, 1950), pp. 402-9. This gives a catalogue of ways in which a stranger can relate himself to the group.

¹⁴ Though this point has not been elaborated, some aspects of it have been discussed by R. K. Merton and Alice Kitt. They point out that one factor which leads to an acceptance by large minorities of new members into a group is the extent to which the group is organized (see *Continuities in Social Research: Studies in the Scope and Method of "The American Soldier"*, ed. Robert K. Merton and Paul F. Lazarsfeld [Glencoe: Free Press, 1950], pp. 88 ff. and 96 ff.).

man family hold.¹⁵ Thus these preliminary considerations indicate that enforcement of norms is more difficult in an open than in a closed group.

REFERENCE GROUP AND FORMAL ORGANIZATION: REFUGEE MAJORITY-MINORITY STRUCTURE AND FAMILY BREAKUP

The *Kreisen* were further categorized according to the proportion of resident refugees. This not only allowed contrast of the refugee majority structures with the religious majority structures but permitted other questions like the following: How will the presence of other refugees affect the individual refugee? Since the refugee has a higher rate of breakup and uses separation as the mode of breakup, will the presence of other refugees reinforce this behavior, or will it weaken it? How will the presence of refugees affect the non-refugee: will he feel threatened and enforce his own norms, or will he use the refugee as a model in order to escape his own norms? The analogy with the religious majority-minority structure is not complete, for there are no areas which contain a majority of refugees. However, we can examine the non-refugee majority/refugee minority situation. The data indicate that refugee structure affects the behavior of neither refugees nor non-refugees.

So the question might be asked, Why does minority structure affect religious but not refugee groups? This fact might be accounted for by two facets of group structure. First, the refugee group, unlike religious groups, does not represent a positive reference group. The status of refugee is thrust upon the refugee, and he would not willingly choose it. Therefore, he remains relatively unaffected by fellow-refugees. Second, neither refugees nor non-refugees have a sizable formal social organization through which they act as a social unit. Though it is true that refugees have a political party, it can-

not compare in magnitude, complexity, and comprehensiveness with a religious organization.

The lack of a formal refugee organization might make it difficult for the non-refugee to perceive the refugee group as a collective threat to be met by collective action. Further research would be necessary to determine the extent to which formal organization of a deviant group leads to a perception of it as a threat by the non-deviant group. It would seem, therefore, that, in addition to the concept of open and closed structure, the extent of formal organization and the nature of the reference group should also be considered.

URBAN STRUCTURE AND FAMILY BREAKUP

"Urbanism" is a concept which refers simultaneously to many aspects of group structure—the size of the group, the open structuring of it, a highly developed division of labor, etc. Many writers on the family consider that urbanization and industrialization are two of the major factors affecting western family breakup. Three divergent views are held: (a) urbanization is leading to the breakdown of the family; (b) urbanism is leading to a different type of family, which is just as strong as the old; and (c) urbanism is leading to a different type of family, which has a greater tendency toward breakup than the old one. It is important to see how this general structural complex called "urbanism" relates to family dissolutions, since all our previous considerations may be accounted for by it.

If urban structure is related to family breakup, then the rates should go down as the size of the city goes down, while the reverse should occur if it is a factor in family integration. An inspection of Table 4 indicates surprisingly enough that neither trend emerges. Though it is true that rural areas have lower rates than urban areas, it is also true that small towns have larger rates than big cities. Further analysis indicates that it is an increase in separation rather than divorce which brings the rates of the small

¹⁵ Schelsky, *op. cit.* It should be noted that our separation figures do not include spouses who are missing for the following reasons: occupation, housing, prisoner of war, or missing as a result of the war.

towns up. That divorce and separation relate to urbanism in quite different ways can be seen from the ratio of separation to divorce given in Table 4. The ratio is higher in rural areas than in urban areas. This means that even though marriages in rural areas do not break up as much as those in urban areas, when the couples finally decide to break up, they are more likely to select separation as the mode of parting.

This finding would indeed be paradoxical if by "separation" were meant desertion, for a large city would seem to be a far more logical environment for desertion. However,

TABLE 4
CITY SIZE BY MARITAL BREAKUP

City Size*	Breakup	Ratio of Separation to Divorce
100,000 or more	6.42	0.565
99,000-50,000	4.63	0.533
49,000-20,000	6.88	0.965
19,000-less...	6.58	0.916
Rural areas...	3.99	1.500

* *Statistisches Jahrbuch*. There is a listing of *Stadt-* and *Landkreisen* with number of inhabitants. This classification is not completely pure. There are some *Landkreisen* which include small cities.

separation might also be used as a more moderate means of breakup where the norms are against divorce and easily enforced through face-to-face relations. Thus in rural areas separation might be more socially acceptable than divorce. Of course, for the Catholic, separation is the only legitimate means of breakup.¹⁶

Despite these surprising findings, it is still apparent that total breakup is considerably lower in rural than in urban areas. Some previously mentioned structural considerations might actually be better explained by the more general concept of urbanism.

INTERRELATIONS BETWEEN URBAN STRUCTURE, RELIGIOUS STRUCTURE, RELIGIOUS STATUS, AND REFUGEE STATUS

In order to see the extent to which each of the previous findings is independent, con-

¹⁶ Whatever the reason for this paradoxical finding, it would seem that the use of divorce as an index of family breakup might be especially biasing in rural areas and small towns.

sider Tables 5A, 5B, 5C, and 5D. One of the first things that strikes the eye is that there are virtually no cities containing 90 per cent or more Protestants or Catholics. The statement that areas with overwhelming religious majorities and those having less than 55 per cent majorities are most ideal for keeping down family breakup must be modified. The data allow the statement to be tested only in rural areas and in one size of city. One can argue either that an abbreviated form of the curve appears, or he can advance a new hypothesis—that the more evenly divided a group structure is, the more its norms tend to be enforced. Either hypothesis can be tested by looking at each row of Tables 5A, 5B, 5C, and 5D. Sixteen such rows have three or more figures in them. Of these 16 rows, 15 have their highest breakup figure in either of the central two categories (89-55 per cent). This is significantly better than chance at the .05 level and would therefore support the old hypothesis that extreme majorities and evenly balanced groups reduce breakup rates.¹⁷ (This assumes that the curves appear in abbreviated form.) This finding holds in cities of all sizes (where data are available) for refugees and non-refugees and in both Protestant and Catholic areas.

To see how rural factors operate independently of other variables, examine the 16 columns of Tables 5A, 5B, 5C, and 5D. In each column a comparison can be made between a rural and an urban area. Of 46 possible comparisons which can be made, in 45 cases the rural environment has a lower breakup rate than the urban area. This is significantly better than chance at the .01 level and thus supports the hypothesis that rural-urban differences operate independently of other factors. Though the figures are not presented in this paper, in 41 out of 46 cases the ratio of separation to divorce is larger for rural than for urban areas. This is significant at the .01 level and supports the hypothesis that rural-urban influences on

¹⁷ The test of significance used, unless otherwise specified, is that of "Confidence Belts for Proportions" taken from Wilfrid J. Dixon and Frank J. Massey, Jr., *Introduction to Statistical Analysis* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1951), pp. 320-23.

TABLE 5A

RELATION BETWEEN CATHOLIC MAJORITY STRUCTURES, CITY SIZE,
AND MARITAL BREAKUP OF NON-REFUGEES

CITY SIZE	CATHOLIC MAJORITY STRUCTURES (PER CENT)			
	100-90	89-75	74-55	54-50
100,000 plus.....		(538,7)* 7.62	(487,3) 5.87	(192,2) 4.55
99,000-50,000....		(117,4) 5.51	(111,6) 4.33	(30,3) 3.39
49,000-20,000....	(19,250) 5.58	(133,5) 6.63	(69,450) 7.43	(13,647) 4.72
19,000 or less.....		(21,112) 6.44	(4,421) 9.77	.....
Rural areas.....	(283,6) 2.73	(1,325,7) 3.59	(675,7) 3.26	(280,7) 2.78

* The figures in parentheses are the total population in each box of the table. It is given to the nearest hundred persons.

TABLE 5B

RELATION BETWEEN PROTESTANT MAJORITY STRUCTURES, CITY SIZE,
AND MARITAL BREAKUP OF NON-REFUGEES

CITY SIZE	PROTESTANT MAJORITY STRUCTURES (PER CENT)			
	100-90	89-75	74-55	54-50
100,000 plus.....		(343,0) 6.70	(2,855,1) 7.59	(83,1) 5.56
99,000-50,000....		(191,5) 6.11	(121,0) 5.46	(137,4) 4.88
49,000-20,000....		(91,9) 7.13	(114,3) 5.75	.....
19,000 or less.....		(9,6) 5.46	(25,653) 5.51	(5,9) 5.13
Rural areas.....	(382,0) 3.81	(1,397,4) 4.06	(807,7) 3.69	(599,7) 3.25

TABLE 5C

RELATION BETWEEN CATHOLIC MAJORITY STRUCTURES, CITY SIZE,
AND MARITAL BREAKUP OF REFUGEES

CITY SIZE	CATHOLIC MAJORITY STRUCTURES (PER CENT)			
	100-90	89-75	74-55	54-50
100,000 plus.....		(58,7) 13.64	(38,0) 9.57	(11,0) 7.04
99,000-50,000....		(12,4) 10.32	(5,5) 5.71	(3,6) 6.41
49,000-20,000....	(1,8) 13.10	(28,1) 10.35	(8,3) 13.99	(0,8) 6.63
19,000 or less....		(4,4) 9.70	(1,7) 11.32	.....
Rural areas.....	(45,4) 5.76	(224,7) 7.35	(115,1) 6.33	(56,8) 5.86

TABLE 5D

RELATION BETWEEN PROTESTANT MAJORITY STRUCTURES, CITY
SIZE, AND MARITAL BREAKUP OF REFUGEES

CITY SIZE	PROTESTANT MAJORITY STRUCTURES (PER CENT)			
	100-90	89-75	74-55	54-50
100,000 plus.....		(164,6) 9.69	(194,9) 9.39	(21,2) 8.54
99,000-50,000....		(29,2) 9.12	(21,0) 8.76	(12,8) 8.67
49,000-20,000....		(22,3) 7.62	(13,3) 8.84	.....
19,000 or less....		(1,7) 9.92	(6,3) 7.62	(1,7) 7.26
Rural areas.....	(138,3) 6.60	(440,7) 6.43	(162,6) 5.75	(99,7) 5.31

separation operate independently of other factors.

To see the effect of refugee status on breakup, each box in the refugee parts of the tables should be compared with its equivalent box in the non-refugee parts (5A compared with 5C, and 5B with 5D): for instance, 13.64 should be compared with 7.62. Of 31 such comparisons, the refugees have a higher rate 31 times. This is significantly better than chance at the .01 level and supports the hypothesis that refugee status operates independently of other factors.

TABLE 6
INFLUENCE OF SELECTED VARIABLES ON BREAKUP

	Average Diff. if Variable Ignored
Refugee-non-refugee.....	2.86*
Rural-urban.....	2.31
Religious structure.....	1.58
Catholic-Protestant.....	1.51

*One test of significance which can be used is to ask what is the probability for each of the variables of having a difference of 1.51 or less. For instance, only 1 out of 31 differences between refugees and non-refugees is 1.51 or smaller. Among 28 differences between Catholics and Protestants, 19 are 1.51 or smaller. The difference between these proportions can be handled in traditional ways. Using this type of test, the average difference contributed by the refugee-non-refugee variable and the rural-urban variable is significantly higher than that of the Catholic-Protestant variable (at the .01 level).

To determine the effects of religious status, each box in the Protestant parts of the tables should be compared with its equivalent in the Catholic parts (5A compared with 5B, and 5C with 5D): for instance, 7.62 should be compared with 6.70. Of 28 possible comparisons, Catholic and Protestant areas divided the honors; they each had higher rates 14 times. This does not support the hypothesis that a simple additive notion of group structure plays an independent role.

To summarize, all the structural considerations play a role independent of urbanism.

COMMUNICATION CHANNELS AND EXTERNALIZED VERSUS INTERNALIZED CONTROLS

Though the analysis indicates that the various factors operate independently of one

another, it says nothing about the magnitude of their contribution or about certain types of interaction. An index was constructed for each variable which would reflect its independent contribution. This will allow the examination of two other aspects of group structure: the first is modes of control, both externalized and internalized. By "externalized modes of control" is meant that the group relies on other members of the group to enforce the norms, while "internalized modes of control" means that the individual himself is responsible for enforcing the group norms.¹⁸ The second factor of group structure which is of interest is the communication channels—are they relatively clear or shut?

Let us turn, first, to the index which measures the magnitude of each variable. The index will be illustrated in terms of urbanism. For each of the 16 columns in Tables 5A, 5B, 5C, and 5D, the average differences (disregarding sign) between rural and urban areas are computed. These differences are averaged.¹⁹ Table 6 gives the four variables and their index values. It shows that refugee status and urbanism are the major contributors to breakup, while religious differences seem to play the least role (within Western culture).

¹⁸ The use of "external" and "internal" means of control is not to be confused with the concepts of the other- and inner-directedness (see David Riesman, Nathan Glazer, and Reuel Denney, *The Lonely Crowd* [Garden City: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1953], pp. 28 ff., 34).

¹⁹ Intuitively, this index indicates the average error a person is likely to make if he is studying family breakup and neglects to consider the difference between rural and urban areas. The larger such an error is, the more important it is to consider the rural-urban distinction and the more weight should be given to the theoretical variables indexed by urbanism. Peter Blau pointed out in a private conversation that the actual magnitude of this difference would depend on the number of people in each area and whether the investigator took a random sample or selected areas on another basis. In the present instance the index of difference was computed by assuming equal weight to each box. This was done because the interest in this paper is in the theoretical weight of each variable, free of any particular population distribution.

An analysis of the joint interaction of these variables indicates that the difference between refugee and non-refugee becomes important in urban Catholic areas, where the index goes up to 3.64. On the other hand, Catholics seem to be more affected than Protestants by the variations in religious majority structures (3.30). At the same time, differences between Protestants and Catholics are much greater in urban areas (3.39).

One thing which stands out in the analysis is that Catholic areas and urban areas seem to provide the best social milieu for large variations in rates. Rural and Protestant areas, on the other hand, seem to force people into the same mold regardless of structural variations. Perhaps one thing that urban and Catholic areas have in common is the stress on externalized means of social control.²⁰ In so far as this is true, one

²⁰ Some writers have argued that modern urban areas have been especially susceptible to the external mechanism of control. This would be true of the "other-oriented individual" in Riesman *et al.*, *op. cit.* This extreme sensitivity to outward conformity has been noted by many other students of mass culture. The fact that the Catholic religion tends to stress the church and the organized group as a mechanism of control, while the Protestants tend to stress individual conscience and responsibility, has been suggested by Durkheim as well as by many others. Émile Durkheim (*Suicide* [Glencoe: Free Press, 1951]) says: "The Catholic accepts his faith ready made, without scrutiny. . . . A whole hierarchical system of authority is devised, with marvelous ingenuity, to render tradition invariable. . . . The Protestant is far more the author of his faith. . . . The very structure of the reformed cult stresses this state of religious individualism" (p. 158). This view of religion is especially pertinent with regard to the problem of family breakup. For the Catholic, marriage is a sacrament and therefore subject to group (church) control, while for the Protestant it is an individual matter. This factor, of course, operates independently of the majority-minority structure, so that where one has a homogeneous Protestant community, one would expect great enforcement of norms, even though it was considered an individual matter. Though we have distinguished between external and internal modes of control, it should be understood that these are polar types. It is not suggested that internal modes of control are completely devoid of group influence but only relatively so.

would then expect them to be more sensitive to variations in group structure.

For instance, variation in religious majority structure results in an index of 1.70 in Catholic areas but only 0.79 in Protestant areas (significant at 0.10).²¹ In urban areas where externalized means of social control are also dominant, the effect of religious structure is to bring about an average variation of 1.82 as compared to 0.65 in rural areas.

However, another factor is probably more important in regard to this latter finding. The ability to communicate norms, to be sensitive to violations of the norms, and to employ procedures for control of deviance is partly a function of the clearness of the communication channels. Possibly in rural areas, because of the smaller numbers, the community is more completely controlled.

Thus, though the rural communities might not stress externalized modes of control, their better channels of communication allow them to use community pressure more effectively. The clearness of channels of communication and the extent of the externalization of the modes of social control might account for the fact that variations in majority structure affect Catholic urban areas most (2.70), Protestant urban areas second (0.98), rural Catholic areas third (0.70), and rural Protestant areas least (0.60). (The difference between 0.70 and 0.60 is not statistically significant.)

Thus far we have spoken only about the size of the variation, without indicating its direction. If non-refugees are compared in Catholic and Protestant areas, in 10 out of 14 cases the Catholic areas have a lower figure. The opposite occurs for the refugees—in 10 out of 14 cases the Catholic areas have a higher rate. Why is it that it is more difficult

²¹ In all succeeding figures a sign test was used (see Dixon and Massey, *op. cit.*, p. 324). The procedure was to assign a positive sign to all variations in the Catholic areas of 1.70 and above, and to all variations in the Protestant areas of 0.79 and below. All other variations received a negative sign. There is only one chance in 10 of obtaining so many pluses when, in fact, there is no difference between the Catholic and Protestant areas.

to control strangers in Catholic than Protestant areas, while, conversely, it is much simpler to control indigenous members?

If it is assumed that Catholics use external modes of control while Protestants use internal ones, it might well be that external modes of control, with their stress on group identity, might act as barriers to the incorporation of strangers. A vicious circle could ensue—the stranger refusing to conform because of his exclusion, which, in turn, leads to further exclusion. On the other hand, the figures indicate that for the non-alien the external mode of control tends to be more effective than the internal one. These considerations suggest that external modes of control might be more efficacious in closed structures, while internal ones might be more efficacious in open structures.²²

CONCLUSION

To summarize, we have attempted to show how family dissolution might be viewed as a facet of the general problem of social control. The primary stress was on group structure rather than on personality variables. We sought to point out that the

²² Fred L. Strodbeck has pointed out that American Indian cultures which relied least on the group and most on the family for control were best able to survive the impact of the alien white culture.

mechanism of control might differ where one group contained an overwhelming majority which adhered to the norm and another group was equally divided between opposing norms. At the same time, it was suggested that both these structures were more propitious for social control than that which contained a moderate majority. Furthermore, the extent to which the group was an open or closed structure would affect the type of control that was most efficacious: external modes of control are better for closed structures, while internal ones are better for open structures. In this connection it was also pointed out that the enforcement of norms on strangers would vary to the extent that strangers had a formal organization and whether they viewed their group as a positive reference group.

In all these considerations the data were used in an illustrative manner rather than to provide conclusive proof. Until further data can be gathered, many of the empirical findings reported will have a somewhat paradoxical character. The major purpose of the present paper is to suggest a more sociological approach to the study of family dissolution as a supplement to some of the psychological and social-psychological works of the past.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO

ANOMIE, AUTHORITARIANISM, AND PREJUDICE: A REPLICATION

ALAN H. ROBERTS AND MILTON ROKEACH

ABSTRACT

This research replicates Srole's study of the interrelation of anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice. Both anomie and authoritarianism correlate about equally highly with prejudice. There is a higher correlation between authoritarianism and prejudice with anomie held constant ($r = .53$) than between anomie and prejudice with authoritarianism held constant ($r = .37$). Anomie and status, measured by income with education held constant, are negligibly interrelated, and status affects negligibly the anomie-prejudice relationship. In disagreement with Srole, *both* authoritarianism and anomie are found related independently to prejudice, and anomie, as measured, is not a function of status.

In 1951 Dr. Leo Srole read a paper¹ before the meetings of the American Sociological Society in which he considered the relationships existing among anomie, authoritarianism, and ethnic prejudice. Anomie is a sociological concept derived from Durkheim and refers, according to Srole, to "the phenomena variously referred to as social dysfunction or disorganization, group alienation, and demoralization."² Srole hypothesized in his paper that it is such an anomic state of affairs which comprises "one of the prime forces on the urban scene contributing to the formation of patterns of distance, discrimination and rejection toward out-groups in general and toward minority groups in particular."³

Srole distinguished five theoretical components of anomie and developed a five-item scale designed to tap each. He then administered the anomie scale, together with a shortened five-item version of the California authoritarianism scale (the F scale) and measures of ethnic prejudice to a sample of 401 bus riders in Springfield, Massachusetts.

Analysis of the data thus obtained revealed, according to Srole, the following: (a) Both anomie and authoritarianism were equally and substantially related to prejudice; (b) when authoritarianism was held constant, anomie was still substantially related to prejudice; and (c) when anomie was held constant—and this is his crucial finding—authoritarianism was found to be "no

longer highly correlated with social distance attitudes toward minority out-groups, at least *not independently* of the psycho-sociological factors presumably measured by my Anomie Scale."⁴

A further analysis by Srole had to do with the manner in which status, as measured by amount of education, was related to the variables under consideration. Srole reported that, for the lower "education-status" level, it was anomie rather than authoritarianism which was independently related to social distance, and, conversely, at the college level "the roles are reversed: authoritarianism emerges as the primary determinant and anomie as the secondary."⁵

On the basis of these findings and his observation that the samples studied by the California group⁶ were drawn almost exclusively from the middle socioeconomic class, Srole concluded that authoritarianism and prejudice "appear to stand in different relationships to each other within different education-status groups in the population."⁷ He further concluded that "the California Study's finding of a correlation between authoritarian personality tendencies and ethnocentrism may in some measure be spurious, i.e., may be accounted for by the high correlation between authoritarianism and the anomie factor, which factor in turn is significantly and independently correlated with our social distance scores."⁸

Srole's study has important implications

¹ "Social Dysfunction, Personality, and Social Distance Attitudes" (paper read before the American Sociological Society, Chicago, 1951).

² *Ibid.*, p. 2.

³ *Ibid.*

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 9.

⁶ T. W. Adorno *et al.*, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

⁷ Srole, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 10.

for further thinking and research on the role of situational and personal factors in determining social attitudes. Indeed, although Srole's study has not yet been published, it has already attracted considerable attention in both psychological and sociological circles, since it pointed to a need for extensive modification of the findings and conclusions reported in *The Authoritarian Personality*.⁹ In particular, Srole's work has been given prominent attention in the chapters by Christie and by Hyman and Sheatsley in the recently published *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"*.¹⁰

In early 1952 the Srole study was replicated as closely as possible in Lansing, Michigan, and a brief report of this research was presented at the 1952 meetings of the American Psychological Association.¹¹ The results of this replication were at variance in a number of important respects with those reported by Srole, and our purpose here is to publish a full account of these findings.

First, however, it is perhaps desirable to point to several methodological shortcomings in the Srole study which led us to feel that a replication would be worth while:

1. Srole's sample was limited to bus riders.

2. Throughout the Srole study, no correlations were computed among the variables being considered. Instead, extent of relationship was established by inspection of data, which, while continuous in their distribution, were grouped into trichotomies of highs, middles, and lows. Srole's conclusions, therefore, can be no more accurate than the accuracy of his subjective estimates of the degree of relationship existing among the several variables. Also, no attempt was made to test any of the reported differences for statistical significance.

⁹ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*

¹⁰ R. Christie and Marie Jahoda (eds.), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

¹¹ A. H. Roberts, M. Rokeach, and K. McKittrick, "Anomie, Authoritarianism, and Prejudice: A Replication of Srole's Study," *American Psychologist*, VII, 311 (abstr.).

3. Although Srole's sample was relatively large ($N = 401$), his major conclusion that authoritarianism is not related to prejudice independently of anomie was based, to no small extent, on twelve subjects who scored highest on the authoritarianism scale and five subjects who scored lowest on the authoritarianism scale.¹² The reliability of conclusions based on an N so small is questionable.

4. Education alone is used as a measure of class status.¹³

Our intent, then, was to replicate the Srole study as closely as possible and, at the same time, to eliminate the methodological shortcomings just discussed. It was hoped that, simultaneously, quantitative estimates of the degree of relationship existing among anomie, authoritarianism, prejudice, education, and income could be obtained from a sample more representative of the various strata of our society.

Our sample consisted of 86 adult, white, non-Jewish, native American residents of Lansing, Michigan. Of these, 38 were males and 48 were females. The sample represents 0.093 per cent of the parent-group. The subjects were chosen by a random area-sampling procedure which gave each residential block within the city limits an equal chance of being chosen as an interview area.

The ages of our subjects ranged from 21 to over 65, with a mean of 42.15 and a standard deviation of 15.08. Education ranged from 3 to 18 years of schooling, the mean being 10.47 and the standard deviation 2.76. The lowest income was under \$1,000.00 and the highest was over \$10,000.00. The mean income was \$4,790.00 and the standard deviation was \$2,440.00.

All subjects were interviewed in their homes, the interviewers being advanced undergraduate and graduate students at Michigan State College. All the interviewers had taken at least one course in interviewing techniques and, in addition, were given a

¹² Srole, *op. cit.*, Graph II, p. 6.

¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 7.

1-hour orientation lecture on the particular methodology required for this study. They were not informed about the specific purpose of the study until all the data had been collected.

The questionnaire consisted of the same five anomie items¹⁴ and the same five authoritarianism items¹⁵ as those employed by Srole, together with the ten-item ethnocentrism scale, Form 45, used in the California study.¹⁶ Each item was scored 1 point if the subject disagreed with the item, 2 points if he was undecided, and 3 points if he agreed. The possible range of scores, therefore, for the anomie and authoritarianism scales was from 5 to 15, with the higher scores indicating greater anomie or authoritarianism. Similarly, the ten-item ethnocentrism scale had a possible range of from 10 to 30. Finally, age, education, and income data were obtained from all respondents.

The mean ethnocentrism, anomie, and authoritarianism scores for the 86 subjects were 22.3, 9.0, and 11.0, respectively. The standard deviations were 5.1, 3.0, and 2.8, respectively.

Pearson product-moment intercorrelations were computed among anomie, author-

itarianism, ethnocentrism, education, and income. The results are shown in Table 1. All r 's are significantly different from zero beyond the 1 per cent level of confidence, except the correlations between ethnocentrism and income and those between authoritarianism and income. These two r 's are significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence.

In agreement with Srole, we found that both authoritarianism and anomie are about

TABLE 1
INTERCORRELATIONS AMONG ANOMIE, ETHNOCENTRISM, AUTHORITARIANISM, EDUCATION, AND INCOME*

(N=86)					
	A	E	F	Ed.	Inc.
Anomie (A)		.55	.47	-.51	-.41
Ethnocentrism (E)			.64	-.50	-.23
Authoritarianism (F)				-.45	-.24
Education (Ed.)					+.47
Income (Inc.)					

*The correlation .21 is significant at the 5 per cent level of confidence; .28 is significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence

TABLE 2*
COMPARISON OF CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND ANOMIE WITH CORRELATIONS BETWEEN ETHNOCENTRISM AND AUTHORITARIANISM, HOLDING OTHER RELEVANT VARIABLES CONSTANT

r_{EA}	= .55	r_{EF}	= .64
$r_{EA \cdot F}$	= .37	$r_{EF \cdot A}$	= .53
$r_{EA \cdot Inc}$	= .51	$r_{EF \cdot Inc}$	= .62
$r_{EA \cdot ED}$	= .39	$r_{EF \cdot ED}$	= .54
$r_{EA \cdot ED, Inc}$	= .40	$r_{EF \cdot ED, Inc}$	= .54
$r_{EA \cdot F, Inc}$	= .36	$r_{EF \cdot A, Inc}$	= .53
$r_{EA \cdot F, Ed}$	= .28	$r_{EF \cdot A, Ed}$	= .49

*The abbreviations used in this table are the same as those indicated in Table 1.

equally related to ethnocentrism. Authoritarianism and ethnocentrism correlate .64, and anomie and ethnocentrism correlate .55.

As pointed out previously, Srole found that when authoritarianism is held constant, anomie still correlates highly with prejudice, but when anomie is held constant, authoritarianism and prejudice are related to a negligible extent. Our findings do not support his. As can be seen from Table 2, when anomie is held constant by the method of partial correlation, the correlation between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism drops only from .64 to .53. On the other hand,

¹⁴ The anomie items are as follows:

- There's little use writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
- Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
- In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.
- It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
- These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.

¹⁵ The five authoritarianism items are as follows:

- There are two kinds of people in the world: the weak and the strong.
- The *most important* thing to teach children is absolute obedience to their parents.
- Prison is too good for sex criminals; they should be publicly whipped or worse.
- Any good leader should be strict with people under him in order to gain their respect.
- No decent man can respect a woman who has had sex relations before marriage.

¹⁶ Adorno *et al.*, *op. cit.*, p. 128.

when the effect of authoritarianism is partialled out by the same method, the correlation between anomie and ethnocentrism drops from .55 to .37. Thus, contrary to Srole's finding, we find that authoritarianism correlates substantially with ethnocentrism independently of anomie.

We turn, now, to a consideration of the manner in which socioeconomic status is related to anomie, authoritarianism, and prejudice. Implicit in Srole's analysis is the assumption that status is an important determinant of anomie, which, in turn, is an important determinant of prejudice. If this assumption is correct, then we should expect anomie to be highly related to income, a relatively direct measure of status. (In his study Srole uses education rather than income as a measure of status.) We find that this expectation is not borne out. For our data, we find that anomie correlates only — .22 with income after education has been held constant (not shown in Tables 1 and 2). Furthermore, we would expect, if Srole's assumption is correct, that the correlation between anomie and ethnocentrism would be greatly reduced when status is held constant. This also is not borne out, as can be seen in Table 2. When income is held constant, the correlation between anomie and ethnocentrism drops only from .55 to .51.

From these findings and from comparable findings regarding the relationship between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism when status is held constant (see Table 2), we conclude that status, whether measured by income or education or both, has no appreciable effect on the relationships existing among anomie, authoritarianism, and ethnocentrism.

To be noted, finally, with respect to Table 2 is that all the correlations between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism, second-order as well as first-order partials, are higher than the comparable correlations between anomie and ethnocentrism.

Our finding of a significant relationship between anomie and ethnocentrism even when other variables are held constant indicates that Srole has indeed located a variable relevant to the formation of prejudice, but certainly not one which supersedes authoritarianism. In each instance we find that the relationship between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism is greater than the relationship between ethnocentrism and anomie, regardless of which variables are held constant. In particular, our findings do not support Srole's conclusion that the correlation between authoritarianism and ethnocentrism is spurious, being accounted for by the high relationship between authoritarianism and anomie, which, in turn, is significantly and independently related to prejudice. Our obtained correlation of .53 between ethnocentrism and authoritarianism when anomie is held constant shows a greater independent relationship between these two variables than exists between ethnocentrism and anomie when authoritarianism is held constant ($r = .37$).

To be noted further is that our findings do not bear out Srole's contention that anomie is a function of status. Employing income rather than education as a measure of status, we find that the relationship between income and anomie is negligible when education is held constant. Furthermore, we find that holding status constant, whether status is measured by income or by education, has a negligible effect on the correlation existing between anomie and prejudice.

From the preceding, it is reasonable to conclude two things: first, that Srole has isolated a new variable, anomie, which is an important correlate of prejudice and which, therefore, merits further study; and, second, that anomie is not demonstrated to be a more important correlate of prejudice than authoritarian character structure.

UNIVERSITY OF COLORADO
MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

PITFALLS IN THE ANALYSIS OF PANEL DATA: A RESEARCH NOTE
ON SOME TECHNICAL ASPECTS OF *VOTING*¹

ELEANOR E. MACCOBY

Voting is an extremely valuable book. However, it does appear to contain some technical analysis problems which should be discussed in the hope that future workers with panel studies will avoid the pitfalls which raise serious question about the validity of some, but not most, of the conclusions.

The central problem is one of the unreliability of measurement. In polling, there is always a group of cases in which an error has been made. The interviewer accidentally checks the wrong box, the respondent misunderstands the question, the punch-clerk punches the wrong number, etc. Let us assume for purposes of illustration that this kind of error occurs in 10 per cent of the cases and that it is random and so equally likely to happen for any case included in the study. If we are dealing with an attitude whose distribution in the population is uneven, the situation may be seen in Table 1.

In this table we see that among the 400 cases in the sample who are really "for" the issue, 40 will be erroneously classified as "against" and will be added to the "against" total. At the same time, 10 of the 100 people who are really "against" will be classified as "for." Thus the loss of the larger group is numerically greater, being only partially compensated for by errors in the opposite direction, and the distribution of opinion as measured is somewhat more evenly divided than it would be if the measurement were free of error. The limiting case of this process would occur if the measurement had no reliability at all (so that every case was classified as though by tossing a coin), when the measured distribution would show a 50-50 split, no matter what the "true" division of opinion might be.

Now let us assume that we remeasure these cases, as is done in a panel study. To begin with, for the sake of simplicity, let us assume, further, that errors will not be made in the same case twice. Among our larger group, the "for's," there are 10 people who are there by accident,

Upon remeasurement, they should revert to their proper place, the "against" column. But 10 new errors will occur to take their place. That is, there will be 10 new people who are actually "against" who will now be measured as "for." Similarly, the 40 cases who were erroneously classed as "against" in the first measure will revert to type and will be replaced by the same number of new errors. To continue the illustration, the shift of cases upon remeasurement would be as shown in Table 2. The distribution on the first measurement and the distribution on the second measurement are the same. Cases have simply changed places across the dividing line which separated "for" from "against," the same number moving from "for" to "against" as move in the opposite direction.

Occasionally, of course, an error will occur twice in succession in the same case. Since the error rate is 10 per cent, among the 40 cases who were originally mismeasured "against" and are shown in Table 2 as moving to the "for" column, 4 will be mismeasured again and will remain where they were, erroneously classified in the "against" column; in addition, 1 out of the 10 originally misclassified as "for" will be mismeasured a second time and remain where it is. These 5 cases will take the place of 5 of the new errors in the second measurement. Thus, in fact, only 45 cases, rather than 50, will move each way upon remeasurement. But the distribution remains the same upon the second measurement as it was upon the first.

Suppose, now, that we select groups on the basis of their score on the first measurement and ask ourselves how many of them will get a different score upon remeasurement. Out of our 370 cases who were classified as "for" on the first measurement, 45, or about 12 per cent of those originally "for," will change over to the opposite position; out of the 130 originally classified as "against," 45, or about 35 per cent of those originally classified as "against," will change. We see from this that, while equal numbers of cases in each group change upon remeasurement, it will inevitably be true that a

¹ By Bernard R. Berelson, Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xix+395.

higher *proportion* of the minority group will shift.

In their excellent discussion of measurement errors in a test-retest situation, Hovland, Lumsdaine, and Sheffield² point out that, since the numerically smaller category will always contain a higher proportion of shifters upon re-measurement, there is danger of concluding that

cussed here. Here are some examples from *Voting*. Table 3 is a condensation of Chart LVIII in the book, with undecided and non-voting cases omitted. The authors' comment about this table (and a similar table based upon the political preferences of the respondent's friends) is: "Changes in vote are related to the political color of such intimate groups as the family

TABLE 1

	Per Cent For	(N)	Per Cent Against	(N)
"True" distribution.....	80	(400)	20	(100)
Minus cases lost due to 10 per cent error of measurement..	- 8	(40)	- 2	(10)
Plus cases gained due to 10 per cent error of measurement..	+ 2	(10)	+ 8	(40)
Distribution as measured.....	74	(370)	26	(130)

TABLE 2

	Per Cent For	(N)	Per Cent Against	(N)
Distribution on first measurement.....	74	(370)	26	(130)
Minus cases which were originally mis-measured, and return to opposite column.....	- 2	(10)	- 8	(40)
Plus cases which were originally mis-measured, and return to this column.....	+ 8	(40)	+ 2	(10)
Minus error cases on second measurement, moving to opposite column.....	- 8	(40)	- 2	(10)
Plus error cases on second measurement, moving into this column.....	+ 2	(10)	+ 8	(40)
Distribution on second measurement.....	74	(370)	26	(130)

TABLE 3

	RESPONDENT'S VOTE INTENTIONS IN JUNE			
	Same as Mem- bers of Family		Opposite from Members of Family	
	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.
<i>Actual vote in November:</i>				
Same as intention in June.....	93	(273)	66	(25)
Changed to opposite party.....	7	(22)	34	(13)
	100	(295)	100	(38)

"the majority opinion has much more effect on the minority than vice versa," whereas, actually, the shifts may be attributed entirely to errors of measurement. This brings us back to Berelson *et al.*, who have not taken measurement errors into account in their analysis and who appear to have come to some conclusions about the effects of social pressures on vote changes when the findings could be explained on the basis of the kind of error-produced shifts dis-

household. While there are occasional deviations, individual members of a family adjust their views toward each others'. . . Those with compatible associates are stable, the others unstable. As a consequence, the already high homogeneity of small groups maintains itself and even builds up still further."

Actually, there is no evidence here that the homogeneity of the family as a small group is built up further during the campaign. Thirteen people who differed with their families at the beginning of the campaign returned to the fold. But 22 people who were in the family fold at the

² *Experiments on Mass Communication* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949), Appendix D.

beginning of the campaign deserted it, so that homogeneity appears to have been *lessened*, if any change, indeed, occurred. However, since the numbers 22 and 13 are probably not significantly different from each other, the best interpretation of Table 3 appears to be that errors of measurement have produced a counterbalancing shift. There are certainly no grounds for believing that the family is exercising strong political pressure. The difference in *proportions* in the table would be a function of the disproportionate sizes of the groups, if only errors of measurement were involved.

Similarly, the documentation of the existence of "cross-pressures" from one's occupational group is questionable. The figures in Table 4 are

TABLE 4

	PERCENTAGE OF DEFECTORS TO OPPOSITE PARTY IN AUGUST,	
	AMONG:	
	June Republicans	June Democrats
<i>Occupation:</i>		
Non-union white collar...	4	20
Union labor.....	11	14

taken from Chart LXII. For the non-union white-collar group, the percentage differences look impressive. But since there are far more June Republicans than June Democrats among this group, the numbers of cases shifting in the two groups are identical (Table 5).

TABLE 5

	NUMBER OF DEFECTORS TO OPPOSITE PARTY IN AUGUST, AMONG:	
	June	
	Republicans	Democrats
<i>Occupation:</i>		
Non-union white collar...	7	7
Union labor.....	13	11

These charts appear in a chapter entitled "Social Effects of the Campaign"; some of the conclusions appearing at the end of the chapter are: "Within social strata with unambiguous political preferences, the political majority is more stable than the political minority." "People under cross-pressure (e.g., between class and religion) change their vote during the campaign more than people in homogeneous circumstances." Actually, none of the shifts which appear in the tables just described can be attributed to effects of the campaign, to group pressures, or to any other force impinging upon

the respondents between the first and second interviews, until we know something about how much shift would occur upon remeasurement the next day because of errors of measurement alone.

One other point may be relevant here. In our discussion so far, it has been assumed that measurement errors are random—that an error is equally likely to occur for any case in the sample. There are some kinds of error for which this is not a good assumption. Let us assume that we are dealing with the attitude of a man who vacillates a little from day to day, always remaining generally pro, for example, but sometimes feeling more so than at other times. His vacillating may depend on the interviewer's tone of voice when he asks the question, the topic that was uppermost in the respondent's

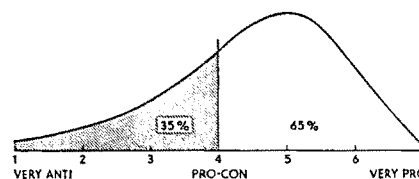


FIG. 1

mind just before the interviewer arrived, etc. Let us assume further that we are dealing with an attitude which is really continuous in the population, ranging from very much pro (scale point 7) to very much anti (scale point 1) but that we have chosen to treat the answers as a dichotomy for convenience in measurement. The distribution of the population (upon first measurement) might be something like that shown in Figure 1.

The item in this illustration splits the population into two groups: 65 per cent pro and 35 per cent anti. Now let us assume that the instability of opinion is such that nearly everyone in the sample feels a little different at the time of remeasurement from the way he did the first time. The man who originally felt very pro (point 7) now feels a little less so (point 6). Or the man at point 2 has shifted from point 2 to point 3 or 1. None of these shifts will show up in the tabulations, for none of them will take the individual across the border line which divides pros from antis. The chances that a shift in opinion will show up as a changed score from one interview to the next are obviously greater for the people who lie near the border line—in this example, for those whose opinions fall at

points 3, 4, and 5. It follows that if we select a group of people who, for some reason, tend to fall near the border line, we will detect more of their changes and will therefore tend to define them as "unstable," even though other groups are changing just as much along the whole scale. It will be recognized that our earlier discussion of random errors is related to this point, for in almost all cases a higher proportion of the *minority* will be close to the border line than of the majority. But there are other instances in which the principle applies. For example, Table 6 presents some figures from *Voting*, Chart LVII.

TABLE 6

	AUGUST TO NOVEMBER VOTE CHANGE AMONG THOSE WHO:	
	Discussed Elec- tion with Person of Same Party	Discussed Elec- tion with Person of Opposite Party
Per cent who changed to op- posite party...	1	13

We know that most people do not discuss the election during the campaign with anyone of the opposite party. It is probable that the people who do so are not such strongly convinced partisans in the first place as those who avoid cross-party discussion. In August they already lie closer to the border line of change. The chances are, then, that if they had been remeasured before they discussed the election with a person of the opposite party, more of them would have changed. The evidence is not conclusive that their change is related to their discussion with a person of different political views. A check is needed of the amount of change that would occur with simple remeasurement and no intervening events.

Clearly, it is much easier to point out problems of the sort that have been discussed than it is to offer solutions for them. Some check on test-retest reliability appears essential, however, before the errors of measurement can be isolated and the independent contribution of other factors assessed.

Obtaining such a check is not a simple matter. The "split-half" method of measuring reliability is obviously not applicable for a variable such as party preference, which is generally measured by a single question. And the "alternative-form" method also implies a group of questions devoted to the measurement of the variable being studied. Retest within a short period appears to be the only feasible method; and this has the drawback that the second measurement may be influenced by the respondent's recollection of what he said on the first one. To determine the magnitude of this effect, a control group is sometimes recommended, to be measured at the same time as the second measurement, without having been exposed to the first measurement. However, even if the distribution of party preferences in such a control group were identical with the distribution in the main group upon second measurement, this would not rule out the possibility of a spurious consistency between the first and second measurements of the main group—such a consistency could occur, owing to the memory of the first response, without affecting the marginal distributions.

Further discussion should produce a solution to the problem of getting a valid measure of the error of measurement involved in panel studies. The solution would much enhance the power of the panel method.

Harvard University

NEWS AND NOTES

Errata.—The *Journal* wishes to draw attention to two errors which appeared in the issue of September, 1955, in Lauren G. Wispé's paper, "A Sociometric Analysis of Conflicting Role-Expectancies": page 135, column 2, line 6 from the top should read: "The last three items . . ."; page 136, column 2, lines 3-4 from the top should read: "The factors are discussed below."

University of Alabama.—David De Jarnette, director of Moundville State Park, has been appointed lecturer in sociology and anthropology. He will offer instruction in southeastern archeology and will further the co-operation between the University and the State Park in research and service.

Three members of the faculty have received University grants for research subsidy on problems of sociological and anthropological interest: Henry L. Andrews, to develop Alabama life-tables and reviews of fertility and mortality in Alabama; John R. Galloway, of the department of art, to develop a monograph on prehistoric art in the Southeast; and Harold L. Titus, a member of the department of linguistics doing graduate work in sociology and anthropology, to codify comment in legal journals of Canada and the United States on the 1954 and 1955 decisions of the United States Supreme Court on segregation in the public schools.

The staff of the department's programs in the University Centers in Birmingham and Mobile are being expanded. The Mobile branch is now in transition to a full four-year undergraduate program.

Alabama Polytechnic Institute.—Robert Garren, formerly of the University of North Carolina, has joined the staff as assistant professor of sociology and will be teaching race relations, social psychology, population, and public opinion.

Laurene Wallace, formerly of Louisiana State University, has joined the staff as an instructor in sociology and will be teaching cultural anthropology and rural sociology.

Carleton College.—Russell L. Langworthy has been promoted to assistant professor.

Dave M. Okada, assistant professor, will be in Japan during the coming year on a Fulbright grant.

Ray Paul Cuzzort, who was a Ford Fellow at the University of Minnesota during 1954-55, was appointed instructor for the coming year.

Samuel M. Strong, chairman, has returned to the campus after a leave of absence during which he was engaged in a study of adjustment to old age in a Minnesota college town.

University of Chicago.—William Fielding Ogburn, professor emeritus of sociology, was awarded an LL.D. degree at the Two Hundred Sixty-seventh Convocation in commemoration of the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Social Science Research Building on November 11.

The Chicago Community Inventory is undertaking an intensive study of housing and population in Chicago's Hyde Park-Kenwood area. Under the direction of Evelyn Kitagawa and Eli Marks a complete canvass of all structures will be made, supplemented by interviews with local residents.

Beverly and Dudley Duncan are completing their report of a demographic and ecological study of the Negroes of Chicago, particularly of the processes of succession between 1940 and 1950. The study is a staff project of the Chicago Community Inventory.

Donald Bogue, associate professor of sociology, is devoting half his time to research with the National Opinion Research Center on the subject of urbanism and the metropolitan community.

The Social Science Research Council has planned a summer institute in 1956 at the National Opinion Research Center on the subject "Survey Methods in Research on Health Problems." It will be organized as a workshop-clinic, under the direction of Clyde W. Hart, director of the Center, and will begin on July 9 and end on August 17. The Social Science Research Council is offering fellowships at the institute to mature students, normally of postdoctoral standing. Candidates should apply to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Philip M. Hauser left in mid-November for a

seven-week absence during which he led discussions at a seminar on the population problems of Asia held at Bandung, Indonesia, and sponsored by the United Nations Technical Assistance Administration with the co-operation of the International Social Science Council. He is also acting as adviser to the government of Thailand in the planning of its 1956 census and to the government of the Union of Burma on statistical and census matters.

Daw Ni Ni, a sociology graduate of Columbia University, is serving as a research assistant in the Population Center's study of the demography of Burma.

The collected papers of Louis Wirth are to be published in the spring by the University of Chicago Press under the title *Community Life and Social Policy*. Edited by Elizabeth Wirth Marvick and Albert J. Reiss, the volume will have an Introduction by Philip M. Hauser and a Foreword by Herbert Blumer.

W. Lloyd Warner, who spent the last year in Cambridge, England, has returned to the campus.

Under a grant of the National Institute of Mental Health, a two-year case study of objective criteria of aging and determinants of retirement is being undertaken by an interdisciplinary team. The goal is to develop physical, psychological, occupational, and social measures to be standardized by age and used to implement a flexible policy of retirement. The research team consists of Dr. Emmett B. Bay, of the School of Medicine; Dr. Ward C. Halstead, of the department of psychology and the School of Medicine; and Robert K. Burns, of the School of Business and the Industrial Relations Center, all of the University of Chicago; and Robert W. Kleemeier, director of the Moosehaven Research Laboratory (Orange Park, Florida) and the department of psychology of the University of Florida. The project is being directed by Leonard Z. Breen, of the department of sociology and the Industrial Relations Center of the University, at present on leave from the Illinois Institute of Technology.

College of Notre Dame of Maryland.—Margaret Mary Toole has returned to the college as personnel director and associate professor of sociology.

Sister Maria Mercedes, S.S.N.D., chairman of the department of sociology, has announced a volunteer social service program for undergraduate members of the Junior Ladies of Charity, a student organization.

Conference on Jewish Social Studies, Inc.—A special issue of the quarterly *Jewish Social Studies* has been published: *Papers and Proceedings of the Tercentenary Conference on American Jewish Sociology*. It contains the contributions read at the three sections of the conference: (1) "The Changing Structure of the Jewish Community: Patterns of Leadership and Organization"; (2) "Forms and Expressions of Jewish Identification: The Psychology of Belonging"; and (3) "Jews and Their Neighbors: Majority-Minority Interaction in America."

The *Proceedings* may be ordered at \$2.00 a copy from the Conference on Jewish Social Studies, 1841 Broadway, New York 23, New York.

Eastern Sociological Society.—The 1956 annual meeting will be held at the Hotel New Yorker in New York City on March 24 and 25.

Harvard University.—A conference on urban design and the role of planners, architects, and landscape architects in the design and development of cities is scheduled for Monday and Tuesday, April 9 and 10, 1956. Lectures, seminars, exhibition, and discussions will be held in Robinson Hall and Hunt Hall.

For further announcements write to Dean José Sert, Harvard Graduate School of Design, Robinson Hall, Cambridge 38, Massachusetts.

International: A Journal of Sociometry, Group Psychotherapy, and Psychodrama.—This new quarterly will be published in five languages—English, French, German, Spanish, and Italian. It is to be edited by a staff of international authorities headed by J. L. Moreno and is scheduled to commence in March, 1956. Annual subscription is \$4.00. It is to be published by Beacon House, P.O. Box 311, Beacon, New York.

International Conference on Human Relations.—This conference will take place September 3–15, 1956, at Berg en Dal near Nijmegen. The theme is "Research into Factors Influencing Human Relations."

The conference will be a forum for selected experts in human relations: psychologists, sociologists, social psychologists, anthropologists, pedagogues, and others. The conference languages will be English, French, German, and Spanish. Participants are expected to pay their

own traveling expenses to and from Nijmegen and also their own hotel bills. If necessary to meet the costs of facilities put at the disposal of participants, a contribution will be asked which, however, will not amount to more than \$30.00 at a maximum.

In order to keep a balanced representation of all participating countries, applicants will be invited in person. All interested in being invited should apply without delay to: Secretariat of International Conference on Human Relations, Raamweg 44, The Hague, Netherlands (preferably by airmail).

International Journal of Social Psychiatry.—This is a new periodical which began with a summer issue, 1955, and is addressed to psychiatrists, educationists, psychologists, sociologists, criminologists, mental health officers, anthropologists, and other workers in the field of mental health and social services. It is published three times a year and may be ordered from The International Journal of Social Psychiatry, 9 Fellows Road, London, N.W. 3, Great Britain, at the rate of \$5.00 per year to American subscribers.

Journal of the History of Ideas.—Benjamin N. Nelson has been appointed associate editor, with offices at the City College in New York City. He is on leave from his post as associate professor of humanities and social science in the department of general studies of the University of Minnesota.

Kent State University.—James E. Fleming has been invited to be visiting professor of sociology at Ohio State University for the academic year 1955-56. He replaces John F. Cuber, who is on leave for the year.

V. Dewey Annakin, professor of sociology at Indiana State Teachers College, Terre Haute, Indiana, has been appointed visiting professor of sociology for the academic year 1955-56, replacing Dr. Fleming.

Oscar Ritchie has resumed his teaching in the department after a leave of two quarters to be assistant director of a study of Ohio's facilities for dealing with juvenile delinquents conducted at Ohio State University.

Thomas Laing has been appointed graduate assistant in the department for the academic year 1955-56.

University of Kentucky.—Howard W. Beers, head of the departments of sociology and rural sociology, is on leave in Paris on a six-month assignment with the European Productivity Agency, Office of European Economic Co-operation. He will advise western European governments on evaluation procedures for agricultural extension programs. During Dr. Beers's absence, A. Lee Coleman will be acting head of the two departments.

Ralph Spielman is visiting lecturer in sociology this year.

John C. Ball, who received his doctorate from Vanderbilt University, has been appointed instructor in sociology.

C. Milton Coughenour will transfer from the University of Missouri and join the staff on February 1 as associate rural sociologist.

Graduate assistants in sociology this year are Harold Brown, Emily Feltman, Earl Griswold, and Ross Lowes.

James Young and Paul Richardson hold full-time appointments under the rural sociology research program and are working on dissertations.

C. Arnold Anderson, professor of sociology, is at the Institute of Sociology, University of Uppsala, Sweden, under a Fulbright appointment. Dr. Anderson spent last year at the University of Lund.

James S. Brown, associate professor of rural sociology, is completing his Fulbright assignment in Bonn, Germany, and will visit several areas of Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East before returning to duty February 1.

C. Paul Marsh, assistant rural sociologist, has resigned to join the staff of North Carolina State College.

Paul Richardson has been appointed director of an adult education and service center being set up on the campus of the former Southern Christian Institute, Edwards, Mississippi. He begins full-time duty early in 1956.

Irwin T. Sanders, distinguished professor, is currently president of the Southern Sociological Society and president-elect of the Rural Sociological Society.

Sidney J. Kaplan has been promoted to assistant professor.

Louisiana State University.—Rudolf Heberle, professor of sociology here since 1938, has been designated Boyd Professor. He was also elected a fellow of the American Association for the Advancement of Science.

Roland J. Pellegrin was recently promoted from assistant professor to associate professor of sociology.

Homer L. Hitt was elected president-elect of the Southern Sociological Society, and Alvin L. Bertrand was named secretary-treasurer of that organization, at its 1955 annual meeting. Dr. Hitt was also elected vice-president of the Rural Sociological Society.

The Louisiana Commission on Higher Education has contracted Paul H. Price, Marion B. Smith, and Roland J. Pellegrin to conduct research projects as part of its study of the needs of higher education in the state. Dr. Price is to do research on the relationship of population to higher education, Dr. Smith is to analyze adult extension services in the state, and Dr. Pellegrin is to do a study of leadership.

Alvin L. Bertrand has been employed as research consultant by the Louisiana State Department of Education to assist in the evaluation of the Practical Nurse Education Program in the state, a study supported in part by a grant from the Kellogg Foundation.

University of Massachusetts.—Margaret Wilson, assistant professor of sociology at Mount Holyoke College, was appointed visiting lecturer for the fall semester.

Mary E. Weber Goss has been appointed part-time instructor.

National Science Foundation.—Research proposals directed to the Division of Biological and Medical Sciences of the National Science Foundation will be received at any time. The proposals on research projects to begin in June or September, 1956, will be reviewed during March. These proposals should be received by the Foundation prior to February 1, 1956.

Projects in the areas of anthropology, human ecology, functional archeology, experimental social psychology, and demography are included in the Division's program.

Ohio State University.—James Fleming, of Kent State University, has been appointed visiting professor, replacing John Cuber, who is on a year's leave of absence.

Roscoe Hinkle, of the University of Rochester, has been appointed assistant professor and assumes the duties of Kurt Wolff, who is spending the year at Harvard on a Fund for the Advancement of Education fellowship.

Alfred Schnur, formerly of the University of Mississippi, has been added to the staff in the area of criminology at the rank of assistant professor.

Robert Bullock has been promoted to the rank of associate professor.

Robert Stuckert has been appointed as instructor.

Raymond F. Sletto has been elected president of the Sociological Research Association of the American Sociological Society.

Brewton Berry has been appointed a member of the Governor's Committee on Refugee Relief of the State of Ohio.

The School-Community Development Study, supported by W. K. Kellogg Foundation funds, is sponsoring a project by Robert Bullock on "The Development of Scales for Use in the Analysis of Community Dimensions of Importance to School Administrators"; by Christen Jonassen on "The Development of Objective Measures of Critical Community Dimensions and a Community Typology"; by Russell Dynes on "The Educational Changes in Pike County," the center of the Ohio Atomic Area; and by Melvin Seeman on "Mobility and Leadership Style."

The graduate school has provided funds by which John Bennett and Iwao Ishino are continuing their research on Japanese social relations; Erika Bourguignon has undertaken a study of the bilingual individual with special reference to the problems of acculturation; and Melvin Seeman is doing a study of the social roles of the intellectual.

Alfred Clarke and Russell Dynes have received a grant from the University Advisory Committee for a study on the social correlates of marital and sex roles.

A. R. Mangus and Edward Z. Dager are doing a follow-up study of the mental health and adjustment of students in Miami County, Ohio, under Development Fund auspices. The same fund is supporting a pilot project by Walter Reckless and Simon Dinitz on children who are insulated against delinquency.

Russell Dynes is nearing completion of a study of the mobile construction workers and their families in the Ohio Atomic Area for the Ohio and National Council of Churches.

Warren James is working on an investigation of the professions—a study of occupational categorization—which is being financed, in part, by the Ohio State University Bureau of Business Research.

NEWS AND NOTES

Graduate students participating as research assistants on these projects include Mary Abdul-Jabbar, Alice Chai, John Evans, Rainer Koebae, Ellen Murray, and Isabella Silverstein.

Ohio Valley Sociological Society.—The 1956 annual meeting will be held in Pittsburgh on Friday and Saturday, April 27 and 28.

The general program is being planned by a committee consisting of Howard Rowland, University of Pittsburgh; Francis Duffy, Duquesne University; Frank E. Hartung, Wayne University; and Harold A. Phelps, University of Pittsburgh. The local arrangements committee will be headed by Lewis Diana, of the University of Pittsburgh, with Richard Brenneman, of the City of Pittsburgh Health Department, and others to be added.

A special invitation will be sent to the wives of all members of the society. An interesting program is being prepared under the chairmanship of Mrs. George Murphy and her committee.

University of Oregon.—J. M. Foskett has been promoted to professor. He is devoting half-time this year to directing the Kellogg Community Study Project on leadership structure in communities.

W. L. Drum has been promoted to associate professor, and T. B. Johannis, Jr., to assistant professor. Dr. Johannis has been appointed co-editor of the *Coordinator*, the journal of the Oregon Coordinating Council on Social Hygiene and Family Life. He continues his studies of the division of labor in the family and of the family in suburban and fringe areas.

Joel V. Berreman has received an appointment as Senior Fulbright Lecturer at the University of the Philippines in Manila and will spend the current year there.

Walter T. Martin continues his population studies under grants from the Social Science Research Council and the University Research Board.

John C. Scott, Jr., has joined the faculty as assistant professor. Formerly at the University of Chicago, he was until recently engaged as a research associate on the Kansas City Study of Adult Life. He is at present analyzing data from his work in Kansas City.

Ely Chertok has joined the department as instructor. He formerly taught at U.C.L.A. and Washington and received his doctorate from the latter institution.

Robert Dubin, department head, was winner of the Helen DeRoy Award of the Society for the Study of Social Problems for his paper, "Industrial Workers' Worlds."

The department has available a \$2,000 fellowship for doctorate study in the field of family, leading to the degree in sociology. Applications will continue to be accepted through the year.

Oxford University.—The *Journal* learned with regret of the death on October 24 of 1955 of A. R. Radcliffe-Brown in London. As a professor at the University of Chicago 15 years ago, Professor Radcliffe-Brown exerted a substantial influence upon the department of sociology and anthropology.

Paul Quinn College.—Ju Shu Pan has accepted the position of associate professor and chairman of the department of sociology. In the spring term he is to offer courses on introduction to sociology, urban sociology, the family, marriage, and contemporary sociological theory.

Population Council, Inc.—The Council offers several fellowships for advanced training in the study of population at the predoctoral and postdoctoral levels. Fellowships will be available for study in American universities during the academic year 1956-57. Fellows will normally receive support for full-time work for a period of twelve months. The basic stipend of \$2,000 may be supplemented to provide for travel, maintenance of dependents, and for other exceptional expenses. Somewhat larger stipends may be granted to postdoctoral than to doctoral fellows.

Applications for the academic year 1956 should be received before March 1, 1956. Requests for further information and for application forms should be addressed to The Population Council, Inc., 230 Park Avenue, New York 17, New York.

Purdue University.—Louis Schneider has returned to his duties in the department following a year's leave of absence as a fellow at the Center for Advanced Study of the Ford Foundation's Division of Behavioral Sciences.

The following currently hold graduate assistantships or fellowships within the department: Philip Blanchard, Sophie Freiser, D. Hirai, Francis Ingels, Matilda Kaufman, C.

ence Kraft, Janice Partridge, Lucretia Peteros, Arthur Richardson, Donald Riedel, Eugene Sherman, and Joanne Thorne.

Panos Bardis, who completed his Ph.D. in the department last June, has accepted a teaching position at Albion College.

A marriage counseling service is in the process of being organized. Gerald R. Leslie, who has been advanced to the rank of associate professor, is to develop it. A new book entitled *The Sociology of Social Problems*, written by Dr. Leslie with Paul Horton of Western Michigan College, has just been released by Appleton-Century-Crofts.

The sociology department has been given a role in a five-year study of cardiovascular impairment in farmers, sponsored jointly by the Agricultural Experimental Station of Purdue and the Heart Foundation of Indiana.

The following new courses have recently been established in the department: "Juvenile Delinquency," "Local Community Organizations," "Men and Women in Modern Society," "The Modern American Family," "Principles of Sociology," and "History of Sociology."

Rutgers University.—The Institute of Management and Labor Relations has received a grant from the National Institutes of Health for an eighteen-month study of the role of the hospital nurse. The research project, which began on December 1, 1955, is being directed and conducted by Myron J. Lefcowitz, research associate, with the assistance of the sociology department.

Social Science Research Council.—The Council announces that the next date for application for the grants, awards, and appointments in its charge is January 9, 1956. The awards are to be announced on April 2, 1956. There will be subsequent application dates in the year. The awards include research training fellowships, fellowships in political theory and legal philosophy, undergraduate research stipends, faculty research fellowships, grants-in-aid for research, and a number of grants to subsidize research on specific subjects.

For information apply to the Social Science Research Council, 726 Jackson Place, N.W., Washington 6, D.C.

Sociometry.—Starting in 1956, the American Sociological Society will publish *Sociometry: A Journal of Research in Social Psychology* quar-

terly. The editor will be Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., and associate editors are: Robert Freed Bales, Herbert Blumer, John A. Clausen, Leon Festinger, Nelson N. Foote, Herbert Hyman, Irving L. Janis, Frederick Mosteller, Theodore M. Newcomb, and William H. Sewell. The annual subscription rate is \$9.00. Orders should be sent to the American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, New York.

Stetson University.—James A. Sartain has been appointed as assistant professor of sociology.

United States Civil Service Commission.—The Commission, in an effort to recruit a greater number of persons of college caliber interested in careers in the federal service, has introduced major changes in its college-level recruitment program. The new program, developed as a part of long-range plans to strengthen the career service, provides for a regular, balanced intake of college graduates in a wide range of occupational fields.

A number of civil service examinations previously open at the college level have been consolidated into a single Federal Service Entrance Examination, which was opened for applications on October 18, 1955. Under this new program, the student who applies in the Federal Service Entrance Examination will be required to take only one examination which will be appropriate for the great majority of the entrance-level positions in the federal service. Persons who pass the examination will be considered for a variety of positions suited to their interests, aptitudes, training, and capabilities. Examination is open to all college seniors and graduates regardless of the field of major study and to persons of college caliber who have had equivalent experience.

Most appointments will be made to positions at grade GS-5 with a beginning salary of \$3,670 a year. However, successful candidates with Master's or LL.B. degrees or equivalent experience may receive appointments at grade GS-7, \$4,525 a year. Positions will be filled in various agencies in Washington, D.C., and throughout the country.

Written tests will be given every few months or as the needs may require, since the examination will be open for receipt of applications until further notice. Interested persons may obtain copies of the examination announcement

and application forms from the United States Civil Service Commission, Washington 25, D.C.

Vanderbilt University.—The department of sociology and anthropology announces with regret the death of Harold D. McDowell. His Doctor's degree in sociology was granted by the University of Chicago in 1954. He became a sociological intern in the Vanderbilt University School of Medicine and was a lecturer in the department of sociology and anthropology at the time of his death. His program of research, which was sponsored by an internship grant from the Russell Sage Foundation, was on social factors in patient treatment or management. A large number of case studies and unpublished materials were collected by Professor McDowell which can be utilized by persons undertaking similar research.

Wayne University.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Norman D. Humphrey on November 1, at the age of forty-four. Professor Humphrey, a member of the staff since 1939, was widely known as the co-author of *Race Riot*, a study of the Detroit disorders of 1943, and for his social-anthropological studies in South America.

The People of Panama, by John and Mavis Biesanz, was published in August by the Columbia University Press, which also previously published their *Costa Rica Life*.

Stephen Cappannari has just returned from Italy, where he went on a Fulbright Research Scholarship. During the present academic year the following members of the department are on leave on similar scholarships in Italy: Victor A. Rapport (dean of the College of Liberal Arts and professor of sociology), Leonard W. Moss, and Harry Josselson (chairman of the department of Slavic languages and co-operating member of the sociology department).

Frank Hartung and Gabriel Lasker have returned to the department from visiting professorships at the University of Wisconsin. Dr. Hartung has recently been promoted to associate professor in the department.

Joseph W. Eaton is now in his third year on a leave of absence, completing a three-year project with the Russell Sage Foundation at Western Reserve's School of Applied Social Science. His study, *Culture and Mental Disorders* (with Robert Weil, M.D.), has just been published by the Free Press.

H. Warren Dunham has been awarded the Leo M. Franklin Memorial Lectureship in Human Relations for the present academic year. This award involves the arrangement of a lecture series with outstanding experts in the social sciences. This year's series deals with "The City: Problems and Prospects of Human Relations in the Urban Environment." The award was established in 1950 by Temple Bethel in memory of Rabbi Leo M. Franklin.

Harold L. Sheppard is currently engaged in a study of psychiatric aides at the Lapeer State Hospital, under an \$8,000 grant provided by the Michigan State Department of Mental Health. He has just completed the editing and co-translation of a book by Georges Friedman to be published under the title *Industrial Society: The Emergence of the Human Problems of Automation* by the Free Press this fall. With Arthur Kornhauser, of the department of psychology, and Albert Mayer, he has just completed a manuscript on the social psychology of automobile workers' political behavior.

Carol Ballingall has joined the staff of the department for the present academic year. Mrs. Ballingall is completing her doctoral dissertation for a degree with the Australian National University in social anthropology, having spent two years in a field study of aboriginal villages in New Ireland.

BOOK REVIEWS

Max Weber on Law in Economy and Society. Edited with Introduction and annotations by MAX RHEINSTEIN. Translation by EDWARD SHILS and MAX RHEINSTEIN. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. lxxii+363. \$6.00.

The chapter entitled "Sociology of Law (Economy and Law)" in Max Weber's *Economy and Society* forms the main part of this edition (pp. 41-321). It is preceded by relevant selections from the conceptual typology of this work and by its partly classificatory chapter on "The Economic System and the Normative Orders." Of the closely related sociology of authority of the same work there are added the chapter on "Domination," as well as that on "Political Communities," and the section on "Rational and Irrational Administration of Justice" of the chapter on "Bureaucracy." The Introduction of the editor discusses the context and meaning of Weber's sociology and concept of law.

The theme and composition of Weber's sociology of law will be best understood within the framework of *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, of which, in the present edition, it forms about one-fifth. In this work Weber undertook to develop his noölogical (*Verstehens-*) sociology in two principal divisions: abstract discussion, part of which, for some time available in English, contains the conceptual typology, and the empirical material, which was gathered on the basis of selected criteria and analyzed as sociologies of religion, authority, music, and law.

One of the criteria—perhaps the dominant one—for the selection of the empirical material was Weber's interest in the origin of rationality and its effect on the structure and the institutions of Western society, where the element of rationality alone dominates. In the sociology of law, in particular, the principal theme is the rise and development of the rational methods and institutions of modern Western law. Functionally, this rationality in law means predictability of social conduct oriented on law. Thus it is the specific objective of this work to require why and how methods and institutions of modern Western law have developed toward predictability. As the title of *Economy and Society* and the subtitle of the chapter on "Sociology of

Law" indicate, the sociological problem is examined with reference to economy. The rational methods and institutions of modern Western law, therefore, are studied in their interrelationship with, i.e., dependence, as well as effect on, the corresponding economic order of capitalism.

In the general part of his sociology of law Weber defines the sociological meaning of the legal order in contrast to its legal meaning as referring "not to a set of norms of logically demonstrable correctness, but rather to a complex of actual determinants [*Bestimmungsgründe*] of actual human conduct" (p. 12). The special part treats of several major concerns: differentiation between fields of law (e.g., the distinction between private law and public law); emergence of legal norms; closely related to this emergence, the development of the professionalization of law; creation of rights, particularly freedom of contract; and formal and substantive rationalization in law (e.g., codification).

Although the material in Weber's sociology of law is considerably varied in both origin and scope, it forms a logical unit. The inquiry, however, is not and was not meant to be a systematic treatise of the sociology of law. Yet it goes far beyond its original plan. Only one of its aspects fills the title which, according to a recent report, Weber presumably initially had chosen for the chapter which ultimately appeared in the present "Sociology of Law (Economy and Law)," namely, the title "The Conditions of the Development of Law" (*Die Entwicklungsbedingungen des Rechts*). Significantly for the intimate relationship between Weber's sociology of law and his sociology of authority (power), this was made one section which included two chapters of the sociology of authority, i.e., "Classes, Estates, Parties" and "Formations of Power: Nation" (*Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft*, Part III, chaps. iv and iii, respectively). In view of this combination, the presumably original title was probably not meant to include the analysis of institutional interconnections, which is the other aspect of the work. If the inquiry is frequently historical-descriptive rather than sociological-analytical, in a work designed as a sociology it must be observed that, although completed, the principal chapter was not final,

while the other chapters in this edition were not even completed.

The work was written between 1909 and 1914, roughly concurrent with Eugen Ehrlich's principal contribution to the sociology of law (1913), and it was published posthumously in *Wirtschaft und Gesellschaft* only in 1922. There is no evidence that it has influenced work in sociology or law. May it be recorded, however, that in 1932 a seminar was conducted about it at the law school of the University of Frankfurt, and in recent years it has been the topic of a seminar at the Law School of the University of Chicago.

Weber's sociology of law contains different lessons for sociologists and jurists. Sociologists have become familiar with Weber's method of comparative institutional analysis through other works of his and will find it here applied to an extraordinarily wide range of historical material. Its substantive gains will be assimilated gradually as research in the sociology of law develops. Immediate, however, is its principal lesson: namely, that corresponding to, although distinguished from, the normative realm of law there is an empirical realm which is subject to sociological inquiry.

PHILIPP WEINTRAUB

Hunter College

Sociological Theory: Its Nature and Growth. By NICHOLAS S. TIMASHEFF. Garden City, New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955. Pp. xv+328. \$4.50.

A great change has come over recent American sociology, or so Professor Timasheff avers. The gathering of facts and more facts for, apparently, their own sake has come to an end. Sociologists are becoming aware of the place of theory in the ordering, interpretation, and gathering of facts. But if theory is to play its part in the future of sociology, it is necessary that an inventory be made of the cumulative results of sociological theorizing since the time of Auguste Comte. Hence the present textbook.

In appraising a book on the history of ideas, the scheme of organization can always be dubbed faulty, and the effort to maintain unity of perspective declared unsuccessful. Certainly, the last is true of the present volume. Be that as it may, the greater faults of the book lie elsewhere. To uphold a concealed polemical position in a volume intended for textbook use is a defect

not easily condoned. The author affirms that he seeks neither to formulate a sociological theory nor to purvey one. Yet the informed reader is struck by two things: first, a depreciation of the zeal for fact-finding in American sociology; second, a bias for forms of sociological theorizing of Continental origin.

Should not a volume in the history of ideas make it reasonably plain to the uninformed reader what the sociocultural roots of the two variant traditions happen to be? It is, of course, true that American sociological thought does not assume the studied logical form apparent, say, in the German. It may be that the hunt for facts in American sociology is rooted in a tradition other than the Baconian formula of induction. What appears plausible to the student of American thought is that the social-problems orientation (after about 1840) resulted in more theories, contradictory and incomprehensible than the facts available could test. American sociology has always been long on theories explaining deviant behavior and woefully short of the facts about the poor, the criminal, the prostitute, the drunkard, racial discrimination, and divorce, for example. An eminent Frenchman once said that sociology has more theories and fewer facts than any other science. If Professor Timasheff has failed to discern the correctness of this judgment, it is because he did not look in the right places, namely, the vast social-problems literature which comprises the core of the sociological enterprise in the United States. The possible rejoinder that the individualistic bent of the American mind has prevented the theories appearing in the social-problems literature from being, for the most part, sociological in nature has no bearing on the point raised.

Does Professor Timasheff's affirmation of "contemporary convergence in sociological theories" refer to a decline in theoretical disagreement among present-day sociologists? Or does it refer to the eclecticism of textbook writers to take from known sources anything suitable to their needs? One illustration in the ambiguity of the use of the term "convergence" must suffice. Professor Lundberg's *Foundations* may differ "very little from other general treatises on sociology," but what does that prove? Only this: that "frequent use is made of the contribution of such [prescientific?] writers as Sumner, Veblen, Cooley, Park, Mead, Thomas, and Sorokin." Nonetheless, Lundberg's conduct is "in keeping with a general characteristic of the present period of convergence in sociological theory.

Moreover, as . . . Furfey has put it, . . . 'Lundberg has tried to state his definitions, his postulates and his methods frankly and clearly and to follow them out consistently' " (p: 196).

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

The Law of Primitive Man: A Study in Comparative Legal Dynamics. By E. ADAMSON HOEBEL. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. viii+357. \$5.50.

This is the best general discussion we have of primitive law. Part I, "The Study of Primitive Law," consists of four chapters devoted to the definition of concepts and to methods and techniques for acquiring the relevant materials and for analyzing them: the procedural aspect. The middle section, "Primitive Law-Ways," partially works out the substantive aspect in five chapters of description and analysis of the law of seven diverse societies. Some, at least, of the procedural elements are also illustrated here. In Part III, the nature and functions of law generally and primitive law in particular are considered.

The book seems to be addressed to beginning anthropologists and to lawyers as well as to professional social scientists. Two procedural elements, at least, should be acceptable to all: a definition of law which differentiates it from custom and makes it a special part of social control rather than equating it with the latter, and the search by way of the "trouble case" for an understanding of the substantive law and judicial process in a society. The short chapter on the definition of law, taken in conjunction with the critique of Malinowski's concepts in the chapter on Trobriand legal institutions, disposes of the definitional problem once and for all. The trouble-case approach gives us all of law: procedure, substance, judicial institutions, rather than the ideal norm alone.

Hoebel sets much store on the "postulational method" and a modified set of Hohfeldian legal concepts. The postulates are, as Hoebel recognizes, derived primarily from an analysis of trouble cases. They are meant to be a series of statements of certain cultural themes or values which become manifest in the law of a particular society. One of the difficulties with such postulates, as Hoebel uses them, is that they are not of an equivalent character. For example,

among the Ifugao we find Postulate I: "The bilateral kinship group is the primary social and legal unit consisting of the dead, the living and the yet unborn." This may be thought of as a statement of structure or of value, but it is very general in any case. Postulate IV is "Capital goods may be lent at interest," a particular statement indeed. In short, not all the postulates are abstracted in quite the same way or are at the same level of remove from the materials; nor does Hoebel have a theory which calls for or allows a logical or conceptual interrelationship of his postulates. The device may be descriptively useful, but neither the notions of culture involved nor the method itself is necessary to the admirable analysis of the seven legal systems.

The Hohfeldian concepts, on the other hand, are very useful indeed. Hoebel himself makes excellent use of them in his particular analyses and in his discussion of some general points, such as the problem of primitive communism. As he indicates, these concepts may be used for the analysis of norms and disputes other than the strictly legal, e.g., in the discussion of certain aspects of social control in subcultures and in groups having structures of varying degrees of formality.

Anthropologists and lawyers alike have raised clouds of dust in their handling of the relations of religion, magic, and law. Hoebel's excellent treatment of the variable nature of these relations should lay the dust. Particular problems still remain as subjects for study. Sweeping pronouncements are out.

The functions of law as Hoebel sees them are four: the definition of relations and the permission or prohibition of acts of various kinds, the allocation of authority, the disposition of trouble cases, and the redefinition of relations as the conditions of life change. These functions may be seen as following from the definition of the law, but they may be seen also as jobs actually done. Viewed in the first way, the four functions are not logically independent; at least, the second and the fourth may be considered corollaries of the first. Seen as empirical functions, the question is the degree to which and the ways in which they are performed. Hoebel treats the problem illuminatingly, but systematic comparison, perhaps in terms of a typology of cultures or of social structures, is still before us.

In the last chapter, "The Trend of the Law," Hoebel uses Maine's concept of the shift from status to contract as a focus for a discussion of

the development of legal institutions. Maine's thesis is maintained, but a wealth of material illustrates the complexities of the shift. Looking toward world law, Hoebel treats of the gradual trend from kinship to supra-kinship entities, involving the redefinition of certain kinds of acts as crimes against the larger entity rather than as torts.

Hoebel is very conscious of law as sometimes "making society" rather than merely reflecting it. A fair number of sociologists seem also to have shaken off the Sumnerian dicta. The task now is systematic study of the conditions under which law can make society. Some of us may turn to world society as a problem or to a systematic approach to the changing cultures in "underdeveloped areas" and to the legal aspects thereof, which may be more immediately rewarding.

IRVING KAPLAN

University of Chicago

Déterminismes sociaux et liberté humaine. By GEORGES GURVITCH. Paris: Presses universitaires de France, 1955. Pp. 301. Fr. 960.

Georges Gurvitch, professor of sociology at the Sorbonne, explores here a cluster of problems posed by Durkheim's theory of social constraint and investigated, in this country, under the heading of culture and personality.

Durkheim emphasized social constraint, but he never asserted that the individual was completely dominated by "society" (the term "culture" was not yet used as it is today); on the contrary, he believed that social laws were flexible. To what extent is the individual bound, and to what extent is he free? To this question, unanswered by Durkheim, Gurvitch seeks an empirical reply.

He first establishes the manner in which social constraint could be imposed on the individual. He believes that this could happen in eight ways, namely, through the impact of causal laws, evolutionary laws, functional laws, statistical laws, "singular causality," concomitant variations, uniform tendencies, and integration of parts into wholes. One wonders whether this is a sound catalogue and whether all the items could not be reduced to one: the tendency of every object under observation to behave in a specified way, if specified conditions are present and if no other tendencies influence the field of force. But the theory of social causation is still

undeveloped, and Gurvitch's penetrating analysis of the individual items might serve as a potent stimulant.

Second, Gurvitch passes in review a maze of situations in which social constraint could be exerted. He begins with "uni-dimensional determinisms," of which he distinguishes two kinds. Here those who know Gurvitch's earlier works are on familiar ground. He first unfolds a series of "levels of depth," beginning with morphology and ecology and finishing with "collective mentality" (a survival of Durkheim's "collective consciousness"); then he shifts to his complicated classification of the forms of sociability. Relative to each level and each form of sociability, he scrutinizes how it could limit human freedom. But all the unidimensional determinisms coalesce in constraints exerted by particular social groups and, on the top level, by "all-inclusive society." Only these levels (particular and all-inclusive groups) were really considered by Durkheim, so that Gurvitch's sociology is related to that of Durkheim as modern subatomic physics is to the molecular physics of fifty years ago.

In the study of the constraint exerted by all-inclusive societies the typological approach is applied. Gurvitch distinguishes fourteen types four archaic (again a Durkheim term), six historical, and four contemporary; for reasons unknown, the last are studied much more superficially than the archaic and historical types. The study of these is full of excellent insight but, because of brevity, consists rather of assertions than of empirically substantiated propositions. Many problems worth study by modern empirical methods are, however, posed, problems which, when solved, could result in the long-needed scientific theory of the relationship of society, personality, and culture.

As usual in French publications, source references are scarce, and there is no index. This does not prevent the book from being exceptionally thought-provoking. An English translation would be welcome.

N. S. TIMASHEFF

Fordham University

Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign. By BERNARD R. BERELSON, PAUL F. LAZARSFELD, and WILLIAM N. MCPHEE. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1954. Pp. xix+395. \$7.50.

This is the long-awaited study of the presidential vote in Elmira, New York, in 1948. The earlier work of Columbia's Bureau of Applied Social Research in Erie County, Ohio (in 1940 and published as *The People's Choice*), had whetted professional interest. But would its findings be confirmed in another election in another community? The study of Elmira was to provide the answer.

The estimated population of Elmira in 1948 was 52,000. That of its urban area was 76,000. A sample of 1,267 households was drawn to represent the adults in this population. The plan was to interview the same respondents in June, August, October, and November. Eighty-one per cent of the households chosen were contacted in the first wave of interviews. Seventy-two per cent were contacted on all four occasions. Evidence suggests that persons missed in one or more of the interviews are those less interested and less involved in politics and those less integrated into the community.

There is a satisfying degree of agreement between the results from Elmira and those from Erie County. Once again, and this time in an election in which more voters were uncertain of their decision until shortly before going to the polls, most people had made up their minds early in the campaign. The mass media again seem to have the role of mobilizing the vote—of resocializing the mass of the electorate for politics rather than of winning converts for the contending parties. And, once more, opinion leaders are found widely distributed in the population and exercising a kind of mediating role between the handful of the politically active and the mass media, on the one hand, and the rest of the electorate, on the other. On some of these matters and throughout the book, caution is required in accepting the authors' interpretations that evidence from correlations establishes causal connections.

But the new study is more than a repetition of the old. There are particularly detailed analyses of the voter who feels cross-pressures operating on his decision and of the relations between the political parties and the electorate.

The study of the voter as he swings about between his various incompatible allegiances affords an especially fine example of the possible uses of successive interviews with the same population. In particular, this method reveals the way in which the campaign seems to operate in helping a man to sort and evaluate his beliefs. From an initial welter of considerations, he must

decide between two available choices—to vote either Republican or Democratic or, as is more likely to happen with the cross-pressured than with other people, to fail to vote. This section also contributes understanding of the steps by which the majority party in a community tends to gain more than the minority from the final decisions of cross-pressured voters.

The political parties operating in Elmira were not monolithic machines. Their active members were very few in number, and, of these, only a minority were self-consciously attached by explicit ideological commitments to their party. The process for recruiting party workers is shown to be informal, existing members suggesting their friends to fill vacancies. On a local level the principal party activities appear in making a canvass of the potential voters, in some advertising, and in providing workers at the polls on election day. It is the parties as national organizations that seem to have the major impact. Their positions reach citizens in the form of news reports in the press and on the radio. These national organizations are symbols that have, in the view of these authors, certain rather well-standardized meanings in the minds of large numbers of voters. At least in this election, specific issues seem less important. Only 16 per cent of the sample knew the stands taken by Truman and Dewey on two important issues on which they took conflicting positions. While most voters have some picture of the national party organizations, the vast majority of the adult population does not know a local party worker, nor do they think of such a person as the one to whom they would turn to discuss politics. The local apparatus of the parties is interpreted as primarily devoted to mobilizing existing supporters. Like the mass media, it did not convert voters.

While Truman campaigned on issues centering on "In whose interest should the government be conducted?" Dewey chose issues concerning the style of government operation. The campaign was not an extended public debate on common issues. The candidates generally talked past one another, directing their appeals to the parts of the electorate each hoped to influence. In Elmira, at least, there is evidence that the Truman campaign succeeded in keeping the loyalty of the wavering, not because the President won more voters to greater confidence in his personal competence, but because he reawakened latent differences among the community's interest groups.

The book closes with two sections that point toward future studies of voting. The first, by Bernard Berelson, is on the meaning that an election should have and the meaning that these data suggest it does have in a free society. The second is an Appendix comparing the findings of the major American studies of voting. Both are valuable contributions. They provide one perspective from which the Elmira study may be evaluated.

What the book does is to collect with care and imagination a great many observations about the election under some very broad rubrics. What it often cannot do is to provide rigorous tests of the dozens of hypotheses and hunches it presents. This characteristic seems inherent in the conception of the study. It was to reveal the steps by which voters make up their minds and the conditions affecting those steps. The result is that the best-integrated sections of the work are those that take some proposition from the psychology of attitude formation and attitude change and look for evidence that it is capable of explaining *how* a voting decision is made. This process provides not so much a test of those propositions as evidence that voting conforms to the processes which the propositions state. As a consequence, there is little by way of new contributions to knowledge about attitude change, and the information obtained about voting, as such, is often scattered and discrete. Of course, this result is not objectionable in an exploratory study.

The voting decision, as such, is a raw piece of data. It can be conceptualized in many ways. Future studies will be richer if they give it some conceptual properties—preferably properties that catch the sense in which voting is a *particular kind of social behavior*—which is not accomplished by identifying it with attitude-formation in general. Fortunately, the Elmira study gives us ideas of enough importance to be a distinguished beginning.

G. E. SWANSON

University of Michigan

Social Psychology. By OTTO KLINEBERG. Rev. ed. New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1954. Pp. xii+578. \$5.25.

This revised edition of *Social Psychology* retains essentially the orientation of the earlier edition, although much has been rewritten in the light of recent research. In accord with the

times, Klineberg has introduced two new chapters: "Culture and Personality: The Study of National Characteristics" and "Psychology and International Relations."

The book is divided into five parts. The first part, "Introductory," outlines Klineberg's conception of the field of social psychology and something of the "social" behavior of animals and the importance of language to the social psychologist. Part II, "Social Factors in Human Nature," attempts to clarify the several positions regarding the concepts of human nature, motivation, perception, and memory. Part III encompasses what has come to be known as "differential psychology." Part IV, "Social and Cultural Factors in Personality," includes a presentation of the myriad approaches to the study of personality. Herein also are to be found chapters which consider the social factors in abnormality, delinquency, and crime. The last part, "Social Interaction," includes much of the new material. In addition to discussions of suggestion, imitation, attitudes and opinions, and prejudices, the author has introduced new research findings concerning "conformity," "sociometry," "group dynamics," "leadership," and "reference groups." This addition, however, is not so comprehensive as it might be.

Those readers with sociological orientation will probably feel that the interactional aspect has been played down throughout the book: Klineberg clearly suggests this in his definition of social psychology as "the scientific study of the activities of the individual as influenced by other individuals." As in the first book, he has not overlooked cross-cultural materials. (The book contains thirty-eight references of one kind or another to Margaret Mead but none to George Herbert Mead.) To his credit, the book does not reflect a dogmatic, one-sided approach to the study of social psychology.

But in presenting a variety of approaches, critiques, and research findings, Klineberg has sacrificed integration. In the search for integration, the biological/social and heredity/environment controversy, he says, "requires more rather than less attention than it has received in the recent past in order to arrive at a clearer understanding of a most important practical, as well as theoretical, issue." Many sociologically oriented social psychologists might feel that a more rewarding approach at the current time would be one designed to clarify the operative social factors in a variety of situations. There appear to be wide opportunities for clarifying

the social processes in the field of social psychology without dependence upon "the biological factor." This statement is not intended in any way to deny the importance of biological factors but rather to point out that if Klineberg had not maintained this emphasis throughout much of the book, he might more fully have clarified the development and functional importance of socialization, role-taking, symbolization, self-conception, motivation, group membership, etc.

While some other current texts are more satisfactory for sociologically oriented social psychology courses, Klineberg's is a worthwhile evaluation of several approaches to the problems of social psychology. The book is clearly and interestingly written. Its revision adds another reputable text to a maturing social psychology.

L. WESLEY WAGER

University of Washington

The Social Self. By PAUL PFUETZE. New York: Bookman Associates, Inc., 1954. Pp. 392. \$4.50.

The Social Self is another and a significant item in the constantly increasing number of books, articles, and doctoral dissertations that deal with the self as one of the central and crucial concepts of a human psychology. Pfuetze's position on the centrality of the self is identical with that of symbolic interactionism: human psychology is social psychology.

The book, in briefest summary, is an extensive exposition, comparison, and evaluation of the concept of the self in the writings of George Herbert Mead and Martin Buber. It contains five chapters, the first of which specifies the reasons for selecting Mead and Buber. First, there is "the problem of modern man's predicament and crisis in his knowledge of himself." The struggle between totalitarianism and democracy concerns the nature, meaning, moral responsibility, and destiny of man. These questions lead to an examination of the basic nature of the self. Second, the widespread interest in the self proceeds from such widely divergent viewpoints as American social psychology, represented by Mead, and "European existentialist personalistic theology," as represented by Buber.

Chapter ii is an exposition of Mead's doctrine of mind, self, and society. In it are explicated the concepts of the psychical, thought, the social object and the social act, the gesture, the

significant symbol, the self, the generalized other, the "I" and the "me." It is a competent delineation of important Meadian concepts; it contains 290 footnotes.

Chapter iii is an exposition of Buber's "philosophy of the personal." Topics discussed include the Chassidic influence, Buber's mysticism, the I-Thou dialogue, the world of I and Thou, the I-It world, the life of dialogue, the Single One, and the self and the "Sphere of Between." Pfuetze has performed a service through his organization and discussion of Buber's thought. Readers will, for example, appreciate the central and crucial role accorded to speech by Buber, as the means of comprehending social relations, and the propositions that man is communicatively social and that only one person needs to be real in a conversation. They will, however, be skeptical of Buber's conclusions that any knowledge of the self is intuitive (p. 118) and that the I-Thou (self-other) relation is direct, with no mediation of "sense, idea, or fancy" being necessary (p. 154). This chapter contains 412 footnotes.

Pfuetze says that "Buber's way is that of the poet, the artist, the man of faith, the 'natural mystic'" (p. 136). The accuracy of this statement is revealed in chapters iv, "Mead and Buber: A Comparison of Critique," and v, "The Validity and Value of the Social Self." In a well-written section Pfuetze specifies certain similarities in Mead and Buber and interprets this agreement—correctly, I think—as helping to demonstrate the necessity of the self in understanding personality and human behavior. Some similarities are: the self is the result of interpersonal symbolic communication; a community of selves is necessary to elicit and shape new minds and selves; the social nature of reality; speech is central to the origin and development of selfhood, with the histrionic tendency being stressed; human conduct contains the elements for ethical action and social progress.

The differences between Mead and Buber consist of what Pfuetze regards as Mead's inadequacies, which are that Mead has no need of the concepts of sin and of God as the source and ground of values; he believed that man could solve his own problems through the use of reason and science. Thus Mead's view is "narrow, restricted, one-dimensional, and horizontal." Buber's view is superior, according to Pfuetze, because it makes use of the concepts of God and of sin and regards secularism or science as "a sickness of the human race." Thus his view is

"two-dimensional," being both "horizontal and vertical."

Pfuetze properly observes that Buber's existentialist, personalistic, theology precludes his acceptance of, or working with, scientific conceptions. The harshest criticisms have been made of Buber on this point, because he minimizes reason and maximizes intuition; he has been "a forerunner of the nihilism and the revolt against reason which in the recent past have swept away so many of our cherished values." Mead should be "corrected," according to Pfuetze, "in the direction of Buber." But man has for centuries tried to solve his problems through intuition, religion, theology, and other forms of augury. It is hardly logical, in the absence of a scientific demonstration that science and reason cannot solve our problems, to conclude that we should abandon them and return to more primitive methods. It seems rather absurd, at least to the scientist, that any serious student of human affairs should argue today against the proposition that knowledge is the most efficient means to the solution of problems.

In the last chapter, Pfuetze has a section, "Applications of the Concept of the Social Self," which indicates that the concept of the self has been fruitfully applied in many contexts. The importance, relevance, and urgency of the view that the self is a "self-other system" are to be measured by the fertility of its practical and theoretical applications. Pfuetze shows that one of the remarkable impressions that come from even a cursory inspection of a wide range of contemporary literature in many fields—educational, philosophical, psychotherapeutic, sociological, social-psychological, and theological—is the productive use of this concept of the self by a host of writers in many areas. The book as a whole is a scholarly presentation, this section being of particularly high quality.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

University of Wisconsin

Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties. By SAMUEL A. STOUFFER. New York: Doubleday & Co., 1955. Pp. 278. \$4.00.

This survey of the American public's opinions and attitudes on the "Communist issue" was sponsored by the Fund for the Republic and published as a trade-book in the evident hope that it would reach a large non-professional audience.

Briefly, two public opinion research agencies (AIPO and NORC) each questioned samples of 2,400 Americans on their reactions to the Communist threat and to pressures to restrict civil liberties inspired by it. Both agencies used the same questionnaire, and their findings were strikingly similar. They reveal that very few Americans—less than 1 per cent—are seriously "worried about" either communism or civil liberties. Majorities favor abrogating the liberties not only of admitted Communists but also of atheists and advocates of public ownership of industry. "Intolerance of nonconformists," as measured by a Guttman-type scale, is greatest among the less educated, people over fifty, rural residents, churchgoers, and southerners. More people regard Communists as a danger to the country because of their possible successes in converting and indoctrinating others than because of their opportunities to commit espionage and sabotage. "Perception of the Communist threat," measured by another Guttman-type scale, is positively correlated with intolerance. The questionnaire was also submitted to a sample of community leaders in small and medium-sized cities. On all measures of tolerance, the community leaders, without exception, scored higher than the national cross-section.

In this particular day and age many people would undoubtedly regard communism as the subject most likely to evoke resistance or piously evasive answers on an opinion poll. The questionnaire, however, is designed with some care to avoid "leading the witness" and probes fairly extensively for his "real" opinion. Moreover, Stouffer often voices skepticism about the validity of particular questions and answers and repeatedly insists that significance inheres in the broad pattern of responses rather than in the exact percentages. He invites doubters who remain unshaken after reading the report to examine the interview protocols at the Fund's New York offices, assuring them that this will convince them of the integrity of the data. Inevitably, one feels that he is at times a little too sanguine in attributing meaning to particular items, but few will be disposed to challenge the basic soundness of the survey's findings.

The extent of public indifference to both communism and civil liberties evidently surprised Stouffer and most reviewers of the book, presumably because of the salience of these issues in recent political debate and because this finding contradicts both right-wing stereotypes of an aroused populace demanding stern retribu-

tion for Communists and left-liberal stereotypes of a nation-wide "hysteria" over the communistic threat to traditional liberties. Yet the disjunction between private and public events is such, in our mass society, that even those professionally concerned with public affairs would probably mention family or money problems if asked to name the things they "worry about most." It hardly seems very startling to discover that most Americans respond in this way. Stouffer finally concedes that "worry" is perhaps too strong a word to apply to public affairs. Except for wars and depressions, only the most dramatic events and the loudest, angriest voices break through the wall of public indifference: the dominant image of communism resembles that projected by Senator McCarthy, even among those who voice opposition to him or are scarcely aware of his existence (30 per cent of the national sample could not even give McCarthy's name when asked to identify a leading congressional investigator of communism).

Stouffer is hopeful that political intolerance will decrease in the future because education, urbanization, geographic mobility, and exposure to the mass media are steadily increasing, and each of these is positively associated with greater tolerance. Certainly, a good deal of the abysmal unawareness of the meaning of democracy reported in *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties* is a product of the narrow horizons and crabbed moralism of rural and small-town America and will diminish as a result of long-term shifts in the population.

But the author also cautions us that the present study examines tolerance of non-conformity "solely within the broad context of the Communist threat" (his italics). Now the trend toward more education, urbanization, etc., has been under way for a long time, yet intolerance as defined by this study has increased rather than decreased since the 1930's. He cites data from other polls showing that in recent years all groups in the population, including the relatively more tolerant college graduates and big-city residents, have become markedly more intolerant of atheists and socialists, as well as of Communists. Although relatively small percentages of the national sample would consider someone a Communist solely because he expressed atheist or socialist views, the rise in intolerance of non-Communist radicals is obviously an effect of the same major historical events which, independently of changes in population composition, have made political and so-

cial pariahs of the Communists. And the fortunes of the cold war and the course of domestic politics are likely to continue to be the major determinants of the country's "level of tolerance" of leftist non-conformists. Stouffer seems to be taking an excessively abstract view of the matter when he suggests that "the mechanisms in American social change which are tending to facilitate tolerance are far more potent than the mechanisms which impede it."

Indeed, what one chiefly misses in this study is any sustained effort to place its findings in the full context of contemporary history and politics. Factual statements about the Communist-civil liberties problem, as distinct from the recording of people's opinions on the problem, are sedulously avoided. Stouffer's silence and his tendency to use conditional clauses when matters of fact instead of opinion must be referred to lend a curious remoteness to the discussion of a subject which, to put it mildly, has been aired before in the past decade—by wise and learned men as well as by fools and demagogues. The need to create this aura of scientific chastity may be a price social science has to pay for undertaking widely publicized subsidized research.

The book's main conclusion seems eminently sound: "We have found no evidence that the country as a whole is suffering from quivering fear or from an anxiety neurosis about the internal Communist threat. . . . The clinical symptoms are more like dietary deficiency." The deficiency is, of course, in accurate and impartial information about the proportions of the internal Communist danger.

DENNIS H. WRONG

University of Toronto

The Achievement Motive. By DAVID G. McCLELLAND, JOHN W. ATKINSON, RUSSELL A. CLARK, and EDGAR L. LOWELL. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1953. Pp. xxii+384. \$6.00.

The Achievement Motive is presented as a summary of research conducted during the five years 1947 through 1951, with the financial support of the Office of Naval Research. Most of the data were collected by college seniors and first-year graduate students.

Sociologists and social psychologists will be interested in the second chapter. It contains an evaluation of the theories of motivation devel-

oped by Hull, Miller and Dollard, and Hebb. They repeat some of the inadequacies of these theories that have been enumerated by Lindesmith and Strauss and by Faris. They term their own conception "the affective arousal model." Motive is defined as "the reintegration by a cue of a change in an affective situation" (pp. 28, 332). "The main point is that affect is the innate result of certain discrepancies between expectations and perceptions. A motive is the learned pairing of cues with affect or with the conditions which produce affect" (p. 68). Since they conceive affect not only to be innate but also to serve as the basis of all motives, they appear to be close to saying that motivation is innate, despite their assertion that motives are acquired. They espouse a pleasure-pain psychology. Achievement-motivation is held to operate when a subject is concerned with "success in competition with some standard of excellence" (p. 110). The constant emphasis on competition reveals the cultural component in their definition of "achievement motivation." One has the impression that the authors have recently discovered the existence of society and culture but not yet psychically assimilated them.

The authors were "guided" by two "ideas": animalistic theories of motivation and psychoanalytic assumptions. The main section of the second chapter, "The Acquisition of Motives" (pp. 67-96), develops the proposition that a theory of the motivation of animals is likewise a theory of the motivation of human beings. The acquisition of motives is described in terms of stimulus-response, or conditioning in the Pavlovian sense (p. 69); it is meaningful to speak of motives common to all men and animals (p. 77); there is only a difference of degree between the motivation of animals and of human beings (pp. 90 ff.). The authors also espouse anthropomorphism (pp. 34, 48, 60-62, 68, 77, 94-95).

The authors' commitment to psychoanalysis is shown in their assumption that "the early years of life" are crucial in motivation and in their use of the TAT. They advance the notion that the child's expectations of achievement, arising from the mother's demands, are the source of his motive to achieve (chaps. ii and ix). In studying the origins of this motive (in 30 subjects) they used the *F*-scale of the authoritarian personality. They conclude that young men with a "low" motive to achieve, since they also have high *F*-scores or "anti-democratic" attitudes, come from the same "authoritarian" familial syndrome that is associated with racial

prejudice (p. 302). Thus the authors perpetuate the psychoanalytic image of man as a mental patient.

In common with all projectors, the authors assume, a priori, that affect is primary and cognition ancillary. It would be very informative to have a statement of the logical and empirical grounds that make the assumption reasonable, that affect rather than cognition, or rather than both combined, is crucial in one's attempt to achieve a goal he has set. There is no attempt to validate their instrument through studying behavior in action; there is complete dependence on fantasy. In doing so, they confuse the *situational* with the *phenomenal*. By this I mean that the investigator assumes that the unstructured or semistructured situation *he* is observing, namely, the subject's response, is, in fact, *the same as the situation that the subject phenomenally conceives* (pp. 259, 277, 280-83). This is a confusion common to the use of projective techniques. The authors, in fact, question the validity of their own instrument when they say that an interpretation of instructions by subjects interferes with their fantasy (pp. 194, 211).

There are other aspects of the problem of validity that should be mentioned: the small number of subjects and the biased character of the sample. They deal with exceptions to their hypotheses in such a way as to bring the facts into conformity with the hypotheses. In one place they say, in effect, just forget about the exceptions to our theory, as they are few, even if troublesome (p. 158); they discard a subject because his grammatical writing interferes with their obtaining a "valid measure" (p. 251); they invent the concept "false low" (reaction-formation) to explain the low scores of those whose scores should be high (p. 315). The lack of correlation between scores obtained with their test of achievement and clinical ratings of the achievement-motivation of their subjects requires "some thought . . . especially in view of the usual assumption that clinical judgments should serve to validate testing instruments of this sort" (p. 312).

Every publishing firm should have on its editorial staff a responsible person who knows English. The services of such an editor are badly needed by *The Achievement Motive*, which qualifies its authors and the editors of Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., for a course in remedial English.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

University of Wisconsin

Becoming: Basic Considerations for a Psychology of Personality. By GORDON W. ALLPORT. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1955. Pp. ix+106. \$2.75.

Becoming constitutes the 1954 Terry Lectures. Its purpose is to interpret psychology in relation to human welfare and religion. Although Allport says the assignment was "peculiarly difficult" because psychology "is not a unified science," it is doubtful that a more qualified psychologist could have been chosen.

The material is divided into twenty-two topics, starting with a discussion of "The Case for and against Psychology," which makes two points. First, psychology cannot be praised or condemned as a whole because it is neither a unitary nor a cumulative science, "but rather an assortment of facts, presuppositions, and theories," whose relevance for human welfare depends on those selected. Second, nevertheless "it is to psychology alone" and "to the psychologist alone" that the task falls of accounting for personality, i.e., for "the complete psychophysical organization." Many will think that, in principle, this is too grandiose a conception of any single discipline.

Allport stresses the uniqueness of each personality. Thus the topic "The Dilemma of Uniqueness" implies that current techniques employed for the study of personality are sterile: they dissect a person and, in reassembling the parts, omit the organization that provides wholeness. Can clinical psychology provide more than disconnected bits of information? Nor can we understand human behavior by studying animals—a sound opinion.

Allport refers to the Lockean and the Leibnizian traditions in psychology. The former dominates Anglo-American psychology: animal-oriented behaviorism and associationism. Its presuppositions are: What is external and visible is more fundamental than what is not; classical conditioning is a synonym for all learning; what is small (reflex or habit) is more fundamental than what is large (organization); the psychical equivalence of species permits the study of human behavior through the study of rats; the earlier (the first three years) is more fundamental than the later. The Leibnizian tradition, however, maintains that the (socialized) person is an active agent in his own behavior; that his behavior is purposive; that he is "engaged endlessly in judging, comparing, comprehending, loving, desiring, avoiding." Its model is that of

the active intellect; it deals with the self and with human (social) psychology.

Allport develops a cogent argument for the viability of the concept *self* as central to the integration of personality. In discussing "The Proprium" he enumerates eight "proprie aspects of personality" to answer the question, "Is the Concept of Self Necessary?": bodily sense, self-identity, ego-enhancement, ego-extension, rational agent, self-image, proprie striving, and the knower. His discussion both requires and deserves serious study by those interested in personality. It is succinct and closely reasoned and therefore lucid. A good example is his summary of "the present situation in cognitive psychology" (pp. 14-15).

More than any other single person, Allport is responsible for the revival of the *self* in psychology. His address "The Ego in Contemporary Psychology" is a landmark. Because of this leadership, his neglect of the sociological literature on the self is both disturbing and amazing. While he mentions Royce in one footnote, there is no reference to Peirce, Baldwin, Cooley, Jandy, Mead, the Farises, or Lindesmith and Strauss and their followers in the twentieth century. It is *these* students, the symbolic interactionists, who have maintained the "Leibnizian" tradition. Allport uses James's 1890 concept of "empirical self" as a starting point!

Although neglecting Cooley, Allport's concept "peculiarly ours" approaches Cooley's concept of the self as being that system of ideas and objects that we regard as peculiarly our own. His discussion of "conscience" is far below the quality of Cooley's classic analysis. Allport's statement that "the way a man defines his situation constitutes for him its reality" (p. 84) recalls Thomas. His discussion of "self-identity" and "the knower" is inadequate when compared to Mead's analysis of self-consciousness. Allport asserts that "all features of the *empirical self* are known directly . . . as any object is known which falls into time and space categories" (p. 53). But, since the publication of Peirce's famous papers in 1868, it has been logically and empirically inadmissible to maintain that any knowledge is other than indirect and inferential. And, finally, one distinguishing mark of symbolic interactionism has been its concern with ethics and human welfare.

The demonstration, by symbolic interaction, that human psychology is social psychology has not yet been accepted in psychology. Although history thus denies the validity of Allport's al-

legation that "psychology alone" and "the psychologist alone" can and should study the human personality, *Becoming* is a highly significant contribution.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

University of Wisconsin

Sociology. By GEORGE A. LUNDBERG, CLARENCE C. SCHRAG, and OTTO N. LARSEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xxviii + 740. \$6.00.

Like the *Foundations of Sociology*, the introductory text under review is based on the senior author's notions of science, the prerequisites of a scientific sociology, and the manifold social uses which such a discipline offers. In the first two and last chapters especially, Lundberg and his colleagues declare that scientific knowledge is distinctively instrumental in character, proclaim the unity of all science, but urge physics as the model for sociology and argue the indispensability of operational definitions, measurement, and probability generalizations. Schrag's chapter iii contains an admirably lucid explanation and illustration of scientific procedure. Throughout the entire volume, all the authors display an almost unlimited positivistic enthusiasm about the possible consequences of the scientific study of social behavior. They eagerly foresee the opportunity objectively to calculate the costs and consequences of alternative programs of social action, to introduce realistic policies for solving social problems, and to effect harmonious social relations. The authors even suggest, for instance, that science can aid in reconciling the various social classes to their relative statuses (p. 310) and assist in diagnosing and treating differences in class and national value-systems (p. 599).

But the arrangement and presentation of the materials of the fields of sociology do differ distinctly from Lundberg's earlier systematic treatise. The factors of Dodd's *S-theory* are no longer directly influential as an organizational device, although most of the major topics of the last eight chapters of the *Foundations of Sociology* are included. Even the chapters on social institutions and cultural change—all but one of which are Lundberg's—are notably different from the 1939 work. Apart from the omission of a selection on race and minorities and the use of population as a point of departure, *Sociology* involves the usual introductory topics, organized

in accordance with the accepted conventions of textbook composition.

The theoretical foundations of the volume are drawn from the senior author's earlier equilibrium model of classical mechanics, supplemented, however, by a more specifically organic-adaptational or functionalist emphasis. Thus Lundberg and his collaborators, who contend that all sciences are a unity in method, in the study of behavior as manifestations of energy, and in consistency with the broad principles of physics, still insist essentially that society and culture must be studied as closed systems of forces in balance (pp. 398–405, 699, 705). Yet their recognition that man as a biological organism must meet the conditions of survival in his environment by adaptation impels them to interpret folkways, customs, fads, fashions, traditions, mores, and institutions as mechanisms of group adjustment (p. 163).

Although this theoretical formulation is manifestly functionalist in character, it is neither expressly designated nor systematically elaborated as such. It is supported only by a rudimentary specification of indispensable functional prerequisites to the survival of society and culture (pp. 194, 202). None of the usual functionalist concepts, such as "function" or "functional equivalent," is operationally defined, and even the usage of appropriate terminology is generally avoided. Like so many others who are explicitly or implicitly committed to this intellectual orientation, the authors fail to confront and to test the implication of their own position that all aspects of a culture ultimately contribute to survival (or to increased efficiency in survival).

While the proposed conception of culture recognizes variability, it disavows any genuine inference of relativism. Survival and efficiency seem to become universal properties of the cultural universe rather than variable assumptions or values (equivalent to "ideology" in the text) depending on the nature of particular cultures. The authors' effort to isolate universal functions of institutions is dedicated to establishing invariable, "objective" criteria for appraising and comparing the operation of different institutional structures. (Significantly, they are constrained to note that "any particular type of institution can be regarded as better or worse than another" only in terms of various value-systems [p. 502].)

Nevertheless, the exposition is simple, direct, and effectively organized, and the chapters on

research procedures, population, communication, and mass communication media are unexcelled among current introductory publications.

ROSCOE C. HINKLE, JR.

Ohio State University

For a Science of Social Man: Convergences in Anthropology, Psychology, and Sociology. Edited by JOHN GILLIN *et al.* New York: Macmillan Co., 1954. Pp. vii+289. \$4.00.

The purpose of this book is to indicate certain convergences, especially in theory, among the three disciplines and to specify promising possibilities that will contribute to a further development of a science of social man. The three disciplines are the "core" sciences of human behavior in society" (is this academic ethnocentrism?). There are frequent references to "convergence" and "bridge-building" that are, on the whole, justified. Members of one discipline discuss its relations with another. Thus sociologists Becker and Parsons discuss anthropology and psychology; anthropologists Murdock and Hallowell, sociology and psychology; and psychologists Smith and Newcomb, anthropology and sociology.

As in any symposium, the chapters are of varying worth. The three best, in my opinion, are by Becker, Hallowell, and Smith. Becker attempts to specify (1) how anthropology and sociology came to be what they are today in German-, French-, and English-speaking countries and (2) what facts, concepts, and procedures of contemporary anthropology may be useful to contemporary sociology. It is the most informative chapter in the book. In developing a sociological analysis of the several schools of anthropology and sociology, Becker has written a brilliant essay on the sociology of science. Hallowell shows that anthropology has long been interested in, and has made specific contributions to, social psychology (which Hallowell refers to, however, as "psychology"). Early-nineteenth-century anthropologists promoted the conclusion that "psychology remains incomplete as long as it considers man only as an isolated individual." Later, E. B. Tylor, in analyzing "human thought, will, and action," found race, instinct, and individual differences to be irrelevant—a sound social-psychological position. Hallowell also shows that the current anthropological interest in the psychologists'

rodent-oriented theory of learning is due to the accident of association between members of both disciplines at Yale University.

The chapter by M. Brewster Smith is the third best. He shows how psychology has drawn on anthropology, discusses some parallels between the concepts of culture and personality, and specifies the influence of the former on certain trends in psychology. He has some apt remarks on the superficial tribute paid to culture by psychologists and on the frequently tautological discussions—by both anthropologists and psychologists—of the relation between culture and personality. That Smith has not himself assimilated the concept of culture can be seen in his individualistic conclusion that "both abstractions [culture and personality] rest ultimately on the same data of human behavior." He thus appears to say that "in the last analysis" the individual is responsible for culture. Whereas Smith appears to argue that psychology exists because certain persons are psychologists, the culturalist would argue that we have psychologists because psychology exists as a subcultural system.

The least rewarding chapters, in my opinion, are by Murdock, Parsons, and Newcomb. Neither anthropologists nor sociologists will like Murdock's chapter. The latter were "dominated" by "ambitious philosophers and earnest meliorists"; the former "are extraordinarily naïve in scientific matters . . . and not a few are openly anti-scientific," while British anthropologists are worst of all. But W. G. Sumner and the Human Relations Areas files will save the day! Parsons' chapter is devoted to Parsons' system. At least eleven of its seventeen footnotes refer to Parsons. The purpose of Newcomb's chapter appears to be to "converge" social psychology into psychology, an imperialistic attempt that employs several means. Most important, social psychology is conceived as merely an "applied" field of psychology, "like industrial or educational psychology." This makes it possible to denigrate to the rank of "quasi-psychological" social-psychological problems such as the socialization of the individual, which are of crucial theoretical and practical importance. The epithet "microsociologist" is employed to refer to the social psychologists, i.e., sociologists, who had been working for decades prior to the discovery by some psychologists, about 1943, that human beings live in society. His determination never to refer to these sociological investigators as social psy-

chologists is shown in his labeling of Lindesmith and Strauss as "microsociologists," even while quoting from their book, *Social Psychology!* A remarkable distortion of the history of social psychology is employed, by alleging that it dealt with "the smallest units accessible to sociologists, the single person." Finally, the concepts *consensus*, *communication*, and *role* are pre-empted for psychology. It is my opinion that Newcomb's chapter has razed at least one bridge between social psychology and psychology.

FRANK E. HARTUNG

University of Wisconsin

Social Mobility in Britain. Edited by D. V. GLASS *et al.* London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1954; Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. viii+412. \$5.00.

The social scientists from the London School of Economics, supported by Nuffield and Rockefeller Foundation grants and using data collected for them by the government-maintained Social Survey, have produced this interesting volume, sequel to several articles in the *British Journal of Sociology* and the forerunner of further volumes. Ten thousand interviews sampled at random were tabulated and ingeniously analyzed, yielding important information on the extent of social mobility in Britain. Broadly speaking, the writers concentrated on two things: (1) educational antecedents and their relation to social standing and (2) the extent of status continuity and mobility between generations. Other aspects of mobility, such as, for instance, social criteria in selection for marriage, are also discussed.

The evidence presented in the book suggests that there has been considerable movement between social classes both up and down, particularly between generations; that this movement, however, has been not over great social distances, but mostly one or two steps up and down the scale; that the amount of movement has not changed over a number of generations; and, finally, that facilities for movement increase appreciably in the higher-status categories.

The investigations thus happily confirm the long-standing conception of the British society as a stable and nationally acknowledged social hierarchy. The survival of quite distinct, though overlapping, social grades is made possible by ever present chances of movement between

them. But there is as yet no broadening of social opportunities, and the widely heralded postwar educational reforms face an unpredictable and possibly uncertain future.

The Introduction to the book, in which D. V. Glass discusses the ethical implications of mobility, is of special interest. On the positive side, mobility enhances efficiency by utilizing ability and providing incentives. But on the negative side it can cause anxiety neurosis; it can weaken the kinship system; and, if based on "social justice," it may generate strong frustrations in those rejected as less gifted. Dr. Glass sees the solution in the lessening of distance between classes and in the creation of alternate non-occupational symbols of social achievement. He urges social policies directed toward these ends.

There is no doubt that there is ample scope in Britain for reducing social distance. But when made an object of social policy, serious difficulties arise. The Soviet Union, for instance, attempted to lessen the distance between occupations and to create non-occupational symbols of prestige, if only by enhancement of the status of manual labor and by prestige of party membership. Yet the emergence of a social hierarchy has not been prevented, and, in fact, social distance seems to be increasing. Conscious reforms, apparently, can do little to eradicate the ever recurring tendency toward stratification. We must place our reliance not in relative distances but in raising the standard of living of the lowest and poorest, so that abundance for all may generate powerful trends toward social harmony and co-operation.

With considerable caution, the writers adopted occupation as a single status variable. They argue convincingly that other status variables show a high degree of correlation. But American experiments with status analysis in terms of multiple variables afford some hope of eliminating the weakness inherent in using a single variable.

In the medical profession, for instance, clearly a London graduate is in a different position from a Welsh graduate, a specialist from a general practitioner, a man with private practice from one without, not to mention family background, titles, membership in social clubs, place of residence, and professional reputation. Unless it can be proved that the degree of "nuance" is substantially the same in different occupations (i.e., that there were as many John Spencer Churchills among the stockbrokers as there were Philip Mountbattens in the Navy,

etc.), the writers run the risk of comparing people of different status categories under uniform, but not very precise, labels.

The writers omit the problems of the elite. The picture of social mobility in Britain will continue to be incomplete unless the traditional reluctance of the elite to disclose their private affairs can somehow be circumvented by the interviewers. The degree of self-recruitment at this socially crucial level and the relative weight of the social newcomers from outside are important. Also relevant is intra-group mobility of the legions of sons of clergy, retired colonels, and genteel widows, who overwhelmingly secure the scholarships to better schools. It is this impetuous sector of the elite that is most tempted to turn early-acquired social and occupational advantages into barriers of exclusion. Perhaps category 1, "Professional and High Administrative," ought to be called by the writers category 2, "Middle Professional and Administrative," since it includes occupations such as county solicitor and chartered accountant. Otherwise, less careful readers may well come to believe that they are learning about higher reaches of society, whereas, in fact, they are barely out of the middle strata.

The writers are to be commended for a pioneering and painstaking study.

GEORGE Z. F. BEREDAY

Boston College

Subregional Migration in the United States, 1935-40. Vol. II: Differential Migration in the Corn and Cotton Belts. By DONALD J. BOGUE and MARGARET JARMAN HAGOOD. Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation, 1953. Pp. vi+248. \$2.25.

This informative pilot study of "the selectivity of intrastate migration to cities from non-metropolitan areas" is No. 6 in the series of studies in population distribution conducted by the Scripps Foundation; it is the second of a two-volume analysis of internal migration in 1935-40. The monograph under review summarizes the results of special experimental tabulations made from 1940 Census materials of data pertaining to the Corn Belt and the old Cotton Belt, areas chosen because of their dissimilarities. The authors were concerned to ascertain what statistics the census records provide for the study of internal migration, the cost of producing such statistics, and the tabulating

and technical problems involved in analyzing the data.

A small portion of the study (Part II and Appendix A in particular) is devoted to a discussion of techniques, technical problems, and procedures. About half the study is concerned with the presentation of the findings. The basic migration statistics and control data upon which the findings and analysis are based comprise about two-fifths of the study.

Twelve bases for distinguishing migrants and non-migrants are considered: sex, color, age, household status, marital status, highest grade of school completed, employment status, class of worker, major occupation group, wage or salary workers seeking work, and duration of unemployment of wage or salary workers seeking work. Age selectivity characterized migration, but its impact varied with other circumstances. The household composition of migrants tended to be affected by the migrating. Migration was selective by marital status, (highly) by education, and with respect to occupation. Employment was greater among migrants than among non-migrants of the same age. It was not the lowest-paid workers but those with near-average pay who migrated in relatively largest number. Unguided migration of unemployed workers tended to select those whose duration of employment had been relatively short. Unemployed white-collar workers were more mobile than unemployed agricultural and unskilled laborers.

The authors conclude that internal migration is probably selective of "persons with particular combinations of traits." Since the selectivity of migration with respect to a particular trait varies with area and probably with time, "it is fruitless to seek permanent inflexible differentials in migration." Migration differentials are best viewed as a "class of events" amenable to analysis. Variation in migration reflects the combined influence of conditions and population types found in both places of origin and places of destination. City-bound migrants from prosperous agricultural communities can, in the absence of discrimination, adjust readily to city life if they possess a secondary education and receive some help from their families while getting started. A major driving force behind internal migration "to cities and among cities appears to be the need to distribute and redistribute the potential and actual specialists, experts, and managers to places where their abilities can be used most profitably in the economy." Fac-

tors other than economic opportunity account for some migration, especially among older people. Migration differentials in periods or areas of great change may be unlike those in periods or areas of relatively little change. Unguided migration is inadequate to reduce inequalities in periods of depression.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

Duke University

Forbidden Neighbors. By CHARLES ABRAMS. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. xi+404. \$5.00.

In this book Mr. Abrams concerns himself with the housing problem of minority groups in America. One dimension of it is the scarcity of adequate housing accommodations, in both quality and quantity. A second dimension is the restriction on equal access to the market, placed, particularly on non-whites. This is the problem of "open-occupancy" so-called: the doors of dwelling units in white areas are, by and large, closed to prospective colored renters or buyers—a problem in the social psychology of prejudice. To this latter dimension of the problem Abrams, a well-established authority in the field of housing, here addresses himself. He writes not as a social scientist or solely to social scientists but as one trained in the law, concerned with the civil liberties of minorities, who proposes a series of remedies for an evil situation.

The "forbidden neighbors" are the Negroes, Chinese, Japanese, Mexicans, Puerto Ricans, and, to a lesser extent, the Jews. The opening chapters deal with the migrations of these groups in a sketchy, historical manner to show the relevance of migration to discrimination. The author holds to a straightforward scapegoat thesis: mass migrations aggravate the shortage of available accommodations, and prejudiced whites may respond to the competition for housing with mob violence directed against the non-whites, as they did in two northern cities—Detroit, Michigan (chap. ix), Cicero, Illinois (chap. x)—and in a southern city—Miami, Florida (chap. xi).

The author devotes himself at length to the role of private enterprise in denying non-whites the opportunity to become integrated into the white community on equal terms. The policies,

ideologies, and practices of realtors, home-builders, mortgage lenders, hotel and resort owners, and travel-agency officials are dealt with.

But where the author makes his most important contribution is in describing the role of the federal government in the encouragement and enforcement of segregation in housing. From 1934 to 1948, Abrams contends, the official policies of the Federal Housing Administration and of the Home Owners Loan Corporation were influenced by the ideology of the National Association of Real Estate Boards. "What began as private prejudice was thus converted into public policy, approved by public agencies, enforced by the full panoply of public power and backed by public credit" (p. 162). "The evil that FHA did was of a peculiarly enduring character. Thousands of racially segregated neighborhoods were built, millions of people re-assorted on the basis of race, color, or class, the differences built in, in neighborhoods from coast to coast. FHA simultaneously undermined the old pattern of heterogeneous neighborhoods in communities from coast to coast where people of mixed races and mixed religions had been living nearby or in the same block without a qualm or a quibble" (p. 236).

It is possible that Abrams exaggerates the novelty of the homogeneous neighborhood—one of his major targets—and the amity of the heterogeneous. The sifting and sorting of metropolitan residents through the operation of ecological processes resulted in ethnically and economically homogeneous areas long before the New Deal put the FHA into the real estate business. Perhaps it is only the neighborhood or whole community conceived and *planned* for a single class or race or age group which is new.

Some of the chapters in this book show Abrams' thinking as having a sociological orientation. Especially so are this chapters xii, "Housing and the Suburban Milieu"; xx, "Minorities, Homogeneity, and 'Value'"; and xix, "The Fallacies Examined." But, for the most part, he wrote for the layman on a subject in which he has been an active proponent of reform. This book is itself an advocacy of a comprehensive program of action (chap. xxiv). It is not therefore less interesting to sociologists but will be read accordingly.

HAROLD GOLDBLATT

New York City Youth Board

Sociologie des Brazzavilles noires ("Sociology of the Negro Brazzavilles"). By GEORGES BALANDIER. ("Cahiers de la Fondation nationale des Sciences politiques," No. 67.) Paris: Armand Colin, 1955. Pp. 274. Fr. 900.

Brazzaville is the leading city of French Equatorial Africa; the black Brazzavilles are its several settlements of native Africans, separate from the central white area and much less urban. In all, there were in 1951 some 6,500 whites and 75,000 Negroes. Central African cities are, as Balandier reminds us, created by white men but inhabited by black men. They are born of colonization. The white minority have come to rule, to trade, to be the bureaucrats of government or business, or to preach and teach. The black majority come from their tribal villages to seek fortune and adventure or, more prosaically, to find security with relatives and a living when the traditional life fails them.

Europeans call the blacks *detribalized* or, if schooled in European ways, *evolved*. The natives tend to reject the name *evolved*, because of its implied condescension. They have a number of names for various kinds of Negroes. Tribal, kin, and regional names are still important, but there are also new categories for whom new names are necessary: the elite, the educated elite, those of one trade or another. There are the usual ironic names which people of minority (subordinate) status invent for the more pretentious of their own number as well as for those of the dominant "other" group.

Each of the several native quarters has its own combination of tribal origins, its own measure of homogeneity, its own balance between urban and rural, between organization along kin and tribal lines and that on urban lines of occupation and income. In all quarters there burgeon native enterprises whose customers are also native. Not the least of them is a sort of prostitution which stems partly from the high proportion of men, partly from the emancipation and power of women. Marginal men, marginal movements, and marginal institutions abound. Strikes are not well-planned steps to gain defined ends but are spontaneous, sudden, and unorganized. Balandier says of them that "they seem to have no specific cause because they have so many causes." Prophets of religion are generally also prophets of nationalism, of a new status for black men.

In describing such a city, Balandier is of the avant-garde; for such are the new cities of this century. In the nineteenth century, new cities in

Europe were built around ancient urban cores. In America the new cities were, most of them, utterly new, in that they grew where woods, prairie, or swamp had been the day before; but their new inhabitants, even if they themselves were peasants, were of civilizations in which cities had had a part. Studies of cities had to do either with their great expansion, as in Europe, or with the peculiar configuration and problems of cities both new and polyglot, as in America. There was some emphasis on cities as disorganizers and demoralizers, especially of people who combined in one move the change from rural to urban and that from one continent and culture to another. The African cities south of the Sahara present a case so new in degree as to seem new in kind. The bulk of the inhabitants are making a greater move, culturally and technologically, than did the new inhabitants of European and North American cities. Those completely new to urban life are greater in proportion and are more sharply divided and isolated from the more urban minority because they are of another race, one easy to see and relegated by colonial conquest to an inferior legal and economic status.

In spite of these differences, one is struck by the likenesses between Brazzaville and the nineteenth-century and early-twentieth-century New York and Chicago. The rustic immigrants at first settle among their kin, who, indeed, finance their journey. Some enter the general labor force at the bottom; others form a new class by establishing small businesses to exploit the peculiar wants of their own people. As time goes on, the ecological distribution and division of labor based on place or family of origin give way (among Irish and Jews alike) to one based on success in the new environment. Some turn quickly to assimilation, using the city as the escape from family and tradition; but emancipation is accompanied, sometimes in the same individual, by a defense of and yearning for the old. Individual status may be gained by assimilation, whereas group status must be bettered by a certain holding-on to a symbolic past redefined by new prophets.

Those who would study cities comparatively and arrive at theories of their development and nature will have to take account of the new African cities and of the radically changing cities of the Middle and Far East. It may turn out that the urbanization of Europe and North America in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries was one of the less extreme cases, however

large the numbers of people and cities involved.

M. Balandier and his colleagues used a variety of ways of getting and analyzing data: records, interviews, anthropologists' observations, and psychological tests. He is aware of the difficulties of getting data of several of the kinds wanted and of what further studies should be made. If one suggests that the quantitative data could have been more economically and graphically presented, it is no reflection on the data themselves or on the value of a ground-breaking work.

Balandier, an anthropologist, does not bother to defend himself against those of his craft who might think he should have stuck to small communities and traditional cultures or against those sociologists who believe anthropologists belong in museums and in the bush.

EVERETT C. HUGHES

University of Chicago

The Western-educated Man in India: A Study of His Social Roles and Influence. By JOHN and RUTH HILL USEEM. New York: Dryden Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+237. \$3.00.

In 1950 the Hazen Foundation called a conference of social scientists to plan a study of Western-educated Indians who had returned home from abroad. Later Michigan State College acted as co-sponsors for the project, and the Useems went to India for a year as directors. Their main interest was the effect of exchange programs on Indian students, in the hope of making the experience of more value to both the individual traveler and the country to which he would return. Thus recommendations were to be made on the basis of personal observation and study.

Through intensive interviews in India the authors obtained life-histories from 110 Indian men and women living in Bombay State. Men in high positions and colleagues of this group were also interviewed. The directors eventually concentrated on three main facets of the problem, namely, "the impact of a foreign education on the individual, the use of a foreign education in the world of work, and the implications of a foreign education for international understanding."

The authors are wise in stressing the tentative nature of their conclusions, as they had very little help in understanding the "cultural dimensions" of their problem. For their book is

one of the very few studies which give insight into the dynamic changes which a slowly urbanizing India is facing. Indeed, it seems high time that Western social scientists pried themselves loose from the Indian village and began studying the equally important question of urban change.

Their interesting findings include types of students who study abroad; the effect on them of education in England as compared with education in America; changes in their outlook and skills; changes in their stereotypes of other countries; changes in their conception of "race" and race relations; the effect of their foreign experience on their own personalities; and their readjustment on their return. It is disappointing that this good descriptive material is not more closely related to theory. Minor complaints are that a bibliography would save readers much time scanning footnotes for references and that more documentation would help the assessment of conclusions. For it is often hard to tell whether the writers are merely recording chance impressions or whether their observations are backed with concrete information.

One should not quarrel with the purpose of any study. The authors set out with the object of making recommendations on the basis of their findings; however, it seems a pity that such competent social scientists should circumscribe their endeavors to a set pattern of thinking in terms of recommendations rather than of social structure. Nevertheless, the authors' work is important, for they have captured many of the subtle aspects of urban Indian culture and have highlighted some of the problems which this period of transition is presenting to Indians who remain at home as well as to those who travel to the West.

AILEEN D. ROSS

McGill University

The Structure of Spanish History. By AMERICO CASTRO. Translated by EDMUND L. KING. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+689. \$9.00.

This book is extraordinary not only for its sovereign scholarship and its knowledge of history and feeling for it but, above all, because here a man writing about his people as they have lived and changed and yet kept their identity is recognizing and realizing them and thus himself in one process, before our eyes. In illuminating Spanish history, he shapes the spirit of the

people into an evident human possibility, and, doing this, he is fulfilling himself. Castro not only presents but exemplifies the "structure of Spanish history."

In this dialectical and passionate attitude toward his object, he distinguishes himself from those current social scientists and historians who derive security and propriety from pushing their subject matter away from themselves and in whose writing objectivity becomes indistinctness. Attempts at incorporating Castro's conception of Hispanicity into the contemporary concerns of social science, such as "culture and personality" (cf. Peter Heintz in *Kölner Zeitschrift für Soziologie und Sozialpsychologie*, VII [1955], 101-18), therefore are in danger of forcing a transformation of the author's enterprise into a fragment of contemporary ideology, whereas he is dedicated to the truth. "Because they are afraid to live with a culture, many scholars are in the habit of devoting their attention to the most external and insignificant aspects of human creations, and thus . . . a situation [arises] that is contemporary with the coldly calculated torture and murder of millions of men" (p. 653).

The book, however, is by no means polemical but is wholly devoted to an investigation of its subject matter; and it ought to be analyzed against alternative orientations not to the same topic but to other important human affairs. Such an analysis would raise a very large number of significant questions for social scientists. For instance, from a conceptual viewpoint, the key ideas of the *morada* ("dwelling place") and *vividura* ("living structure") of a people require careful examination, also in reference to comparable holistic approaches recently developed in cultural anthropology. Another question concerns the connection between the devotion to social and historical understanding and the student's political theory and action: On what arguments are they to be left separated? Are they to be related to one another? Are political cares to be considered irrelevant? And how, in the light or darkness of our present society, do the premises we hold as social scientists appear, and how must we modify them and act accordingly? To conclude with a narrower comment: Castro's book is of specific significance to the student of race relations; the subtitle of the Spanish work out of which it grew is "Christians, Moors, and Jews."

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

They Thought They Were Free: The Germans, 1933-45. By MILTON MAYER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xii+346. \$4.75.

The apparently simple threefold division of this book—"Ten Men," "The Germans," "Their Cause and Cure"—runs counter to the complexity and confusion of the author's attitudes and concerns. The bulk of what Mr. Mayer has to say is about his "ten Nazi friends" in "Kronenberg," to whom the work is dedicated. The remainder are jabs at history, anthropology, and postwar politics.

Mayer has articulated his book by presenting it in 34 chapters, most of them, especially in the shorter Parts II and III, *aperçus*, memoranda, and similar notes, somehow related to the subject, somehow indicated by the title of the whole. Furthermore, he has introduced each part by pages in italics which are designed to catch the atmosphere and import of the points in history they dramatize—November 9, 1638 and 1938, 1907 and 1948. The first date introduces, with music, the inn, new during the Thirty Years' War, where three centuries later the burning of the synagogue was discussed by Kronenbergers, including some of the author's friends. "Heat Wave" shows that even in 1907 members of different nations, among them a German, reacted differently to the temperature; it precedes a discussion of German national character. In 1948 the trial of the Kronenberg arsonists took place.

The very beginning of the work gives a clue to the author's confusion. He introduces himself as an American, of German descent, a Jew, and a newspaperman. "It was the newspaperman's fascination that prevailed . . . and left me dissatisfied with every analysis of Nazism [none of which is cited in the Acknowledgments]. I wanted to see this monstrous man, the Nazi" (p. vii). His journalistic view of "the Nazi" underwent change. The author first thought "the Nazi" was Hitler; later it was the "average German"; finally, however, without paying attention to the difference between a totalitarian society and the individuals in it, it became his "ten Germans sufficiently different from one another . . . and sufficiently like unto one another to have been Nazis"—his Kronenberg friends. Yet he also wanted to say something about the Germans in general and about their "cause and cure"; hence the remaining pages.

The first eleven chapters are exercises in charitable understanding rather than in history

or sociology, and thus apologetic instead of critical. The next chapter attempts a historical explanation, which leads to our understanding how things are and have come about and thus precludes criticism as effectively. On the other hand, there are violent indictments of much of our postwar German policy, motivated, in part, by the fear of not appreciating the beam in one's own eye. But the morality of the balance sheet implied by this approach (incidentally, it characterizes postwar German political discussion) is no substitute for analysis.

Sometimes in his search to grasp the immense phenomenon he is struggling with, the author succeeds in catching hold of some facets, as in the rendering of the philologist's and the engineer's recollections of the Nazi period (chaps. xiii-xiv). But, instead of inquiring into the conditions of interacting with history, rather than being its tools, Mayer relapses into apology (p. 181), then moral indignation (p. 184), then again decorous humility (p. 185). No one element, but the whole book itself is representative of the confused subject matter and its confused student.

Painfully absent are historical, sociological, and political analyses and an inquiry into the relations between these analyses and judgment and, particularly, into the occasions for applying and withholding moral judgment. For instance, it is fortunate that the author draws parallels between certain Nazi and certain American features; but it is unfortunate that he does so as a *moralist*. What is missing, further, is a theory of the relation between individual and society, especially totalitarian, including a theory of the distinctions and connections between ideology and motivation; an examination of the author's role vis-à-vis the topics he is dealing with, particularly his attitudes toward pertinent elements of his own history, which, in fact, he introduces at the beginning of his book; and an exploration of the place of criticism and charity and of their dialectical relation.

KURT H. WOLFF

Ohio State University

The Economic Development of Japan. By WILLIAM W. LOCKWOOD. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1954. Pp. vi+602. \$10.00.

This book is a model economic history of Japan in the years between 1868 and 1938. Professor Lockwood's command of sources, his

painstaking precision, and his careful and exhaustive research appear on every page of this excellent work. Though it may not be the last economic history of Japan in its first seventy years of industrial progress, it is not likely to be superseded soon. The careful and extensive documentation and the detailed Index facilitate its use as a general reference work on recent Japanese economic history.

Although chief emphasis in the book is placed upon the more purely economic variables, such as the speed of increase in national income, the provision of capital, the role of foreign trade, and the allocation of resources, the relationships between economic growth and social change are discussed also. These relations are most clearly expounded in the chapters on technology and the role of the state. In the former of these chapters Professor Lockwood is concerned with tracing the introduction of Western technology and its adaptation to an already dense and rapidly growing population. The result is the persistence throughout Japanese economic development of many small-scale enterprises. For example, a quarter of the non-agricultural labor force in 1930 are designated by Lockwood as small entrepreneurs, i.e., persons who are either self-employed or heads of small-scale enterprises in industry and trade employing less than five persons. Lockwood relates this persistence of small-scale enterprise to the rigorous family patterns characteristic of Japanese society. Yet he admits that although the small industrial or commercial firm was formally independent, it was *de facto* tied closely to a larger firm through some form of credit and/or subcontracting arrangement, so that in the economic sphere, as in the sociostructural sphere, the hierarchical order, resembling closely a patron-client relationship, was maintained.

Lockwood destroys the popular belief that economic growth in Japan was throughout fostered vigorously by "the state." He shows that in the first decade after the Meiji restoration the government followed a mercantilist and even Colbertian policy. But it soon realized that it could desist from directly sponsoring industrial and mining enterprises, because a new entrepreneurial elite was ready and capable of performing this task. In this Japan is perhaps unique and its industrialization process distinct from that in European countries. Lockwood expresses this clearly when he says that "a considerable segment of Japan's ruling class manifested a spirit of enterprise and adaptability...."

In contrast to the gentry and aristocracies of most other Asiatic nations [and he might have added also 'most European nations'] . . . numerous young *samurai* grasped eagerly at the potentialities of Western learning. . . . Despite the antimercantile tradition of their class, it was they who began to display a spirit of capitalist enterprise in manufacturing and commerce." In other words, the primary impetus to economic development in Japan was given by members of the social elite. In doing so, this class could maintain unchanged the previously existing social structure and hence achieve a high degree of social stability and a minimum of social disorganization during the process of industrial development and urban expansion. These factors go far to explain the speed and continuity of Japanese economic growth.

A final point which is sometimes touched upon by Lockwood is the question of the general applicability of the policies employed by the Japanese, especially in the other countries of Asia which exhibit some similar characteristics to preindustrial Japan. There is no question that, on the purely economic level, many of the measures adopted by Japan can be imitated with success. But, because of the very special configuration of the Japanese social structure, a genuine repetition of the Japanese experience is impossible. In this sense Lockwood's contribution is an account of a unique experience in socioeconomic history; the primary value of the book is in making eminently intelligible the history of economic relations in the one Asian country which did undergo an industrial revolution.

BERT F. HOSELITZ

University of Chicago

American Indian and White Children: A Sociopsychological Investigation. By ROBERT J. HAVIGHURST and BERNICE L. NEUGARTEN. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+335. \$5.00.

Here is a much-awaited report of the cross-cultural psychological testing project of the University of Chicago Committee on Human Development and the United States Office of Education. Children between the ages of six and eighteen in six Indian tribes and in Midwest "Jonesville" are the subjects. Portions of the data have already appeared in monographic works, such as Leighton and Kluckhohn's *Chil-*

dren of the People. But in the present work the data from the seven groups are assembled in detailed tabular form so as to permit both general comparisons between Indian and white American children and specific comparisons between the Pueblos (Hopi, Zuni, and Zia), the Navajo and Papago of the Southwest, and the Sioux.

The tests reported are four in number, with primary emphasis on the first two. In the *Emotional Response Test*, "the subject is asked to describe situations in which he was happy, sad, afraid, angry, ashamed, and to tell what are the best and worst things that could happen to him." Answers are classified according to sources of each emotion, value-themes and aversions, persons involved in each emotion, and indications of conscience and self-consciousness. In the *Moral Ideology Test* children are asked to name some things they could do which would be good and some which would be bad and to tell who would praise or blame them for each act. The answers are classified by type of behavior and surrogate. The third test is an adaptation of Piaget's questions on "rules of the game," designed to test the latter's hypothesis that primitive children do not show the same progression from heteronomous to autonomous morality as do children in modern societies. Finally, free drawings by Indian children were analyzed according to the interests they revealed and artistic ability. The free drawings were the least satisfactory technique for gaining psychological understanding of children in the different tribes.

The text is supplemented by a number of appendixes. These are occupied chiefly with presenting in detail the categories employed in tabulating test responses. Additional material on age trends in emotional response and age differences in free drawings which could not be simply incorporated into the principal text are included. Finally, the senior author presents comparative data from New Zealand children, which places them generally between the Midwest and Indian children but closer to the former group.

There are moments of great interest which suggest what the book might have been, had the authors intended to go beyond fairly limited factual compilation. The incompatibility between their findings and those of Whiting and Child regarding guilt feelings among Indian tribes, mentioned only in a footnote, seems to call into question some important assumptions of the latter group. Extreme differences between the more acculturated (Shiprock) and

unacculturated Navajos in moral constraint seem to imply either that major changes in basic personality are taking place or that the variables being measured are fairly superficial—an issue not raised by the authors. And the closeness of the Sioux to the Midwest children in many respects raises the question as to whether this resemblance is the perpetuation of a personality configuration related to their historically individualistic culture or the product of their contemporary acculturation and disorganization.

The authors supplement the reporting with unsystematized anecdotal interpretation—a plausible explanation being offered for each finding. Since the exact relation of test responses to the personality structure is unknown, alternative interpretations might be made in each instance. The authors make no attempt to state systematically what these are but simply select on each occasion the kind of inference which will reconcile the findings with ethnographic information at hand. Thus in one instance we are told that differences between tribes probably reflect the quality of interpersonal relations, while in another instance we are told that similar differences probably do not. It is not surprising, therefore, that the authors' conclusions seem merely to reiterate what was already known about the societies in question. And such otherwise important findings as the discovery of a dominant pattern which sounds much like Riesman's "other-directedness" among Midwest children (p. 113) is a product of so unsound a process of inference as to be of little value. Had the authors taken the trouble to think through and apply systematically the alternative assumptions which might be made in interpreting their test results and then used these alternative assumptions systematically, the value of their work would have been greatly enhanced.

Since the present study was begun a decade ago, it would hardly be fair to criticize the investigators for failure to anticipate the ultimate stages of their work. But current investigators may well learn from this to ask themselves the key question, whether their psychological tests contribute more than respectability to findings already secured by other techniques.

Finally, with only slight additional labor, the authors might have introduced a few hypotheses for ordering the psychological findings as dependent variables in relation to important cultural facts which might be taken as independent variables. The one instance in which they depart from their descriptive approach to test a

specific hypothesis suggested by Piaget indicates that the procedure could easily have been followed more extensively.

RALPH H. TURNER

University of California, Los Angeles

Amazon Town: A Study of Man in the Tropics.
By CHARLES WAGLEY. New York: Macmillan Co., 1953. Pp. xi+305. \$5.00.

This book is a monographic study of a community on the Lower Amazon fictitiously named Itá—a poor and backward rural Brazilian *cabolco*. The theme of the book is Itá society and culture and the relationship of the man-made environment to the economic backwardness and poverty of the community.

In traditional anthropological style the community is related to its region, and its society and culture are described under the familiar rubrics of "Making a Living in the Tropics," "Social Relations in an Amazon Community," "Family Affairs in an Amazon Community," etc. The description of Itá is a lively and workman-like job. The interpretation of the descriptive material underlies and gives content to the author's nearly indisputable proposition that it is the social arrangements and the culture rather than the natural environment which account for the poverty and economic stagnation of Itá and similar communities. A short comparison of Plainville with Itá reinforces Wagley's interpretation.

Now this proposition will hardly startle social scientists. The assertion, amply buttressed by field material, that cultural and social variables are primarily responsible for the level of wealth of a society or community is one long accepted by most social scientists. But the book is written with one eye on the professional investigator of society and the other on the administrator or practical man of affairs.

The book has a crucial value above and beyond its theoretical orientation. Studies like it exhibit that clarity of presentation and "clinical" feeling which come from the firsthand, detailed knowledge of cultures that long periods of anthropological field work give. This intimate view of a living society lays bare the features of society and culture which will impede or assist the raising of the living standards of underdeveloped regions elsewhere as well as there.

Perhaps Wagley's study indicates that what is needed by administrators and policy-makers

is not more theory of economic development or cultural change but intimate understanding of alien cultures, so that their plans and schemes will not be burdened with the deadly baggage of ethnocentrism and the automatic application of Western concepts of social life to contexts where they do not fit.

The study, besides its contribution to applied anthropology, is a welcome addition to the sociology of rural Brazil.

MANNING NASH

University of California, Los Angeles

Surinam: Recommendations for a Ten Year Development Program. (Report of a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. Pp. xxvi+271. \$5.00.

The Economic Development of Nicaragua. (Report of a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1953. Pp. xxxi+424. \$5.00.

The Economic Development of Jamaica. (Report of a mission organized by the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.) Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press, 1952. Pp. xviii+288. \$5.00.

The books under review are three of about a dozen available reports prepared by missions organized by the International Bank at the request of the country whose economic analysis is undertaken. A mission studies the economy of a country and makes practicable recommendations for its improvement.

Inasmuch as the mission reports always have to do with underdeveloped countries, the remedies sought usually entail social and/or political change as well as economic change. This, of course, is recognized in the reports.

Because the countries visited and the composition of missions differ, the subjects of inquiry differ. As a rule, however, a mission will report on the state of agriculture, forestry, manufacturing, mining, transport, marketing, and power facilities. Tourism is treated when important. Attention usually is given also to the state of education, housing, and health facilities. Recommendations for the improvement of each are included in the reports.

Inasmuch as improvements of social services

entail expenses which cannot be met out of private means as such and as the development of some facilities (e.g., transport, irrigation) often cannot be wholly met out of private means, the reports usually estimate possible sources of revenue for financing what may be called the economic and the social "overhead costs" of development. Skeleton blueprints of public financial and/or developmental institutions suited to disburse public assistance usually are included in reports. Since the reports are concerned with the developmental role of the government rather than with the activities of private entrepreneurs as such, less attention is given to private than to public capital formation and financing.

Of interest to the sociologist is the manner in which financial and related institutions are being introduced into underdeveloped countries and adapted to their developmental needs.

The pace of economic progress in most of the countries studied is slowed down, among other things, by a high rate of population growth, a low rate of capital formation, labor immobility, and possibly also by pronounced dependence upon foreign markets for the sale of raw materials. Population pressure may also be an obstacle in Jamaica.

JOSEPH J. SPENGLER

Duke University

The People of the Sierra. By J. A. PITT-RIVERS. New York: Criterion Books, 1954. Pp. xvi+232. \$4.00.

This is a study of Alcalá, a village in southern Spain, carried out in the tradition of social anthropology as developed at Oxford. Dr. Pitt-Rivers exemplifies some of the virtues inherent in British social anthropology. He has written a book in a lucid style, free from jargon, and organized around a central theme, so that one gets a vivid picture of the social life of the people of Alcalá, combined with an attempt at its theoretical analysis.

Pitt-Rivers' central theme is the relation of the village community to the Spanish national society and culture. By playing on the antithesis between a locally organized society and a centrally organized state, he presents an analysis of conflicts and integrations between the small society and the larger entity of which it is a member. The chief concepts through which we are made to view the dialectic between community and nation are those connected with social struc-

ture, as understood and employed in one variety of British social anthropology.

The author proceeds by analyzing the component parts of the village social structure, showing the perduring kinds of social relations in the local community and the values imbedded in the social ties. The village social structure is then related to the national structure. Of primary interest here is the position and functioning of the *señoritos*, the persons who mediate between the local community and the national entity. This logic of procedure is effective in making clear the local definitions of authority, the values of male and female, and the modifications of local political structure.

Alcalá has a culture which, the author tells us, is in many ways typical of Andalusia, and the analysis of the one village is a way of throwing light upon this region of Spain. Many of the typical features of the region—the bullfight, the bandit, the gypsy, and the individualism and anarchism—are shown to operate in the structural context of Alcalá.

The book is an excellent job of cultural description and social interpretation. But many of the parts rely heavily upon the literary device of "functional" interpretation. Evidently, many of the generalizations and propositions arrived at are true, but for those who hold a more rigorous definition of social science, such proposition as "the essence of the bullfight is the ritual re-vindication of manliness and if this value is debased then the whole human species is defiled" may cause some distress. How is such a "proposition" arrived at from the data analyzed, and how in the world can it ever be validated by any conceivable kind of further data?

The section on status and age which attempts to offer an analysis of that part of the social structure commonly denoted "social class" or "status groupings" demonstrates the weaknesses and strengths of functional interpretation as the sole method of analysis.

The strength of Pitt-Rivers' interpretation of the class and status arrangements comes from seeing the various kinds of persons in their differential power and prestige relations within and beyond the village. The weaknesses lie in the explanatory aspect of the description; description is merely recast into an abstraction on a slightly higher plane. For example: "The ruling group owes its integration, then, to its structural situation, not to the possession of overt characteristics," is only a way of rewording what he has earlier described without giving cause.

The study of Alcalá is a welcome addition to the store of monographs on contemporary communities which use methods of personal observation to bring the larger abstractions of social science to the "laboratory" of human relations. It reports on a region hitherto uncharted by professional social scientists. One cannot help regret that some systematic comparison between Alcalá and other Hispanic-American communities was not carried out.

MANNING NASH

University of Chicago

The Talladega Story: A Study in Community Process. By SOLON T. KIMBALL and MARION PEARSALL. University, Ala.: University of Alabama Press, 1954. Pp. xxxii+259. \$3.50.

This is an account of an unusual social-action and sociological research project conducted in a community of 13,000 in the Piedmont region in Alabama, a project made possible by a grant to University of Alabama sociologists for the purposes of studying the processes of a community self-survey in health. The major part of the volume is devoted to description and explanation of the self-survey events, presented as an application of community status-structure analysis to a relatively specific action problem and as a demonstration of the advantages of studying social process through participation in action activities, specifically through participation in the community self-survey.

With considerable attention to historical development and to changes in process, the community-structure analysis deals with three major categories: middle- and upper-class whites, whose traditional dominance is vividly symbolized by their use of "the community" to refer to their kind and to their section of town; working-class whites, individualistic and independent, with activities confined to patriarchal families and fundamentalist churches; and Negroes, who, accepting lower-class status and even lacking a common residential neighborhood, are almost devoid of a sense of organization. Although the kind of documentation which accompanies monographs devoted exclusively to community structure is not included, this portion of *The Talladega Story* stands by itself as a worthy addition to community studies. In the account of the self-survey effort there is considerable supplementation and some validation of the community-structure analysis.

Their understanding of community structure enables the authors to do a more penetrating analysis of events in the self-survey than is customary. However, their commitment to self-survey and group-dynamics ideology was a serious restriction. In explaining failures, emphasis is placed on lack of communication between community-status categories, with the assumption that needs could have been resolved, or can be in the future, through tact, diplomacy, and cultivation of good feeling.

Perhaps the authors could have made more progress in their primary sociological objective, that of analyzing community change, if they had been less committed to this and a strong ideology of "democracy and community." Few changes are local inventions but result from an interaction of persons and ideas from both within and outside. As the authors intimate in the social-structure analysis, basic changes are generating in Talladega because some Negroes have an ear tuned to Washington, some working-class men have antennas reaching as far as Detroit, and one or two millowners have an eye on New England industry.

WARREN A. PETERSON

University of Chicago

Farm Policies of the United States, 1790-1950.

By MURRAY R. BENEDICT. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1953. Pp. xv+548. \$5.00.

American Farm Life. By LOWRY NELSON. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 192. \$3.75.

Most notably in the farmer's economic life, chronic poverty, chronic surpluses, chronic boom and burst have gone, and he now participates in America's traditional level of prosperity. Has this been an achievement of our agricultural policy, or was it brought about by technology and the interplay of economic forces? Benedict does not venture the answer; instead he carefully marshals the materials on which the answer must be based.

It will take most sociologists a considerable portion of their spare time to push through the 520 crowded, double-column pages of Benedict's history of United States agricultural policy. While the book begins at the beginning, the au-

thor's sustained attention is rightly given to the period of the two world wars and after; the 137 pages which discuss our agriculture before 1915 add little that is new in either fact or interpretation.

Internal improvements, tariff, foreign trade, land policy, conservation, monopoly, antitrust, farm credit, farm subsidy, price and income supports, shifting money, shifting markets, co-operatives, owner versus tenant operation, the family farm, agricultural efficiency and extension—is there any problem the American farmer has not faced? The wonder is that we have muddled through to a policy which now seems fairly stable, fairly well accepted, and fairly successful.

We get very little of the flavor of conflict in the settlement of these issues, for Benedict writes as an economist; this is not a partisan account. Benedict, for the sociologist, is long on data—short on interpretation. But all the controversies, the shifting policies, and their consequences, as far as one can know them, are here. And he who prefers to read as he runs can use the excellent Index. For perspective the quick reader may well begin with the survey, chapter xix on "Changes in Long-Term Policy."

In the short compass characteristic of the Library of Congress "Series in American Civilization," Lowry Nelson pictures the life of the new farmer in the round. Clear and interpretive chapters in *American Farm Life* point out the meaning of the farmer's rural heritage, his present status on the land, the impact of machinery and science on agriculture, his labor force and his relation to his own institutions—the rural community, schools, churches, co-operatives and farm organizations, local and federal government. Everywhere is change and achievement; not the least has been the change in the farm family and its participation in American culture. The farmer has a new prosperity, a new relation to government, a more complete integration with our national life.

The book is a model of organization and clarity. Nowhere in so short a space will the average city dweller get as clear cut a picture of what it means to be a farmer and how the farmer lives today in relation to his community and his institutions.

RUPERT B. VANCE

University of North Carolina

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A TEST OF INTERACTIONIST HYPOTHESES OF SELF-CONCEPTION

S. FRANK MIYAMOTO AND SANFORD M. DORNBUSCH¹

ABSTRACT

The theories of George Herbert Mead are not easily translated into testable hypotheses. This study does not concentrate on the process of interaction which Mead describes but, instead, deduces some static consequences of his view of the development of the self-conception. The relation of the self-conception to the behavior of others, to the perception of others, and to the perception of the generalized other is examined. The results all give strong empirical support to the symbolic interactionist approach.

George Herbert Mead constitutes something of a paradox for modern sociology. His works have been widely acclaimed for their fundamental importance to social-psychological and sociological theory. On the other hand, Mead's admirers have often encountered considerable difficulty in formulating research problems within the framework of his views. True, during the last decade initial advances have been made in the empirical study of roles, role-taking, and role conflicts; however, the notions of self and self-conception—two additional key concepts in his system and the system of Cooley and others within this tradition—

remain among the neglected problems of social psychology to which Leonard Cottrell referred.²

The aim of this paper is an empirical study of certain basic assumptions in the interactionist view of the self and self-conception. Essentially dynamic, the interactionist theory of the self is not easily translated into research operations. This paper does not study the ongoing process but concentrates instead on static consequences which can reasonably be deduced from Mead. The method here employed is too crude for investigating subtle aspects of Mead's theory, but improvements and refinements of the method are possible. Moreover, many interesting lines of inquiry into the self can be pursued with the method, such as it is.

Our concern is three problems suggested by the interactionist view of the self. First, a basic contribution of Mead and Cooley to the understanding of the self and self-conception lay in their emphasis upon the in-

¹ This paper reports part of the findings from a study of interpersonal perception, supported by the Agnes Anderson Fund, the Faculty Research Fund of the Graduate School of the University of Washington, and the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. We are indebted to the following persons who were consulted at various stages of the research project: Charles E. Bowerman, S. Francis Camilleri, Samuel A. Stouffer, Robert E. L. Faris, William H. Sewell, Albert Hastorf, Stephen Richardson, David Gold, and Howard S. Becker. Statistical assistance was provided by Mrs. Joan Carlson, Elizabeth Johnson, John B. Hudson, Gerald Day, and Donald L. Garriety.

² Leonard S. Cottrell, Jr., "Some Neglected Problems in Social Psychology," *American Sociological Review*, XV (December, 1950), 708-11.

fluence of the responses of others in shaping self-definitions. This principle, once recognized, may appear so self-evident as not to require empirical confirmation. However, it seems of interest to consider any empirical test which will confirm or deny the generalization.

Second, although it is Mead's habit to speak of "the response of the other" as providing the key to the definition of the self,³ the phrase is somewhat ambiguous, for a distinction may be drawn between (a) the actual response of the other and (b) the subject's perception of the response of the other. Mead often does not distinguish between these two; but it is consistent with his view that the perception of the other's response is the critical aspect. Will an empirical test support this assumption?

Finally, one of Mead's most illuminating analyses is his account of how the self may take the role of the generalized other. The "generalized other" refers to the individual's conception of the organized social process of which he is a part.⁴ This organized social process is composed of numerous specialized roles, and the individual identifies his own role in it and so fulfils his part as to enable the organized process to continue. On the other hand, individuals often enter into social relations wherein the organization of roles is obscure or minimal. In such a case, the individual cannot take the role of the generalized other in Mead's sense; yet, for the individual to act in the situation, some conception of the generalized other may be necessary. What kind of conception of self and others may be employed under these circumstances?

In our research we used social groups whose members were, at best, loosely joined by friendship and had no definite organized group activity within which to identify their respective roles. They were engaged as individuals, at the moment, in making emphatic judgments about one another. It seemed reasonable to assume that the individual might

be able to define—and would, in fact, use—a self-conception based on the *typical* attitudes of others toward him. Hence the third problem concerns the relation of self-conceptions to the perception of the typical attitudes of others toward one's self.

METHOD

Index of self-conception.—In recent years, due mainly to the renewed interest of psychologists in the study of the self, a number of methods have been developed for getting self-evaluations from experimental subjects. In one, subjects are requested to give self-characterizations by means of one of the following devices: checking appropriate words on an adjective check list of self-descriptive terms,⁵ responding to a standard personality inventory or to some other form of questionnaire that yields self-revealing responses,⁶ or writing out self-evaluative autobiographical sketches.⁷ These techniques are designed to reveal the content of individual self-conceptions.

A second method requires subjects to indicate their expected score on some test prior to taking the test—usually an aptitude or attitude scale—thus providing a picture of how an individual evaluates himself.⁸ Here the unique feature is the objective measure of performance or attitude against which the individual's expectation (self-conception) may be compared.

A third approach that combines features of the previous two requires subjects in a

⁵ Theodore R. Sarbin, "Role Theory," in *Handbook of Social Psychology*, ed. Gardner Lindzey (Cambridge, Mass.: Addison-Wesley Publishing Co., 1954), I, 244.

⁶ Ely S. Chertok, work in progress for Ph.D. dissertation in department of sociology, University of Washington.

⁷ For an interesting variation on the autobiographical method see the W-A-Y technique of J. F. T. Bugental and S. L. Zelen, "Investigation into the Self-concept," *Journal of Personality*, XVIII (1950), 483-98.

⁸ E. Paul Torrance, "Rationalizations about Test Performance as a Function of Self-concepts," *Journal of Social Psychology*, XXXIX (1954), 211-17; see also Theodore M. Newcomb, *Personality and Social Change* (New York: Dryden Press, 1943).

³ G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934), pp. 144-49.

⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 152-64.

group of limited size to rate themselves on specified personal characteristics, relative to the others. For example, in a study by Calvin and Holtzman, members of fraternity groups (about twenty members each) ranked all group members, including themselves, on characteristics such as leadership, adjustment, tolerance, drive, and so on.⁹ Not only was it possible to use the individuals' self-rankings as a measure of self-concept, but, because each member was rated by all others in the group, it was also possible to derive an average of the others' ratings against which the self-concept could be compared.

For the purpose of investigating interactionist hypotheses of the self, the latter provides the most satisfactory method. In the present study the index of self-conception was derived in the course of investigating a different problem, namely, the measuring of empathic ability, by means of an adaptation of a method developed by Rosalind Dymond and Leonard Cottrell.¹⁰ The Dymond-Cottrell method requires subjects in a group to give self-ratings as well as ratings on every other group member on a short list of specified personal characteristics.

Source of data.—Our data were gathered from 195 subjects in ten groups ranging in size from 8 to 48 persons. Four groups, totaling 63 subjects, consisted of volunteering members of two fraternities and two sororities. Each member had lived in his own club's house for at least three months. The other six groups, totaling 132 subjects, were classes in sociology, almost all class members of which participated in the study.

Definition of variables.—For convenience in identifying the four variables in this study, labels have been adopted and given specific meanings. Our terminology implies no more than is stated in our definitions.

1. "Self-conception": Each subject was

⁹ A. D. Calvin and Wayne H. Holtzman, "Adjustment and the Discrepancy between Self-concept and the Inferred Self," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XVII (1953), 39-44.

¹⁰ Rosalind F. Dymond, "A Scale for the Measurement of Empathic Ability," *Journal of Consulting Psychology*, XIII (1949), 127-33.

asked to rate himself on a five-point scale for each of the following four characteristics: intelligence, self-confidence, physical attractiveness, and likableness. Subjects were told that the middle of the scale should be regarded as "average for *this* group." The analysis for each characteristic is separate, no summing operations being performed in the four ratings.

2. "Actual response of others": Each member of a group rated every other member of the group on the same four characteristics, using the five-point scale. The mean response to each subject was computed for each of the four characteristics.

The response of others as here defined does not correspond exactly with Mead's meaning of the term; he obviously refers to responses made in direct interpersonal relations, while our reference is to responses on a paper-and-pencil rating scale. It seems reasonable to assume, however, that the rating-scale response would tend to be a condensed symbolic version of real-life responses and that the two would correspond sufficiently for the purposes of this investigation. Mead himself often spoke of "the attitude of the other" interchangeably with the term "the role of the other."

3. "Perceived response of others": Each member of a group predicted how every other member would rate him on the scale. The mean prediction of each subject was found for each of the four characteristics.

4. "The generalized other": Each subject was asked to state, using the same scale, how he perceived *most* persons as viewing him. The specific question was: "How intelligent (self-confident, physically attractive, likable) do most people think you are?"

Method of analysis.—As in most studies of personal perception, good sampling was not easily achieved. Our sample was larger and more varied than those in most studies of this type, but our findings may not be reliable. Furthermore, data obtained as ours were, are not sufficiently sensitive to allow refined analyses. Because of these limitations in the design, we set restrictions upon our analysis.

First, since the groups are not a random sample from any known universe, statistical tests of significance are not employed, and the data are examined only for consistent tendencies from group to group. Second, we rely for our test upon inspection of gross differences. For each group, on each of the four characteristics, we determine whether the data support or do not support a specific hypothesis. Thus the ten groups and four characteristics yield forty results. If a hypothesis is supported forty times in the forty possible tests, we regard it as receiving perfect support; if the score is only twenty supporting tests out of the possible forty, the hypothesis is regarded as having no more than chance success.

THE FINDINGS

Hypothesis 1.—According to the interactionist view, the self-conceptions of most

TABLE 1

Characteristic	Hy- pothesis Sup- ported	Hy- pothesis Not Sup- ported	Tie
Intelligence.....	9	0	1
Self-confidence.....	8	2	0
Physical attractiveness...	9	1	0
Likableness.....	9	1	0
Total.....	35	4	1

persons are likely to be determined by internalization of the behavior of others toward them. If so, those accorded high esteem by others should reflect a higher self-esteem than those poorly regarded. Stating this in the form of a testable hypothesis: *The mean of the actual responses of others to the subject will be higher for those persons with a high self-rating than for those with a low self-rating.* Sorting each group into high and low self-raters and comparing the means of the "actual responses of others" toward the subjects in each subclass, we get the results given in Table 1.

Analysis of the ten groups for all characteristics taken together shows that the hypothesis is supported ten out of ten times.

Hypothesis 2.—Earlier it was suggested that it is of interest to evaluate separately

the effect on self-conception of the "actual response of other" and the "perceived response of others." As a first step in this analysis, the same procedure applied in the previous test to the "actual responses" may be applied to the "perceived responses." Again, after the high and low self-raters have been sorted, the hypothesis now reads: *The mean of the perceived responses of others will be higher for those persons with a high self-rating than for those with a low self-rating.* The results are shown in Table 2. Ten out of ten groups showed differences in the expected direction.

TABLE 2

Characteristic	Hy- pothesis Sup- ported	Hy- pothesis Not Sup- ported	Tie
Intelligence.....	10	0	0
Self-confidence.....	10	0	0
Physical attractiveness...	10	0	0
Likableness.....	10	0	0
Total.....	40	0	0

TABLE 3

Characteristic	Hy- pothesis Sup- ported	Hy- pothesis Not Sup- ported	Tie
Intelligence.....	8	2	0
Self-confidence.....	9	0	1
Physical attractiveness...	10	0	0
Likableness.....	7	3	0
Total.....	34	5	1

Hypothesis 3.—The next question is the relative effect on self-conception of the perceived response of others as compared to the effect of their actual responses. Social-psychological theory leads us to believe that the perceived behavior of others toward the self has a more direct influence than their actual behavior. Hence the hypothesis: *Self-conception tends to be closer to the mean perceived response of others to the subject than to the mean actual response of others.* The findings are summarized in Table 3. Of the ten groups, nine showed a tendency to support the hypothesis, with one class of eleven persons indeterminate, confirming the hypothesis for two characteristics and not confirming for the other two.

Hypothesis 4.—It will be remembered that the index of the generalized other was determined by asking each subject, "How intelligent (etc.) do most people think you are?" In effect, the question which was used in testing Hypothesis 2, with respect to specific individuals in a specific group, was broadened to include all other social contacts of our subjects. Hence it is reasonable to assume that the line of thinking employed in developing the earlier hypothesis should apply here. Again using high and low self-raters to provide subclasses with differential self-conception, the following hypothesis is investigated: *Those persons who have high self-ratings on a characteristic will have a higher mean perception of the generalized other than will those with low self-ratings* (Table 4). Once again, all ten groups showed differences as anticipated.

Hypothesis 5.—In rating the "perceived responses of others," the subjects considered

TABLE 4

Characteristic	Hy- pothesis Sup- ported	Hy- pothesis Not Sup- ported	Tie
Intelligence.....	9	0	1
Self-confidence.....	9	1	0
Physical attractiveness..	10	0	0
Likableness.....	10	0	0
Total.....	38	1	1

only those other persons present in the test group. However, self-conception emerges from interaction in divergent groups. Therefore, it should more closely reflect the way most persons are perceived as viewing the subject than the perception of the responses of any particular group of individuals to the subject. *Accordingly, self-conception should correspond more closely with the generalized other than with the mean of the perceived responses of others.* The results are shown in Table 5. The hypothesis is confirmed for

thirty-five out of forty comparisons. Only for self-confidence is there any tendency to show marked deviations from the expected direction. Analysis of the ten groups shows all ten tending to confirm the hypothesis. A deficiency of the test of Hypothesis 5 is that both self-conception and generalized other are discrete variables, while mean perception is continuous. Essentially, the results show that self-conception and generalized other are usually given the identical rating.

TABLE 5

Characteristic	Hy- pothesis Sup- ported	Hy- pothesis Not Sup- ported	Tie
Intelligence.....	10	0	0
Self-confidence.....	5	4	1
Physical attractiveness..	10	0	0
Likableness.....	10	0	0
Total.....	35	4	1

SUMMARY

The results of this research lend empirical support to the symbolic interactionist view of self-conception. Our findings indicate that the response, or at least the attitude, of others is related to self-conception; but they also indicate that the subject's perception of that response is even more closely related. We also find that an individual's self-conception is more closely related to his estimate of the generalized attitude toward him than to the perceived attitude of response of members of a particular group.

These empirical findings do little more than reinforce fundamental notions contained in the interactionist theory of self-conception. Beyond that, however, they suggest possibilities in studying self-conception within the symbolic interactionist framework.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON
HARVARD UNIVERSITY

SYSTEMIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN LATIN-AMERICAN COMMUNITIES OF FAMILY FARMS AND LARGE ESTATES

CHARLES P. LOOMIS AND JOHN C. MCKINNEY

ABSTRACT

The family-farm and large-estate communities considered here are in sharp contrast. A clear differentiation was also established by a group of judges who used a series of polar variables within the *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* typology to describe strategic subject-object relationships within the two communities. Tentative steps are taken to specify certain basic differences in family-farm and large-estate communities, systems which have long been considered essentially different, especially in their respective power structures. These differences call into question the many unitary programs designed to initiate change without being adapted to these contrasting structures.

Writing of acculturative forces, Ralph Beals once observed: "One road is worth about three schools and about fifty administrators."¹ And Robert Redfield, in his now classical study, concludes: "Yucatan, considered as one moves from Merida south-eastward into forest hinterland, presents a sort of social gradient in which Spanish, modern, and urban gives way to the Maya, archaic, and primitive."² Several studies of Latin-American communities reveal that geographical accessibility is only one component of cultural change and that folk, sacred, or *Gemeinschaft*-like communities may in some respects be urban, secular, or *Gesellschaft*-like. Relationships, for example, may be impersonal and motives utilitarian.³ It therefore becomes necessary to consider intercultural accessibility and the instigation of change in terms of some non-geographical dimensions. Specifically, this calls for examination of communities in terms of their attributes as social systems. In addition, it appears desirable to develop subtypologies of the general more blanket typologies, such as *Gemeinschaft* or sacred.⁴

We hope to accomplish this in the following paragraphs and to provide a hypothetical comparison of intercultural accessibility of communities of family farms and large estates.⁵

First, however, we shall compare a large-estate community with a family-farm com-

⁴ It should be noted that the more general a type, the greater the oversimplification of the empirical attributes, and the more specific a type, the greater is the number of general characteristics excluded from the construction. The *Gemeinschaft-Gesellschaft* typology devised by Ferdinand Tönnies has unquestionably been of great heuristic value over the years (see *The Fundamental Concepts of Sociology*, trans. and ed. C. P. Loomis [New York: American Book Co., 1940], to be republished in 1956 by Michigan State University Press). Yet for certain kinds of problems it seems advisable to take the components of the general types and treat them as variables. Owing to the basis of derivation of the pattern variables by Talcott Parsons, we feel that they are admirably suited to serve as the theoretical components of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* (see *The Social System* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951]). Howard Becker has also recognized the necessity of developing subtypologies for these "sponge" types in order to enhance their research utility (see *Through Values to Social Interpretation* [Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1950], pp. 361-76).

⁵ Preston James, *Latin America* (New York: Odyssey Press, 1943), pp. 706 and 828. According to James, communities of family farms are the only ones to expand in population in Latin America. Family farms exist in considerable numbers only in the highlands of Costa Rica, highlands of Antioquia in Colombia, in Middle Chile, and in the three southern states of Brazil.

¹ Sol Tax, *Heritage of Conquest: The Ethnology of Middle America* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952), p. 232.

² Robert Redfield, *The Folk Culture of Yucatan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1941), p. 13.

³ Sol Tax, "World View and Social Relations in Guatemala," *American Anthropologist*, XLIII (January-March, 1941), 27-42.

munity and point out significant differences in their concrete attributes as communities. On the basis of obvious distinctions, we feel justified in concerning ourselves with the systemic attributes of large-estate and family-farm communities on a more general and abstract level. We are proceeding on the assumption that the sharp differences apparent in the analysis of the two particular communities give evidence of the existence of two distinct *types* of social organization in rural Latin America. In comparing these social organizations, we treat them in terms of the theory of social systems and thereby establish their theoretical systemic attributes, being convinced that the establishment of the abstract systemic attributes would supplement the empirical evidence and promote comparative studies of what appear to be two fundamentally different types of social structure. If the social systems differ on both the empirical and the theoretical level, it would seem likely that the problem of accessibility to cultural change is dual rather than unitary and hence calls for different procedures in the strategy of change.

THE SOCIAL SYSTEMS TO BE COMPARED

The specific social systems compared are the large-estate community of Atirro, with 65 families, and the near-by community of family farms, San Juan Sur, including 75 families. Both these communities are located in the Turrialba Canton of Costa Rica. Although there is great variation in both communities of family farms and large-estate communities in Latin America, it is our belief, on the basis of available evidence, that Atirro and San Juan Sur are, in general, fairly typical.

EMPIRICAL VARIATIONS

Before proceeding to the theoretical examination of these communities' systemic attributes, we shall point out what appear to be their salient empirical characteristics.⁶ Frequent reference should be made to Figures 1 and 2, which portray graphically the relationships between families in the com-

munities of Atirro and San Juan Sur. These figures describe communication systems as expressed by informal visiting patterns; the family-friendship groupings within which members "feel at home" with one another; the social status or rank of the families; and both the "high-status" or prestige leaders and the informal-group or clique leaders. The following comparisons summarize obviously important empirical differences.

1. *Physical accessibility*.—Atirro is accessible by vehicle over a dirt road the year around, although walking is the most common means of locomotion. It is approximately 6 miles from the trade-center town of Turrialba, a place of 6,500 people. San Juan Sur, which is 3 miles from Turrialba, is accessible by vehicle only during the drier months of the year. Several horse trails lead to San Juan Sur.

2. *Spatial arrangements*.—Atirro is a "cluster" village, and the houses are closely grouped about the administrative building and coffee mill. San Juan Sur is a village strung along a trail, which makes it appear to be the less densely peopled. Actually, the amount of farm land per person is the same—about 2 acres.

3. *Mobility*.—The workers on the hacienda are quite mobile. At the time of enumeration, one-fourth of the residents had been in Atirro a year or less. The people of San Juan Sur are comparatively immobile. Only one family had lived in the community for less than a year.

4. *Routine activity*.—The yearly round of activities centering around the cultivation of coffee and cane is substantially the same in

⁶ The research upon which this empirical characterization is based was carried on as a co-operative endeavor primarily by the Inter-American Institute of Agricultural Sciences and Michigan State College under the directorship of Charles P. Loomis. For a comprehensive description of the communities under analysis here see C. P. Loomis *et al.*, *Turrialba: Social Systems and the Introduction of Change* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1953). For a description of the technique of class derivation see *ibid.*, pp. 46-48; of the delineation of status, pp. 39-40; of the delineation of the communication structure, p. 40; of the delineation of friendship or clique groups, pp. 77-80; and of ascribing leadership, pp. 49-51.

San Juan Sur as in Atirro. However, the individual farmer of San Juan Sur is not so inexorably bound to schedules and working hours as is the laborer in Atirro.

5. *Social class.*—Figures 1 and 2 show that San Juan Sur is not a highly stratified community, while the hacienda community Atirro is. In San Juan Sur, as Figure 2 indicates, only one informal grouping (in the

lower-left-hand corner) does not extend over a wide range of ranks. Family and friendship and informal-group affiliation in San Juan Sur almost completely bridge variations in status. Hence the status differences do not result in "classes."

In contrast, stratification on a class basis does exist in Atirro: there is a "labor" class, a "skilled-supervisory" class, and a "pro-

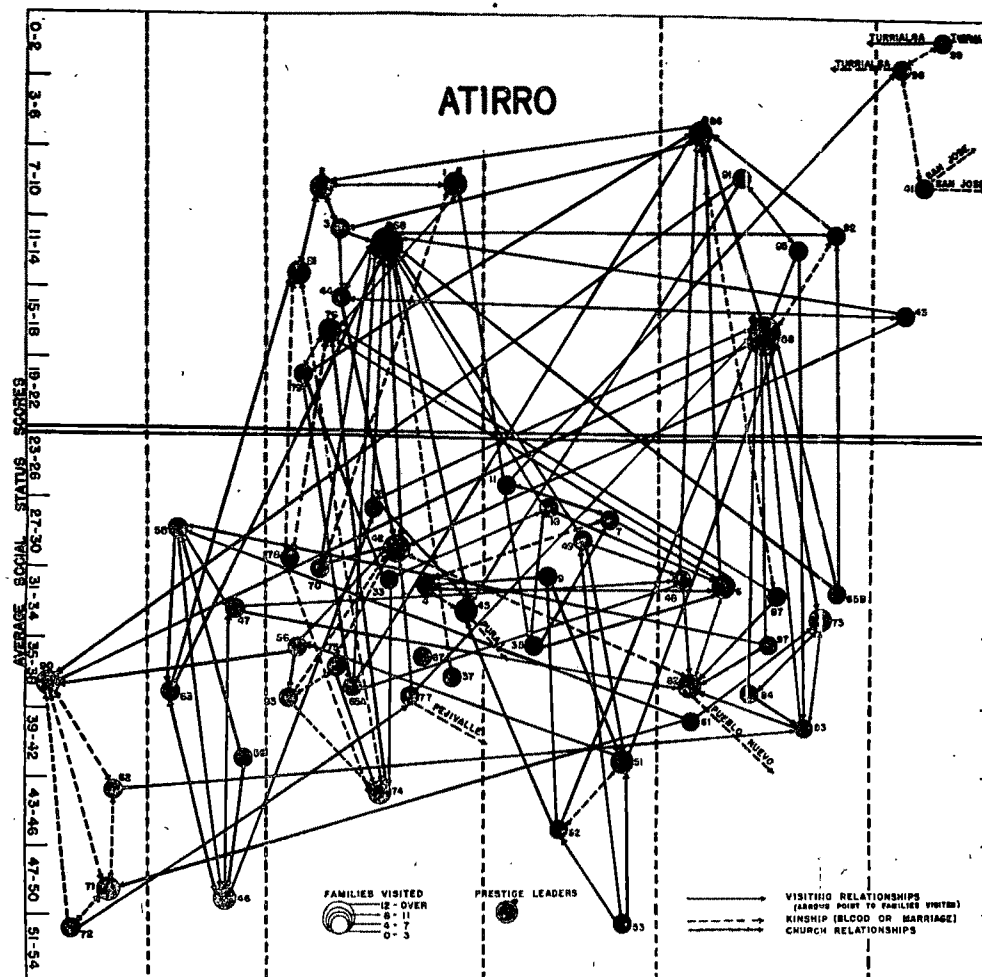


FIG. 1.—Average social status scores—Atirro. The circles represent families. The size of a circle is determined by the number of visits to the family. Arrows on the lines which connect circles indicate the direction of the visiting. Broken lines indicate visiting between families bound by ritual kinship, e.g., god-father (called "church relationships" on the chart). The families depicted by the larger circles hold key positions in the network of visiting. These families are called "informal leaders."

The family-friendship groups are separated by vertical broken lines and identified by letters. Social status is indicated by the position of the circles on the vertical axis—high status families are at the top, as indicated by the scale of average status scores at the right margin of the chart.

lines representing visiting in Figures 1 and 2 reflect the pattern of information communication of the villages. In Atirro, communication as reflected in visiting takes place more frequently within the classes than across class boundaries. In San Juan Sur the paths of communication cross almost all social-status distinctions.

8. *Social structure.*—In Atirro the most important social structures are the family units and the hacienda as an economic organization, whereas in San Juan Sur only the family units are of real importance. The functional integration of the hacienda rests upon a division of labor, and the system is articulated daily. In contrast, San Juan Sur is articulated as a unit only on special occasions, such as fiestas and crises. The interaction within friendship groups in Atirro tends to follow the lines of status differentiation (between vertical lines on Fig. 1), in contrast to the extended family cliques of San Juan Sur (Fig. 2). There is a diversity of normative orders in Atirro which achieve integration through interdependence of roles, statuses, and classes, whereas in San Juan Sur the normative order is a matter of consensus.

9. *Clique structure.*—The cliques in San Juan Sur are composed largely of family groups in which each member operates under the same general norms and places his family obligations above other bases for friendship. The ties of blood and marriage are chiefly responsible for the groupings. The cliques cannot be differentiated on the basis of outward characteristics; they appear to be basically similar. In Atirro, in contrast, there exist differences among cliques. A perusal of Figure 1 shows that certain cliques are almost completely isolated. Class barriers operate to perpetuate differences between the cliques. This distinction between the two communities is emphasized by the fact that in San Juan Sur there is one informal community leader of dominant importance, whereas in Atirro there are several.

10. *Leadership.*—The five prestige or community leaders and all other persons of

high rank in San Juan Sur were farm owners. In Atirro, neither the owner nor any other members of the proprietary class were designated by the community members as leaders. Instead, those designated were from the skilled-supervisory class. Their leadership, in part at least, is a function of their position in the hacienda organization. The actual leadership exercised by the owner of Atirro is evidently based upon (1) authority and power, (2) kinship relations, and (3) property holdings and wealth. In contrast, the outstanding leader in San Juan Sur owes his position primarily to personal attributes and achievements. He, for instance, is a skilled and persuasive speaker, who knows how to get on with people in general.

TYPOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES

Now that important empirical differences between the actual communities of San Juan Sur and Atirro have been pointed out, we shall establish their *type differences* in terms of the theory of social systems.⁷

THE PROCEDURE

In an attempt to avoid some of the shortcomings of previous typological descriptions of communities, we have introduced the following innovations: First, what we believe to be the important subtypes of the major general types have been introduced as continua. Second, in the analysis we use subtypes in the form of variable polar components of more general types. These subtypes, although varied and to a certain unavoidable degree overlapping, represent similar levels of abstraction. Third, we have used the concept of the "social system" and consequently are able to treat these subtypes as systemic attributes. This establishes the theoretical possibility of finding similar attributes in apparently different empirical groups. Fourth, we apply the types

⁷ For a description of the methodology of typing see John C. McKinney, "Constructive Typology and Social Research," in John T. Doby *et al.*, *Social Research* (Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Press, 1954), pp. 139-98.

to only one social system or reference group at a time. We do not attempt to apply the types to many reference groups, such as the family, church groups, occupational groups, political systems, etc., simultaneously. The level of abstraction is thereby held constant. It should also be noted that our types are applied to *social* systems, not cultural systems or personality systems.⁸ Fifth, we apply the types to specific and comparable relationships between specific and comparable status-roles in specific social systems.⁹ Sixth, to standardize the typing of the relationships, a specific category of action is supplied.

In order to make our hypothetical treatment of these systems pertinent to intercultural accessibility or to resistance to change, we are considering changes which require community action, not "normal" or gradual infiltration of ideas or techniques. On the contrary, we are referring to instigated change involving the articulation of the entire community in a common course of action, such as proposals to introduce organized sanitation to prevent spread of communicable diseases or quarantine regulations of sick persons with such diseases, or to set up community-wide co-operatives, schools, and the like.

THE SOCIAL RELATIONSHIPS TO BE COMPARED

In order to arrange for typing of communal action, we chose a status-*role* in each community which articulated the power structure of the whole social system. The role of the administrator was chosen as the subject, and the role of an immediate subordinate, the supervisor, was chosen as object on the large estate, Atirro. The administrator initiates action continuously to the supervisor, who is in daily contact with most families in the hacienda community.

⁸ Here we follow the distinction of Talcott Parsons (*op. cit.*).

⁹ Obviously, by so doing we may fail to include the important or strategic relationships. This is only one reason why this study must be considered as only exploratory.

Since the power structure of San Juan Sur is articulated only during fiestas and times of crisis and since there are no formally elected or appointed governmental administrative officials, obviously there are no status-*roles* exactly comparable to those of the administrator and supervisor at Atirro. The local informal leader (No. 66 in Fig. 2) of the community, the *gamonal*,¹⁰ most frequently initiates action in the community as a whole. The following will perhaps best provide an idea of the leadership of the *gamonal* in San Juan Sur:

During a heavy rain in the wet season one of the children of San Juan Sur fell in a bridgeless river when returning from school. She was drowned. The river is now bridged because Sr. Torres rallied all villagers and their families to walk to the trade center town to demand that the Jefe Politico make funds available to bridge the river. This leader has led the community members in several such events.¹¹

In our typology the *gamonal* is considered as subject, and a fellow community member whom he chose to help him is considered as object.

THE SPECIFIC CATEGORY OF ACTION

Several social scientists¹² who are Latin-American specialists were asked to function as "judges" in the typing of the two communities under consideration. Each is intimately acquainted with Atirro and San Juan Sur. They responded to the schedule included here as Figure 3. The instructions that they followed, as well as the continua offered them, are seen in the figure.

¹⁰ Various terms are used for informal leaders in Latin America who may resemble ward heelers or public opinion leaders in the United States. *Gamonal*, *caudillo*, *quayacan*, and *cacique* are used, depending on the area.

¹¹ Charles P. Loomis, paper read at Founders Day Institute, Boston University, 1953.

¹² Antonio M. Arce, Eduardo Arze Loureiro, Charles Proctor, Roy A. Clifford, and Manuel Alers Montalvo independently typed Atirro and San Juan Sur. Olen Leonard and Wilson Longmore used the same procedures but typed other large-estate communities and communities of family-sized Latin-American farms known intimately to them.

FIG. 3

THE SCHEDULE

(As Used by Latin-American Specialists in Scaling Relationships)

INSTRUCTIONS: Assume that in both the community of family-sized farms (San Juan Sur) and the large-estate community (Atirro) two leaders are organizing a reception for the national president who has just informed the leader in the subject role that he will arrive on the next day. The status-roles which structure the interaction which is to be placed on the continua are the following: hacienda community—subject is the administrator and object the next subordinate, e.g., the supervisor; community of family-sized farms—subject is the most powerful informal leader, the *gamonal*, in San Juan Sur (Maximino Torres) and the object whoever

helps him most in the execution of the act. In both cases the initiator of the action is the subject, administrator on the hacienda community and *gamonal* in the community of family-sized farms.

Place an *H* on each continuum below for the above-described action between the specified roles for the event and situation as indicated, for the hacienda community. Place an *F* on each continuum to indicate how the interaction event and situation for the *roles* specified would compare in the community of family-sized farms.

NORMS OF ORIENTATION OF THE SUBJECT TO OBJECT

1. AFFECTIVITY

5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5

AFFECTIVE NEUTRALITY

NOTE: Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action determined completely by emotions—love, hate, fear, and other emotions. Examples of interaction which would fall toward this pole are the following: mother as subject loving her child; Damon as subject pleading to die for his friend Pythias.

Position No. 5 as a polar type represents action completely devoid of feeling. Examples of hypothetical interaction which would fall close to this pole are the following: a robot commanding another actor; the hired gunman “cold-bloodedly” shooting his victim; a telephone operator giving the object the time of day at the response to a dial signal; etc.

2. PARTICULARISM

5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5

UNIVERSALISM

Position No. 5 as a polar type represents action governed only by the exigencies of the relationship of the immediate subject to object (or other particular relationship of subject) permitting the norms of no other reference system to have any influence. Examples which fall toward this pole: in government where subject and object are related by kinship-nepotism; also favoritism; a mother (subject) protecting and bearing false witness before a judge (object) for her son who she knows has committed murder in “cold blood.”

Position No. 5 as a polar type represents action governed entirely by norms of the reference system of the whole society. Examples which fall toward this pole: in government, where civil service rules and regulations, not kinship or friendship relations, guide action; a Damon or Pythias reports to the police his best friend as committing a murder which is known to no one else.

NORMS OF ORIENTATION PRESCRIBING ASPECTS OF OBJECT WHICH WILL DETERMINE ACTION AND SCOPE OF ACTION RELEVANT

3. ASCRIPTION
(QUALITY)

5 4 3 2 1 0 1 2 3 4 5

ACHIEVEMENT
(PERFORMANCE)

Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action determined completely by the qualities of the object—sex, age, race, etc., are the determinants on the level of the subject's action. Examples approaching this type: employing and paying women less than men are paid for the same work or vice versa; failure to obey fair employment practices laws.

Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action determined completely by the object's performance or potential performance. Examples approaching this type: subject paying object piece rates, disregarding race, creed, or any other quality, conforming to fair employment practices.

FIG. 3.—Continued

4. DIFFUSENESS											SPECIFICITY
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Position No. 5 as a polar type represents a situation in which the status-roles require that subject and object form a complete community of fate so that all of the object's being and existence is relevant to the subject. Examples approaching this type: the mother's range of interest in her child; the wife's interest in the husband.						Position No. 5 as a polar type represents a situation in which the status-role of the subject narrowly prescribes the scope of interest and responsibility of the subject for the object. Examples approaching this type: the subject's interest in the telephone operator as object in the act of telephoning; the patron of the prostitute as object and the prostitute as subject vice versa; doctor (object)-patient (subject) relationship falls this side of continuum.					
5. TRADITIONAL											RATION
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action entirely determined by customary ways and procedures coming down from the past. Examples approaching this type: where protocol, convention, or custom dictates action irrespective of its efficiency. Hypothetical case: The servant lets his beloved master be killed by thieves in the bedroom because tradition prohibits the servant from addressing the master directly in the bedroom.						Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action currently planned to maximize gratification to the subject and minimizing his expenditure of effort, time, and money. Examples approaching this type: those between buyer and seller at the market place.					
6. FAMILISTIC											CONTRACTUAL
5	4	3	2	1	0	1	2	3	4	5	
Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action in which the subject is motivated to affectivity, particularism, ascription, and diffuseness as typed above. If the relationship of the mother to the child is taken as an example for most cultures, all four items register toward the polar type. Whoever in the family is the task-assigner and disciplinarian may play a role which is placed lower on the affectivity continuum composing this "sponge" but meaningful type.						Position No. 5 as the polar type represents action governed by contract such as those between buyer and seller in the market. The marriage contract (really a misnomer) does not belong here. Typically, such relations between subject and object are affectively neutral, universalistic, and functionally specific, and, if not involving the object himself in the contract (as a slave or serf) but rather his services or wares, are oriented to achievement or performance. Even in the latter case it may have this orientation. The doctor (subject) and patient (object) relationship falls on this side. Also it falls on this side for all continua above.					

SUBTYPES OR COMPONENT CONTINUA OF THE GENERAL TYPES

On hypothetical grounds we have accepted the *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* types as the most general forms relevant to our problem. Figure 3 provides the subtypes

¹³ The continua presented in Fig. 3 (except one) were used in various forms to type students' relations to their fathers at age fifteen and their relations as GI's to commanding officers in army camps during World War II and to compare a government bureau, a Spanish-American ditch co-operative, and an Amish family. In the original presentation (Loomis and Beegle, *Rural Social Systems* [New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950], chap. i and Appendix A), the one subtype not used was Parsons' pattern variable: ascription (quality) versus achievement (performance), which was submerged

or component continua which we believe are the chief constituents of these general types. In typing the relationships as presented in Figure 3, an attempt was made to communicate the meaning of the continua through characteristics of their poles.¹³

in the more general terms familistic versus contractual. The other three subtypes at the top of Fig. 3 are Parsons', which he used as dichotomies entering in at four different levels of action (Parsons, *op. cit.*). These variables can also be conceived of as systemic attributes and treated as continua. We may therefore speak of "more or less" rather than "either/or" and conceive of communities as going concerns whose behavior conforms and deviates in varying degrees from the polar ends of the continua.

The judges' reactions are portrayed schematically in Figure 4. Different "profiles" emerged for the two communities. The two systems tended to scale out toward opposite poles of the typology, sharp and significant differences being thereby established.

tive neutrality, universalism, achievement, specificity, rationality, and contractual and hence becomes subject to hypotheses and statements made about *Gesellschaft* or secular communities. If these two communities are actually representative of other large-

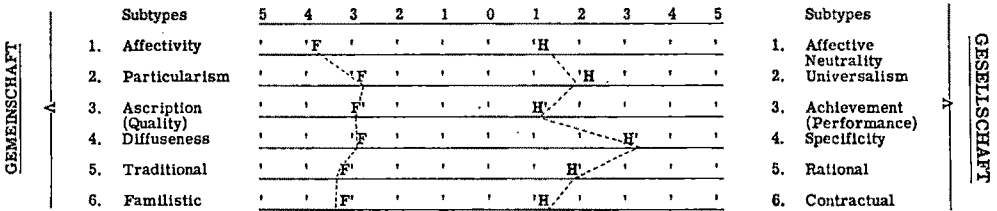


FIG. 4.—Profiles typing norms of orientation of subject to object in large-estate community and community of family-sized farms (Atirro and San Juan Sur, Costa Rica, 1954). *F* designates the profile of the relationship of informal community leader and an assistant in a community of family farms. *H* designates the profile of the relationship of the manager to an immediate superordinate, the supervisor, in the large-estate community.

CONCLUSIONS

In so far as a specific manifestation of the employment of power in San Juan Sur tended toward the affectivity, particularistic, ascription, diffuseness, traditional, and familistic poles, it becomes subject to the hypotheses and statements made about *Gemeinschaft* or sacred communities. In contrast, Atirro under comparable conditions tended toward the opposite poles of affect-

estate and family-farm communities in Latin America, then we have solid grounds for saying that the large-estate community possesses a different order of accessibility, socially and culturally. Moreover, we are justified in saying that the instigation of any change will necessarily have to follow different procedures, adapted to the two distinctly different social structures.

MICHIGAN STATE UNIVERSITY

ABSENTEE-OWNED CORPORATIONS AND COMMUNITY POWER STRUCTURE

ROLAND J. PELLEGRIN AND CHARLES H. COATES

ABSTRACT

In a southern metropolis absentee-owned corporations play a vital role in civic affairs and policies. Executives, in representing their organizations and in furthering their own careers, seek to protect the corporation's interests and to foster and maintain conservative, business-oriented values and policies. The executive has a variety of motivations for civic participation, and participation is part of his expected role. His behavior is controlled by the corporation he represents.

The stratification system of a given community attains stability and remains basically unaltered over relatively long periods of time because, as shown in recent studies, the control of community affairs and policies resides in dominant interest groups which feel little incentive to disrupt the existing pattern of superordination and subordination. These groups exercise power¹ which is infinitely out of proportion to their number.

The mechanics of control by minority are clearly revealed in Floyd Hunter's work *Community Power Structure*.² Hunter examined the roles in community affairs and policy-making played by various cliques or "crowds" of leaders from the realms of business, finance, and industry. The power of these individuals and groups, he states, is effectively channeled through organizations, committees, and agencies which are concerned with community affairs—plans, projects, and policies.³ Following his argument, this paper deals with the role played by executives of absentee-owned corporations in organized groups, such as associations,

clubs, councils, and committees. Data were gathered between June, 1954, and May, 1955, through intensive interviews with fifty leading executives of the community and other persons who have worked with and observed corporation executives.

THE COMMUNITY SETTING

Bigtown, the nucleus of a southern metropolitan area of approximately 200,000 inhabitants, is a fictitious name for a rapidly growing city whose rise to economic prominence in the region and nation has been meteoric. Above all, its growth is a consequence of new industrial plants. The residents of Bigtown derive their livelihoods from a variety of sources, but the most vital elements in the economic structure of the city are a number of absentee-owned corporations which manufacture and process industrial products mainly for non-local consumption. The plants not only employ a large proportion of Bigtown's citizens and set the local wage pattern but make possible the existence of a multitude of smaller industrial and business concerns. The development of community facilities and services is in part dependent upon their financial contributions⁴ and their co-operation in programs designed to improve the city. In short, they play a pre-eminent role in the dynamics of Bigtown life.

¹ "Power" is defined herein as the ability to direct and control the activities of others in the pursuit of goals which are established in accordance with a given set of social values.

² Floyd Hunter, *Community Power Structure: A Study of Decision-Makers* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1953).

³ Floyd Hunter, *Host Community and Air Force Base* (Air Force Base Project Technical Rept. No. 8 [Maxwell A.F.B., Ala.: Research Institute, Human Resources, 1952]), p. 5.

⁴ Corporations not only pay taxes (directly and indirectly) but make outright gifts to community projects and collect contributions from their employees during various fund-raising "drives."

THE POWER STRUCTURE, CIVIC AFFAIRS,
AND THE CORPORATION

American cities apparently vary considerably in the extent to which dominant interest groups are united effectively for coordinated control of community affairs. As Hunter describes the situation in Regional City, groups are drawn together through mutual interests and common values and are held together by strong leadership, which integrates their efforts.⁵ The cliques or crowds "go along" with one another's projects in anticipation of future reciprocity.

The leaders of Bigtown, many of whom are of cosmopolitan backgrounds, tend to view this pattern of control as ideal. They dwell at great length upon the power structure of other cities in which they have resided, where an informal "Committee of 50," "Citizens' Council," or like group controls civic affairs with a firm hand. These glowing accounts are typically accompanied by a pessimistic description of the situation in Bigtown. This community, as analyzed by some of its outstanding men, has a number of powerful interest groups but lacks effective liaison among them and leadership to unite them. Under these circumstances, a given "crowd" is unlikely to participate in a proposed project unless it foresees tangible gain.

This situation lends itself neither to effective community planning nor to adequate facilities and services for the citizenry. Many plans and projects are initiated by individuals and groups, but few indeed are carried through to fruition, either because of a lack of co-operation among powerful groups or negative reactions by one or more "crowds." The shortcomings of the city are popularly ascribed, however, not to power conflicts or apathy but to the rapid growth of the city and to the failings of its governmental officials.⁶

In the relative power vacuum which exists in Bigtown, community projects are usually doomed if they lack the approval of the industrial, absentee-owned corporations. There is no single crowd or clique of representatives of them, but their top executives

communicate with one another informally and arrive at agreement on matters of policy. The executives of each corporation are then informed of the decision, making it possible for given community projects to be supported or vetoed through united action. Corporation support probably assures the success of a proposed project, while disapproval spells doom for it. Thus absentee-owned corporations are a decisive force in the power structure of Bigtown, since they constitute a balance of power among the competing interest groups of the community. On the other hand, as initiators of projects or policies, the corporations can ordinarily get support from a sufficient number of other enterprises to put across their goals.

Corporate participation in Bigtown's civic affairs has followed an intriguing pattern. While the interests of a corporation extend far beyond the local community and it is primarily concerned with furthering its own goals rather than those of cities in which its branches are located, there has been a tendency for absentee-owned corporations in the South to adopt local customs and practices, including a paternalistic attitude toward both their employees and the community.⁷ The corporations of Big-

⁵ *Community Power Structure*, chap. iv.

⁶ The typical interviewee in this study described local governmental officials as relatively powerless figures who do not have the backing of influential groups but secured their positions through the support of working-class voters. Indeed, these officials were more often than not targets of ridicule for those who evaluated their positions in the power structure. Note the differences in roles between these officials and those of Regional City, where governmental figures are subservient to the dominant interest groups (see *ibid.*, p. 102). The relative lack of integration of Bigtown's interest groups makes it possible for governmental officials to sponsor civic projects which are sometimes successful, in spite of opposition from one or another of the "crowds." Interest groups find it difficult to express publicly opposition to projects which attract widespread public support. To do so would be "bad public relations," perhaps unprofitable in the long run.

⁷ Cf. Harriet L. Herring, "The Outside Employer in the Southern Industrial Pattern," *Social Forces*, XVIII (October, 1939), 115-26.

town have exhibited considerable interest in civic affairs, justifying their participation publicly in terms of "making this a better place for all of us to live." In past decades, of course, additional motivation for becoming community-conscious has been found in the corporation's concern for favorable taxation rates and good labor relations and for securing needed local facilities and services for its expanding enterprises. Thus a need for a favorable public conception of the corporation has been felt for a considerable period.

Recent changes in the region and nation, however, have also promoted the corporate concern with public sentiment. The threat posed by the gains of organized labor in the South has greatly stimulated the desire to develop and maintain a favorable public image as a weapon for use in labor-management controversy. There exists in Bigtown, as elsewhere in the nation, an almost incredible preoccupation with "public relations"—i.e., a constant and vociferous campaign designed to apprise the populace of the magnanimity and generosity of the corporations. Local media of communication constantly provide tangible evidence of corporate altruism in the form of statements concerning substantial financial contributions to civic projects and the heavy burdens of civic duties carried by top executives.

David Riesman has called attention to the emerging pattern of "conspicuous production" or "conspicuous corporate consumption," by means of which a corporation seeks prestige and plaudits for providing new employee benefits and services, luxurious buildings, machinery designed with aesthetic values in mind, and the like—much of which can hardly be justified economically.⁸ In the same way, the corporations are contributing money and time to community projects as a favored means of creating and reinforcing a favorable public image of the corporation.

⁸ "New Standards for Old: From Conspicuous Consumption to Conspicuous Production," in his *Individualism Reconsidered and Other Essays* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954), pp. 228–29.

It must be strongly emphasized, however, that this active participation in civic affairs is motivated primarily by a desire to present the corporation to the citizenry in as favorable a light as possible and to maintain zealous guard over the corporation's interest and prerogatives. Not only does the corporation dictate the terms, but it decides what *social values* are to be implemented by its choice of projects and the policies followed by its agents. This is indeed participation with a purpose, the purpose being a double one: to further corporate interests and to exercise control over civic affairs in order to preserve the values of a conservative, business-oriented ideology. This is clearly revealed by an analysis of the role of the corporation executive in civic affairs.

THE EXECUTIVE'S CIVIC PARTICIPATION

Extent and types of participation.—The executives of Bigtown's absentee-owned corporations are discriminating in their choice of civic associations. The modal number of affiliations with local organizations per person is but two, as contrasted with a modal number of four organizational memberships for executives in all other types of industrial, business, and financial enterprises.⁹ Citing the number of memberships, however, is likely to give a misleading impression of the influence of corporation executives in civic affairs. When the types of organizations to which they belong are analyzed, it is discovered that in 60 per cent of the cases they belong to *both* of the two most powerful organizations in the community.¹⁰

⁹ In contrast, executives in absentee-owned corporations had twice as many memberships in state and national organizations as did the other executives (modal numbers, 2 and 1, respectively). These comparisons of local and non-local affiliations of the two groups may indicate the relative lack of dependence of the former upon the community for a livelihood, prestige, etc. The personal futures of the former group are much less tied in with the fortunes of Bigtown than are those of the latter.

¹⁰ In 90 per cent of the cases, membership was held in at least one of these two top organizations. Executives from other types of enterprises were also well represented in the two organizations—42 per cent belonged to both, and 77 per cent to one or the

These two are policy- and decision-making bodies that play a vital role in charting the course of Bigtown's plans and projects.

Conversely, the executives of the absentee-owned corporations are heavily under-represented in the less powerful organizations of the community. The restriction of their memberships primarily to the "elite" organizations not only shows a personal lack of interest in the lesser ones but means that the numerous youth, welfare, "uplift," fraternal, and other agencies are dependent upon others for support, direction, and sponsorship. A few of the top corporation executives participate in the work of these groups, primarily as members of boards of directors. They are especially likely to be found in organizations charged with the responsibility of disbursing large sums of money, since they are interested in the uses to which the money will be put. In general, however, the least influential organizations of Bigtown are forced to content themselves with membership from middle management and junior executive levels.¹¹

The assignment of civic and committee memberships.—Typically, the absentee-

other. Being from many enterprises, these persons outnumber the executives from absentee-owned corporations in these two organizations. It should be noted, however, that, because of the size and influence of the large absentee-owned corporations, each is allotted more memberships in these organizations than are given to smaller enterprises. Since there is agreement within the absentee-owned corporation as to policies and procedures to be followed by its executives and since the interests of these corporations are generally not conflicting, their executives constitute an effective minority in dealing with the executives from other enterprises, which frequently represent conflicting interests.

¹¹ To his superiors, "excellent service" in these civic groups identifies the junior executive as responsible and clear-thinking. The young executive, in turn, may regard his civic duties as a means of demonstrating an ability to serve his employers in a higher capacity.

The assignment of junior executives to civic projects is discussed in Aileen D. Ross, "The Social Control of Philanthropy," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (March, 1953), 451-60. This article provides keen insight into corporate participation in civic "drives" or "canvasses."

owned corporation in Bigtown has a list of executives eligible for membership in power-wielding civic organizations and for service on various "citizens'" committees and commissions created to plan for and supervise important special community projects. Community leaders generally expect the corporation to provide civic leadership commensurate with its size and influence; similarly, the corporation anticipates adequate representation in groups which chart the course of community affairs.

Almost without exception, the men chosen to represent the corporation are high-level executives with lengthy service. They have demonstrated time and again that they are familiar with corporation policies and that they can be relied upon to do a good job of representing the company and its interests. They will express opinions on any subject which indicate that they cherish the "proper" social values.

Executives are expected to belong to civic organizations and serve on committees as part of their jobs. The process by which an individual receives a committee assignment was described by an interviewee as follows:

Let's suppose that Mr. X, a community leader or government official, is lining up men to serve on an important new committee or commission. He will contact the top executive in a corporation, Mr. Y, and explain the situation to him. Mr. X will then ask Mr. Y to provide him with a certain number of men. Sometimes the two disagree concerning the number to be assigned. Mr. Y will demand more representation if he evaluates the matter as important to the corporation's interests or if it involves basic community policy. If he feels the matter relatively unimportant, he will try to cut down the number of men he has to assign. If Mr. X especially wants a specific executive, say Mr. Z, to serve on his committee, he might ask Mr. Y for him. Mr. Y may agree to this choice, or he may not. In any case, his decisions are the final ones. He can always justify denying the request by stating that Mr. Z is too busy.

Sometimes, if Mr. Z is widely known to have clearance for such activities from his superiors, Mr. X will contact him directly. In such a case, Mr. Z would O.K. the matter "upstairs" before committing himself.

If an executive is not on the "approved list," he is unlikely either to be given permission to serve or to absent himself from his job during working hours, even if he should volunteer. Interviewees emphasized that only if there were a great deal of "public pressure," would a man not on the list obtain clearance to serve.¹² Another interviewee, who is in a position to be well acquainted with the practices of his own corporation, put the matter this way:

Only a man who is naïve would accept invitations to participate in important community affairs without the blessings of Mr. A, the top executive in our company. For a man to ignore the usual procedures for getting clearance, he'd either have to be unconcerned about his career or else be a complete ass. In fact, in my company, *executives at any level have to clear all their organizational memberships with top management.*

Policy and tactics.—As an agent of his corporation, the executive is cautious in his public pronouncements. His superiors expect him to keep in mind company policies and interests, and he knows that he should emphasize at opportune moments a firm conviction that what is good for the corporation is good for the community. These expectations are not difficult to adhere to when he participates in organized groups, such as associations and clubs. The individual is informed ahead of time what the position of his company will be, and no decisions on his part are required. He merely has to proceed in accordance with predetermined policies and tactics.

It is through an examination of the executive's role in committees and councils created for specific projects that we gain insight into the extent to which his behavior is conditioned by the expectations of his superiors. Prior to the first meeting of a given committee or other similar group, the executive usually receives a briefing from his superiors

¹² This "public pressure," the authors concluded, consists of demands for an individual's services after he had demonstrated at a lower level that he is either an unusually competent "idea man" or a workhorse.

on the company's position in the matter involved. In committee meetings he listens carefully for sentiments expressed by others and then reports the proceedings to his company. Thus his superiors are kept informed of what transpires, and he receives instructions as the project proceeds. If a committee unexpectedly seeks a vote on an issue which is not on the prepared agenda, the executive may plead for a recess in order to telephone for instructions. If the word must come from the national head office, he may seek a longer delay by suggesting "Let's sleep on it!"

In civic matters, as reworked, the corporation seeks not only to protect and foster its own interests but to promote a conservative, business-oriented ideology. The general procedure is for Bigtown's executives to state their opinions in such a manner as to imply that anyone holding different ones is stupid, uninformed, or possibly subversive. The implication is that all "right-thinkers" must believe as the executives do. Thus a dissenter would be forced into a defense not only of his social values but of his intelligence and his patriotism.

Executives are constantly on guard lest fellow committee members divert funds to new projects suggestive of the "welfare state." Advocates of such measures are speedily labeled "controversial" and, if they persist, are referred to as "cranks" or "subversives"—a term once used only for political traitors. Deviants of this nature are, in the long run, however, weeded out; they are not able to obtain appointments to other committees. An old-timer, involved in such measures scores of times during the previous thirty years, observed:

We freeze out these New Dealers and other Reds. When we appoint people to important committee posts, we look at their record. If an individual has gone all out on some crazy idea, his goose is cooked. If I am chairman of a group that is making appointments, I go stone deaf whenever someone suggests the name of one of these radicals. My hearing improves when a good, reliable person is mentioned as a possibility.

Said another informant:

It frequently happens in the course of a meeting that someone will call attention to the heavy burden of civic responsibilities that is being carried by a small proportion of the population. Someone will say, "My God, it's a shame that just a few of us have to do all the work. Why, this community is just full of talented people who could help a lot, if only they wouldn't shirk their civic duties."

At this point heads will nod vigorous assent, and comments along the same lines will be made by several persons. Then someone else will say, "Yes, all of this is true, but we have to select people we can depend on." Everybody agrees emphatically with this too, so the idea of enlarging the circle of policy-makers is dropped.

Thus a bow is made in the direction of what might be termed more democratic participation of the citizenry in policy-making. As Hunter has pointed out in the case of Regional City, however, community projects can be carried out successfully only if the small group of policy-makers can marshal the co-operation of large numbers of lower-level workers who will perform the labor required to transform the policies and decisions into reality.¹³ When Bigtown's leaders speak of the desirability of increasing participation in community affairs, they are referring to their wish for more followers, not leaders.

The individual's motivation for civic participation.—C. Wright Mills and Melville J. Ulmer have pointed out that the executive depends for his career advancement upon his superiors rather than upon local individuals or institutions, and hence he is much more concerned with the affairs of the corporation than he is with those of the community.¹⁴ This correctly implies that his civic participation tends to be a by-product of his job and his desire for career advance-

ment. In the modern corporation the executive role requires a considerable capacity for organizing and manipulating ideas, men, and materials. A demonstration of ability in civic matters may well lead a man's superiors to exploit his talents in the administration of the corporation's internal affairs. Moreover, in his work with influential people in civic organizations and committees, the individual acquires experience and contacts which contribute to his personal development. Hence the executive may, through his outside activities, gain promotion for himself within his own organization.

Top executives of Bigtown are afforded many opportunities for gaining publicity for themselves and their corporations. Not only are these men granted clearance for civic participation by their superiors, but they are invited to join many civic organizations. It is even possible for an executive to migrate to Bigtown from outside the South and in a short time become known as an outstanding civic leader.

The junior executive, through his participation in the lower levels of civic organizations of less prestige and power, can likewise build a reputation in a hurry. This attention-getting activity is especially important for young men employed in corporations in which the individual tends to be just one of a large and "anonymous" mass of junior executives.

Thus the desire for advancement in his career motivates a man to play a part in civic affairs. It would be a mistake, however, to assume that executives are active in community affairs solely to promote their own careers or the interests of the corporation. Not only are there many reasons why men become concerned with the affairs of the community, but a given individual may have several reasons for his activities. Some executives, for example, seem quite concerned with the "sorry state" of community services in Bigtown and cherish an altruistic hope of contributing toward improvement.

It should be added that another motive for civic participation is emerging from the peculiar role which the corporation execu-

¹³ *Community Power Structure*, p. 65.

¹⁴ *Small Business and Civic Welfare: Report of the Smaller War Plants Corporation to the Special Committee To Study Problems of American Small Business* (Senate Doc. No. 135 [79th Cong., 2d sess.]) (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1946), p. 26.

tive plays in modern society. As contrasted with the earlier elite of the capitalistic world, the business owner, the modern executive is not an entrepreneur. He manages his corporation, but he does not own it. He is usually not wealthy and cannot indulge in flagrant conspicuous consumption. Subject to control by his own superiors, he is not free and independent. This situation led several interviewees, both corporation and non-corporation men, to speculate on civic participation as a means of compensating for the executive's lack of real power. One of Bigtown's entrepreneurs, quite conscious of his own powerful position, made the following remarks:

I've been observing these corporation executives in action for about thirty years. Two things about them have really impressed me. One is their frustrated desire to be free and independent—that is, to be able to make independent decisions and exercise personal power. The other thing is the lengths to which they will go to conceal from their subordinates and the public at large their subservience to their masters up above, either locally or in the corporation's national headquarters.

The fact is that these fellows nurse a tremendous desire to be big-shot capitalists. But they are not, and they know it. Some of them try to hide this fact by holding a tight rein on their subordinates, using this means to demonstrate their power. Others try to further the impression that they are big shots by being hyperactive in community affairs.

Thus, lacking many of the satisfactions and powers of the entrepreneur, the corporation executive seeks means of displaying authority and independence which he knows to be functions of his position rather than his personal prerogatives. He may conceal

his frustrations by playing to the hilt the role of entrepreneur, so long as his own superiors do not see fit to curtail his activities and restrict his powers.

This research report has focused upon the influence of absentee-owned corporations and their executives in the civic affairs of a single community; hence the extent to which the phenomena described and analyzed are typical of American cities must be determined by further comparative research. Future investigations may identify circumstances making for variation in the patterns of informal control in various types of urban environment.

It should be observed that this analysis of Bigtown's power structure has centered attention solely upon one interest group—the absentee-owned corporations. A broader investigation would examine the structures and functions of the multitude of other competing-co-operating factions which actively seek to influence policy-making in civic affairs.

Attention has also been concentrated in this study upon the role of executives in civic matters deemed important to those in control of the corporation and which are potentially controversial—i.e., matters involving decisions to be made in terms of goals and values. Happily, perhaps, not all community affairs are decided in an arena in which the combatants are hostile and competing interest groups. Some matters are resolved through quick consensus, since all agree on the desirability of certain goals.

LOUISIANA STATE UNIVERSITY
UNIVERSITY OF MARYLAND

CONDITIONS OF SUCCESSFUL DEGRADATION CEREMONIES

HAROLD GARFINKEL¹

ABSTRACT

Communicative work directed to transforming an individual's total identity into an identity lower in the group's scheme of social types is called a "status degradation ceremony." To reconstitute the other as a social object, the denouncer must get the witnesses to appreciate the perpetrator and the blameworthy event as instances of an extraordinary uniformity, in dialectical contrast to ultimately valued, routine orders of personnel and action. The denouncer must publicly claim and manage the status of bona fide representative of the group of witnesses. From this position he must name the perpetrator an "outsider." Organizational variables will determine the effectiveness of a program of degradation tactics.

Any communicative work between persons, whereby the public identity of an actor is transformed into something looked on as lower in the local scheme of social types, will be called a "status degradation ceremony." Some restrictions on this definition may increase its usefulness. The identities referred to must be "total" identities. That is, these identities must refer to persons as "motivational" types rather than as "behavioral" types,² not to what a person may be expected to have done or to do (in Parsons' term,³ to his "performances") but to what the group holds to be the ultimate "grounds" or "reasons" for his performance.⁴

The grounds on which a participant achieves what for him is adequate understanding of why he or another acted as he did are not treated by him in a utilitarian manner. Rather, the correctness of an imputation is decided by the participant in accordance with socially valid and institution-

ally recommended standards of "preference." With reference to these standards, he makes the crucial distinctions between appearances and reality, truth and falsity, triviality and importance, accident and essence, coincidence and cause. Taken together, the grounds, as well as the behavior that the grounds make explicable as the other person's conduct, constitute a person's identity. Together, they constitute the other as a social object. Persons identified by means of the ultimate "reasons" for their socially categorized and socially understood behavior will be said to be "totally" identified. The degradation ceremonies here discussed are those that are concerned with the alteration of total identities.

It is proposed that only in societies that are completely demoralized, will an observer be unable to find such ceremonies, since only in total anomie are the conditions of degradation ceremonies lacking. Max Scheler⁵ argued that there is no society that does not provide in the very features of its organization the conditions sufficient for inducing shame. It will be treated here as axiomatic that there is no society whose social structure does not provide, in its routine features, the conditions of identity degradation. Just as the structural conditions of shame are universal to all societies by the very fact of their being organized, so the structural conditions of status degradation are universal to all societies. In this framework the critical

¹ Acknowledgment is gratefully made to Erving Goffman, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Maryland, and to Sheldon Messinger, Social Science Research Council pre-doctoral fellow, University of California, Los Angeles, for criticisms and editorial suggestions.

² These terms are borrowed from Alfred Schutz, "Common Sense and Scientific Interpretation of Human Action," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. XIV, No. 1 (September, 1953).

³ Talcott Parsons and Edward Shils, "Values, Motives, and Systems of Action," in Parsons and Shils (eds.), *Toward a General Theory of Action* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1951).

⁴ Cf. the writings of Kenneth Burke, particularly *Permanence and Change* (Los Altos, Calif.: Hermes Publications, 1954), and *A Grammar of Motives* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1945).

⁵ Richard Hays Williams, "Scheler's Contributions to the Sociology of Affective Action, with Special Attention to the Problem of Shame," *Philosophy and Phenomenological Research*, Vol. II, No. 3 (March, 1942).

question is not whether status degradation occurs or can occur within any given society. Instead, the question is: Starting from any state of a society's organization, what program of communicative tactics will get the work of status degradation done?

First of all, two questions will have to be decided, at least tentatively: *What are we referring to behaviorally when we propose the product of successful degradation work to be a changed total identity?* And *what are we to conceive the work of status degradation to have itself accomplished or to have assumed as the conditions of its success?*

I

Degradation ceremonies fall within the scope of the sociology of moral indignation. Moral indignation is a social affect. Roughly speaking, it is an instance of a class of feelings particular to the more or less organized ways that human beings develop as they live out their lives in one another's company. Shame, guilt, and boredom are further important instances of such affects.

Any affect has its behavioral paradigm. That of shame is found in the withdrawal and covering of the portion of the body that socially defines one's public appearance—prominently, in our society, the eyes and face. The paradigm of shame is found in the phrases that denote removal of the self from public view, i.e., removal from the regard of the publicly identified other: "I could have sunk through the floor; I wanted to run away and hide; I wanted the earth to open up and swallow me." The feeling of guilt finds its paradigm in the behavior of self-abnegation—disgust, the rejection of further contact with or withdrawal from, and the bodily and symbolic expulsion of the foreign body, as when we cough, blow, gag, vomit, spit, etc.

The paradigm of moral indignation is *public* denunciation. We publicly deliver the curse: "I call upon all men to bear witness that he is not as he appears but is otherwise and *in essence*⁶ of a lower species."

The social affects serve various functions both for the person as well as for the collec-

tivity. A prominent function of shame for the person is that of preserving the ego from further onslaughts by withdrawing entirely its contact with the outside. For the collectivity shame is an "individuator." One experiences shame in his own time.

Moral indignation serves to effect the ritual destruction of the person denounced. Unlike shame, which does not bind persons together, moral indignation may reinforce group solidarity. In the market and in politics, a degradation ceremony must be counted as a secular form of communion. Structurally, a degradation ceremony bears close resemblance to ceremonies of investiture and elevation. How such a ceremony may bind persons to the collectivity we shall see when we take up the conditions of a successful denunciation. Our immediate question concerns the meaning of ritual destruction.

In the statement that moral indignation brings about the ritual destruction of the person being denounced, destruction is intended literally. The transformation of identities is the destruction of one social object and the constitution of another. The transformation does not involve the substitution of one identity for another, with the terms of the old one loitering about like the overlooked parts of a fresh assembly, any more than the woman we see in the department-store window that turns out to be a dummy carries with it the possibilities of a woman. It is not that the old object has been overhauled; rather it is replaced by another. One declares, "*Now*, it was otherwise in the first place."

The work of the denunciation effects the recasting of the objective character of the perceived other: The other person becomes in the eyes of his condemners literally a different and *new* person. It is not that the new attributes are added to the old "nucleus." He is not changed, he is reconstituted. The

⁶ The man at whose hands a neighbor suffered death becomes a "murderer." The person who passes on information to enemies is really, i.e., "in essence," "in the first place," "all along," "in the final analysis," "originally," an informer.

former identity, at best, receives the accent of mere appearance. In the social calculus of reality representations and test, the former identity stands as accidental; the new identity is the "basic reality." What he is now is what, "after all," he was all along.⁷

The public denunciation effects such a transformation of essence by substituting another socially validated motivational scheme for that previously used to name and order the performances of the denounced. It is with reference to this substituted, socially validated motivational scheme as the essential grounds, i.e., the *first principles*, that his performances, past, present, and prospective, according to the witnesses, are to be properly and necessarily understood.⁸ Through the interpretive work that respects this rule, the denounced person becomes in the eyes of the witnesses a different person.

II

How can one make a good denunciation?⁹

To be successful, the denunciation must redefine the situations of those that are witnesses to the denunciation work. The denouncer, the party to be denounced (let us call him the "perpetrator"), and the thing that is being blamed on the perpetrator (let us call it the "event") must be transformed as follows:¹⁰

⁷ Two themes commonly stand out in the rhetoric of denunciation: (1) the irony between what the denounced appeared to be and what he is seen now really to be where the new motivational scheme is taken as the standard and (2) a re-examination and redefinition of origins of the denounced. For the sociological relevance of the relationship between concerns for essence and concerns for origins see particularly Kenneth Burke, *A Grammar of Motives*.

⁸ While constructions like "substantially a something" or "essentially a something" have been banished from the domain of scientific discourse, such constructions have prominent and honored places in the theories of motives, persons, and conduct that are employed in handling the affairs of daily life. Reasons can be given to justify the hypothesis that such constructions may be lost to a group's "terminology of motives" only if the relevance of socially sanctioned theories to practical problems is suspended. This can occur where interpersonal relations are trivial (such as during play) or, more interestingly, under severe demoralization of a system of activities. In such organizational states the frequency of status degradation is low.

1. Both event and perpetrator must be removed from the realm of their everyday character and be made to stand as "out of the ordinary."

2. Both event and perpetrator must be placed within a scheme of preferences that shows the following properties:

A. The preferences must not be for event A over event B, but for event of *type* A over event of *type* B. The same typing must be accomplished for the perpetrator. Event and perpetrator must be defined as instances of a uniformity and must be treated as a uniformity throughout the work of the denunciation. The unique, never recurring character of the event or perpetrator should be lost. Similarly, any sense of accident, coincidence, indeterminism, chance, or monetary occurrence must not merely be minimized. Ideally, such measures should be inconceivable; at least they should be made false.

B. The witnesses must appreciate the characteristics of the typed person and event by referring the type to a dialectical counterpart. Ideally, the witnesses should

⁹ Because the paper is short, the risk must be run that, as a result of excluding certain considerations, the treated topics may appear exaggerated. It would be desirable, for example, to take account of the multitude of hedges that will be found against false denunciation; of the rights to denounce; of the differential apportionment of these rights, as well as the ways in which a claim, once staked out, may become a vested interest and may tie into the contests for economic and political advantage. Further, there are questions centering around the appropriate arenas of denunciation. For example, in our society the tribal council has fallen into secondary importance; among lay persons the denunciation has given way to the complaint to the authorities.

¹⁰ These are the effects that the communicative tactics of the denouncer must be designed to accomplish. Put otherwise, in so far as the denouncer's tactics accomplish the reordering of the definitions of the situation of the witnesses to the denunciatory performances, the denouncer will have succeeded in effecting the transformation of the public identity of his victim. The list of conditions of this degrading effect are the determinants of the effect. Viewed in the scheme of a project to be rationally pursued, they are the adequate means. One would have to choose one's tactics for their efficiency in accomplishing these effects.

not be able to contemplate the features of the denounced person without reference to the counterconception, as the profanity of an occurrence or a desire or a character trait, for example, is clarified by the references it bears to its opposite, the sacred. The features of the mad-dog murderer reverse the features of the peaceful citizen. The confessions of the Red can be read to each the meanings of patriotism. There are many contrasts available, and any aggregate of witnesses this side of a complete war of each against all will have a plethora of such schemata for effecting a "familiar," "natural," "proper," ordering of motives, qualities, and other events.

From such contrasts, the following is to be learned. If the denunciation is to take effect, the scheme must not be one in which the witness is allowed to elect the preferred. Rather, the alternatives must be such that the preferred is morally required. Matters must be so arranged that the validity of his choice, its justification, is maintained by the fact that he makes it.¹¹ The scheme of alternatives must be such as to place constraints upon his making a selection "for a purpose." Nor will the denunciation succeed if the witness is free to look beyond the fact that he makes the selection for evidence that the correct alternative has been chosen, as, for example, by the test of empirical consequences of the choice. The alternatives must be such that, in "choosing," he takes it for granted and beyond any motive for doubt that not choosing can mean only preference for its opposite.

3. The denouncer must so identify himself to the witnesses that during the denunciation they regard him not as a private but as a publicly known person. He must not portray himself as acting according to his personal, unique experiences. He must rather be regarded as acting in his capacity as a public figure, drawing upon communally entertained and verified experience. He must act as a bona fide participant in the tribal relationships to which the witnesses subscribe. What he says must not be regarded as true for him alone, not even in the sense that it can be regarded by denouncer

and witnesses as matters upon which they can become agreed. In no case, except in a most ironical sense, can the convention of true-for-reasonable-men be invoked. What the denouncer says must be regarded by the witnesses as true on the grounds of a socially employed metaphysics whereby witnesses assume that witnesses and denouncer are alike in essence.¹²

4. The denouncer must make the dignity of the supra-personal values of the tribe salient and accessible to view, and his denunciation must be delivered in their name.

5. The denouncer must arrange to be invested with the right to speak in the name of these ultimate values. The success of the denunciation will be undermined if, for his authority to denounce, the denouncer invokes the personal interests that he may have acquired by virtue of the wrong done to him or someone else. He must rather use the wrong he has suffered as a tribal member to invoke the authority to speak in the name of these ultimate values.

6. The denouncer must get himself so defined by the witnesses that they locate him as a supporter of these values.

7. Not only must the denouncer fix his distance from the person being denounced, but the witnesses must be made to experience their distance from him also.

8. Finally, the denounced person must be ritually separated from a place in the legitimate order, i.e., he must be defined as standing at a place opposed to it. He must be placed "outside," he must be made "strange."

These are the conditions that must be fulfilled for a successful denunciation. If they are absent, the denunciation will fail. Regardless of the situation when the denouncer enters, if he is to succeed in degrading the other man, it is necessary to introduce these features.¹³

¹¹ Cf. Gregory Bateson and Jurgen Ruesch, *Communication: The Social Matrix of Psychiatry* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1951), pp. 212-27.

¹² For bona fide members it is not that these are the grounds upon which we are agreed but upon which we are *alike*, consubstantial, in origin the same.

¹³ Neither of the problems of possible communicative or organizational conditions of their effective-

Not all degradation ceremonies are carried on in accordance with publicly prescribed and publicly validated measures. Quarrels which seek the humiliation of the opponent through personal invective may achieve degrading on a limited scale. Comparatively few persons at a time enter into this form of communion, few benefit from it, and the fact of participation does not give the witness a definition of the other that is standardized beyond the particular group or scene of its occurrence.

The devices for effecting degradation vary in the feature and effectiveness according to the organization and operation of the system of action in which they occur. In our society the arena of degradation whose product, the redefined person, enjoys the widest

ness have been treated here in systematic fashion. However, the problem of communicative tactics in degradation ceremonies is set in the light of systematically related conceptions. These conceptions may be listed in the following statements:

1. The definition of the situation of the witnesses (for ease of discourse we shall use the letter *S*) always bears a time qualification.

2. The *S* at t_2 is a function of the *S* at t_1 . This function is described as an operator that transforms the *S* at t_1 .

3. The operator is conceived as communicative work.

4. For a successful denunciation, it is required that the *S* at t_2 show specific properties. These have been specified previously.

5. The task of the denouncer is to alter the *S*'s of the witnesses so that these *S*'s will show the specified properties.

6. The "rationality" of the denouncer's tactics, i.e., their adequacy as a means for effecting the set of transformations necessary for effecting the identity transformation, is decided by the rule that the organizational and operational properties of the communicative net (the social system) are determinative of the size of the discrepancy between an intended and an actual effect of the communicative work. Put otherwise, the question is not that of the temporal origin of the situation but always and only how it is altered over time. The view is recommended that the definition of the situation at time 2 is a function of the definition at time 1 where this function consists of the communicative work conceived as a set of operations whereby the altered situation at time 1 is the situation at time 2. In strategy terms the function consists of the program of procedures that a denouncer should follow to effect the change of state S_{t1} to S_{t2} . In this paper S_{t1} is treated as an unspecified state.

transferability between groups has been rationalized, at least as to the institutional measures for carrying it out. The court and its officers have something like a fair monopoly over such ceremonies, and there they have become an occupational routine. This is to be contrasted with degradation undertaken as an immediate kinship and tribal obligation and carried out by those who, unlike our professional degraders in the law courts, acquire both right and obligation to engage in it through being themselves the injured parties or kin to the injured parties.

Factors conditioning the effectiveness of degradation tactics are provided in the organization and operation of the system of action within which the degradation occurs. For example, timing rules that provide for serial or reciprocal "conversations" would have much to do with the kinds of tactics that one might be best advised to use. The tactics advisable for an accused who can answer the charge as soon as it is made are in contrast with those recommended for one who had to wait out the denunciation before replying. Face-to-face contact is a different situation from that wherein the denunciation and reply are conducted by radio and newspaper. Whether the denunciation must be accomplished on a single occasion or is to be carried out over a sequence of "tries," factors like the territorial arrangements and movements of persons at the scene of the denunciation, the numbers of persons involved as accused, degraders, and witnesses, status claims of the contenders, prestige and power allocations among participants, all should influence the outcome.

In short, the factors that condition the success of the work of degradation are those that we point to when we conceive the actions of a number of persons as group-governed. Only some of the more obvious structural variables that may be expected to serve as predictors of the characteristics of denunciatory communicative tactics have been mentioned. They tell us not only how to construct an effective denunciation but also how to render denunciation useless.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA, LOS ANGELES

A TEST OF MESSAGE DIFFUSION BY CHAIN TAGS¹

STUART C. DODD

ABSTRACT

A new instrument, "chain tags," has been devised for getting measurable data on message diffusion. A dramatic and controllable method of starting the diffusion process, it can isolate, vary, or hold constant the maximum for each of the following variables, alone or in combination as desired: number of starters; number of eventual hearers; the acts-per-actor-per-remove or period; the total period, area, and population within which diffusion takes place; the number of removes; the interperson distances and periods. This study illustrates the usefulness of the chain-tags technique in testing a theoretical model of one-way human interacting and comparing the strength of different motivations to diffuse a message.

I. THE PROBLEM—TO PRODUCE AND TRACE DIFFUSION

The Washington Public Opinion Laboratory studied the problem of diffusing a message through the population of a given community and then tracing its diffusion.² It was found that, faced with the necessity of starting "rumors" which were both true and of intrinsic interest, the well-organized media of communication of the American public made it difficult to perform the task. Newsworthy items were soon picked up by existing mass media, leaving only relatively uninteresting material or material of inter-

est to only a few people to be passed on through informal diffusion. Getting purposive messages to spread widely in whole communities in the absence of any felt need for them was a difficult problem.

One type of message was found to have considerable appeal. This particular message concerned a coffee slogan, knowledge of which entitled the housewife to a free pound

dicted and a predictive "index of interactance." This index is defined as a product of the following relevant factors, each weighted by its exponent:

def.

$$[I_{pp} = kP_1^p A_1^a P_2^p A_2^a V^v T^t L^l C^c], \quad (1)$$

where

I_{pp} = The interactance index

= is defined as a weighted product of

k = a constant (to adjust units),

P_1^p = the actors,

A_1^a = their acts,

P_2^p = the reactors,

A_2^a = their reacts,

V^v = the conceptual stimuli or "values,"

T^t = the timing,

L^l = the spacing,

C^c = and other residual known conditions.

In our Pretest M on chain tags, the actors are givers of a packet, each act is giving a packet, the reactors are receivers of packets, and each react is one receipt; the values were the four motivations or verbal stimuli of Exhibit A; the timing was in ordinal units of removes; the intervening distances were neglected (i.e. $(L^l)^0 = 1$), and the conditions seemed otherwise fairly constant among the actors (i.e., $C^0 = 1$).

¹ "This research was supported in part by the United States Air Force under Contract AF 33(038)-27522, monitored by the Human Resources Research Institute (now, Officer Education Research Laboratory, Air Force Personnel and Training Research Center), Air Research and Development Command, Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama. Permission is granted for reproduction, translation, publication and distribution in part and in whole by or for the United States Government." For fuller description of the project see S. C. Dodd, "Testing Message Diffusion from Person to Person," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. XVI (spring, 1952). More detailed reporting may be secured in mimeographed form on application to the Public Opinion Laboratory.

² This study of diffusion is part of the laboratory's systematic testing of the interactance hypothesis, factor by factor, under controlled conditions (see S. C. Dodd, "The Interactance Hypothesis—a Gravity Model Fitting Physical Masses and Human Groups," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XV, No. 2 [April, 1950]; and *Systematic Social Science* ["American University of Beirut, Social Science Series," No. 16 (Seattle: University of Washington Bookstore, 1947)], pp. 547 ff.).

The interactance hypothesis expects high correlation between a human interactivity to be pre-

of coffee. Costs of the research were split between the coffee concern and our research organization, so that no advertising for this brand was paid for from our tax-supported funds. Nevertheless, there was criticism of this link to a commercial venture, and we decided not to repeat this type of message in our later research. On the other hand, messages which were of a civil-defense variety or of some equally socially approved nature were found to have little potency unless reinforced by dramatic means of starting the diffusion process. In one town, in the course of a previous study, a message was started with just one person. A later survey revealed that the original starter was the only person in the community who knew the message.

A second technical problem was to observe exactly the diffusing of any message. We needed to learn the mechanism: who tells what to whom, when and where, why and how? If such questions are asked in a census poll later, the memory error is large. Some device was needed to record each interact fully and as it occurred, without impeding the diffusing.

Therefore, the problem was to devise a measuring instrument and a means of starting the process of message diffusion which could give reliable and valid data and motivate the American population in peacetime to pass on the message quickly to a majority of the population. Such an instrument, the result of some dozen trials of different techniques, is described in this paper. It was developed to permit control over the number of message knowers, the number of removes (links) from the message starter, the activity rate or hearers-per-teller ratio, and the amount of time during which and the area and population in which the message diffusion took place. Any technique through which the experimenter can control (by the printed instructions he gives or by other action) the number of tellers, hearers, tellings, and their time and space intervals would help to answer the substantive questions of this "Project Revere." These questions were such as: How *fast* will a given

message spread under specifiable conditions? How *far*? How *fully* through all the population? How *faultlessly*? How *effectively* in stimulating specified complaint responses?

II. ONE SOLUTION—CHAINS OF TAGGED MESSAGES

One technique, named "Chain Tags," was found to fulfil all the requirements necessary. A chain tag is a cellophane-wrapped pack of identical postcards given to each of several starters in each of several communities. Each starter received a pack of ten postcards, opening to a subpack and a "tracer" card, which gave instructions and asked a few questions. The remaining subpack of nine identical cards in a single cellophane wrapping was to be passed on to anyone. The second person in the chain responded to a tracer card and passed on a subpack of eight. In this way each recipient gave away his one subpack and mailed in one filled-out tracer card. The tracer cards recorded the names and addresses of the givers and receivers, as well as the times and places of transfer and certain background data.

In the pretest of the new instrument, four communities were roughly matched on ecological and demographic variables recorded in the 1950 Census and in respect to their general economy and local history. Matching consisted of asking judges with the census and other data before them to choose the four most similar towns from the list of all towns in the state. Each of these four matched communities had approximately 1,000 population. Ten message starters, in each of the four towns, were the first links in the chain of ten card-receivers. The starter pack was delivered by a member of the Washington Public Opinion Laboratory staff to one person in each town in each of ten different occupations. The occupations and their representatives were chosen by a set of rules so as to be present in most towns. The occupations were (1) news editor, (2) town clerk, (3) seventh-grade teacher, (4) druggist, (5) grocer, (6) minister, (7) bartender, (8) realtor, (9) postmaster,

(10) barber. A minimum of explanation was given to each starter, his attention being directed to the instructions on his tracer card (see Exhibit A). These printed instructions were thus constant throughout this given chain. However, supplementary forms of stimulation, such as person-to-person comments as the cards moved through the chain, were not controlled.

III. AN EXPERIMENT—COMPARING FOUR MOTIVATIONS

A different message was printed on the card in each of the four towns (see Exhibit A). The message included one of the following appeals: (1) "Help Civil Defense," (2) "Help Scientific Research," (3) "Help Paul Revere" (this is a strengthened civil-defense appeal asking for modern Paul Revere techniques of passing on messages when no other means of communication is available), and (4) "Earn a Dollar." In the last of these four motivational appeals, when the tracer card, with prepaid postage, reached the laboratory, a dollar was delivered to the card sender.

Figure 1 and Table 1 show the distribution of returns by type of motivation and by removes. Forty per cent of the 400 cards given to 40 persons as starters were returned by mail by their 161 receivers, as requested on the card. This was a remarkably good showing in a peacetime situation asking for only voluntary co-operation.

The "Help Paul Revere" message, a modern civil-defense theme, netted the greatest return, with 55 per cent of the total number of cards sent in to the laboratory. It had the largest number of effective starters and a "compliance ratio" of 0.88. This means that at least 88 per cent of its receivers complied with instructions in passing the subpack on and mailing in the tracer card. (A few more may have passed on their subpacks, but if the recipients then failed to mail in their tracer cards, we would have no proof of it.) The dollar message had the greatest persistence, i.e., a higher compliance ratio of 94 per cent, with the largest number of complete packs of all ten links or removes re-

turned. However, only half the original starters complied with the instructions. These two messages ("Help Paul Revere" and "Earn a Dollar") were the most effective in motivating the population to pass on the chain tags. The patriotic appeal was superior to the commercial appeal both because of its swifter and larger total response and because of its lower cost in money and administrative effort. The fact that only one community was used for each motivation allows unknown differences between communities, not used in matching, to have an effect. Therefore, these results can be consid-

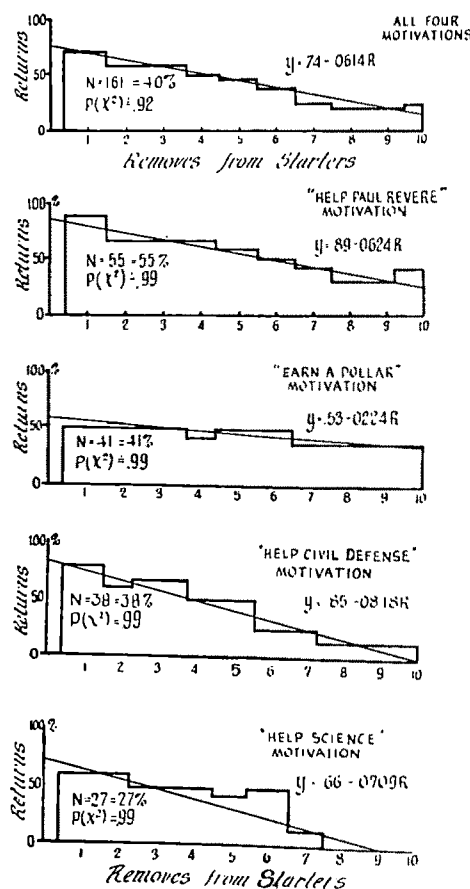


FIG. 1.—Per cent returns by removes. Fitted to straight-line trend for each of four motivations in four matched communities, showing that returns tend to wane with removes, i.e., diffusing decreases with time (in ordinal units).

ered only tentative until checked in at least one other set of matched communities.

Analysis of the time of giving and getting the chain tags, as noted on the tracer cards, showed that the median time taken to pass on the subpacks to a different household was 14 minutes. For the "Help Paul Revere" motivation this median time was only 10 minutes. This illustrates the ability of the chain-tags technique, given *some* effective motivation, to pass rapidly through a population which is not directly concerned with message diffusion. The speed of transmission

IV. THE GEOMETRIC GROWTH HYPOTHESIS TESTED

A hypothesis to be tested on the amount of compliance in the chain-tags experiment was the simple geometric series,

$$S = \frac{n [1 - (ab)^r]}{1 - ab}, \quad (2)$$

where S = total cards returned before deadline; n = number of starters; N = total number of possible returns; a = number of subpacks in each pack (=1 here); b =

TABLE 1
OBSERVED AND EXPECTED FREQUENCIES FROM GEOMETRIC SERIES MODEL
BY REMOVE AND BY MOTIVATION

REMOVE $i =$	ALL MOTIVATIONS		"CIVIL DEFENSE"		"HELP RESEARCH"		"HELP PAUL REVERE"		"GET A DOLLAR"	
	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.	Obs.	Exp.
Total.....	161	170	38	41	27	26	55	66	41	42
1.....	28	..	8	..	6	..	9	..	5	..
2.....	23	25	6	7	5	5	7	8	5	5
3.....	23	22	7	6	4	4	7	8	5	5
4.....	20	19	5	5	4	3	7	7	4	4
5.....	19	17	5	4	3	3	6	7	5	4
6.....	16	15	2	3	4	2	5	6	5	4
7.....	10	13	2	3	1	2	4	6	3	4
8.....	7	12	1	2	..	..	3	5	3	4
9.....	7	10	1	2	..	..	3	5	3	4
10.....	8	9	1	2	..	..	4	5	3	3
Correlation of ex- pected with observed (un- cumulated)....		.96		.93		.78		.91		.82

indicates that most persons allowed message diffusion to take precedence over their activity of the moment.

As might be expected, the later removes or links in the message chain usually take longer from the starting point than do earlier removes. However, analysis reveals that certain later-remove chains were quite fast, apparently because of the high degree of motivation of the starters. There is some evidence that remove time, if measured in clock units, i.e., the time for new links to form, varies with the kind of message. The dollar theme links were slow in forming, yet sure.

S/N = response level, i.e., proportion of returns; ab = average hearers-per-teller ratio; r = average number of removes = total number of transfers recorded \div number of starters if $a = 1$. This hypothesis was found to be inadequate for this experiment.

The definition of a remove in terms of average response per pack treats a remove as simply a function of response. The average response per pack was four, but there were ten removes observed in all but the case of "Help Research," where there were seven removes. Finally, and very important, no provision was made for ineffective starters, i.e., packs for which there were no observed removes.

In the light of these deficiencies, a new geometric series model was set up, in which b was redefined as the average proportion of response by each remove. Thus the b for a given remove, b_i , will be defined as a fraction whose numerator is the frequency of returns for the i th remove and whose denominator is the frequency of the i th - 1 remove. The average percentage from the second to the last remove will be taken as b . The first remove is not included, because the average percentage of returns is not intended to include ineffective or inactive starters, only effective starters. Also n , as redefined, is the number of original starters who were active and is represented by the number of first-remove cards returned. The total number of removes, r , as redefined, is the number of removes, excluding the first, from which at least one card was returned. Thus there now are nine removes, except in the case of the "Help Research" motivation, where $r - 1 = 6$.

An attempt will be made to fit this geometric model, stochastically, remove by remove, not in terms of calculating the end result in one step. The expected frequency for each remove in turn will be compared to the observed frequency:

$$S_i = \frac{n [1 - (ab)^{i-1}]}{1 - ab} \quad (3)$$

Table 1 gives the observed and expected frequency by removes and motivations for each motivation and for all cases taken together. The same material is presented in graphic form in Figure 1.

A preannounced standard for a satisfactory descriptive closeness of fit of the expected distribution to the observed data was a correlation coefficient above .90. Inspection of the last row of Table 1 shows that the correlation coefficients of the expected and observed data in the uncumulated data were quite high. Two of the four r 's for separate motivations passed our arbitrary standard of $r > .9$, while two did not. The combined closeness-of-fit correlation coefficient was .96 in uncumulated data

when using all forty original starters and their chains (see Fig. 2). The corresponding intraclass correlation was .91. One might conclude, therefore, that this high correlation showed that the data as a whole indicated the geometric series to be a satisfactorily close descriptive fit in the situation studied.³ Alternative models were set up

³ Alternative descriptive indices of fit are possible, of course. Thus the intraclass correlation is a more exacting descriptive measure of close fit than the Pearson correlation coefficient. The latter measures agreement in ranking, the cross-product moment, while the former also measures agreement of means and variances between the model and the data.

The fits for b and c and in Fig. 1 were determined by least-squares techniques. Of the ten observed points, two degrees of freedom were absorbed by either model b or model c , and two further degrees were absorbed by the correlation coefficient, leaving six degrees of freedom. The fit for a was made recursively point by point, using eq. (3) as stated in the text. This was done to explore the adequacy in these data of the reasoning underlying this geometric series model, even though it left no degrees of freedom to permit estimating to further sets of data by chi square or other tests of statistical significance. Consequently, chi squares are reported (as in Fig. 1) for the linear arithmetic series but not for the geometric series here. Even for the linear series in Fig. 1, however, the chi square is of dubious applicability. For there may be correlations between the increments in successive removes, making the observations in these time series depart from the assumption of independence to an unknown extent.

Similarly, the tests of statistical significance of the r (or of the z test when r is near unity and based on few cases, as here) seemed not strictly applicable. They were computed as an indication and suggested that these high r 's are significantly different from zero at the 5 per cent level. But we do not know how much this test was distorted because our data did not fulfil the assumption of normality.

Our general conclusion on significance tests here was that better experimental data are more needed than shopping around among parametric and non-parametric tests. Developing the chain-tags technique seems to offer a way of collecting such data discriminately.

Figure 2 shows the fit of the data to the model in both cumulated and uncumulated form. The uncumulated data yield the most exacting test of fit and should be the form always reported. We record the cumulated data here also, however, because it is the form most often reported and used for comparison in previous studies. Its excess in closeness of fit over the uncumulated fit is spuri-

also. The results are given in Table 2.

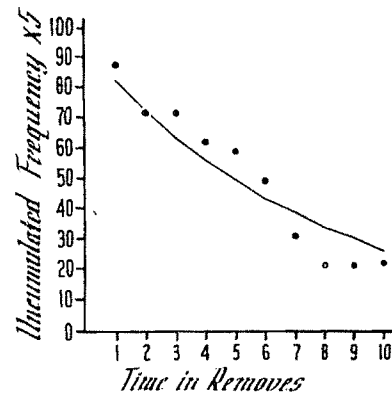
We conclude, from Table 2, that, although the geometric model gives a close descriptive fit to the observed unaccumulated frequencies of compliance, alternative models fit as well. It is a task for further research, using a larger number of starters, to deter-

ous, since even random data will show good fits when cumulated if the range be large and the class-intervals numerous.

mine which of these models gives the best results. There is nothing to choose between them on the grounds of parsimony. There seemed no firm preference among them on the basis of statistical significance. On grounds of empirical experience; the harmonic logistic fitted markedly better in many diverse tests in "Project Revere." Additional data and differential designs are needed for determining which is the best model under specified conditions for scien-

$p = 161$

UNCUMULATED DATA - Closeness of Fit $r = .964$

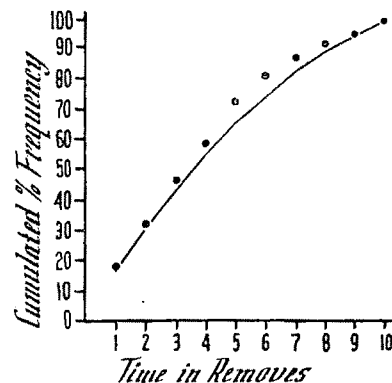


FORMULA

$$p_i = \frac{n(1-b^i)}{1-b}$$

Where a = number of starters
 b = average ratio of returns to maximum, by remove
 i = remove

CUMULATED DATA - Closeness of Fit $r = .997$



TIME	OBSERVED		EXPECTED	
	Unacc. Cum.	Accum. Cum.	Unacc. Cum.	Accum. Cum.
1	.174	.174	.164	.164
2	.143	.317	.145	.309
3	.143	.460	.128	.438
4	.124	.584	.113	.551
5	.118	.702	.100	.651
6	.099	.801	.088	.739
7	.062	.863	.078	.819
8	.043	.907	.069	.886
9	.043	.950	.061	.946
10	.051	1.000	.054	1.000

FIG. 2.—Test of geometric series hypothesis. Message diffusion by chain tags with four motivations in four towns.

TABLE 2

Model	Correlation of Model with Observed Data	
	(in Uncumulated Data)	
a) Geometric series.....	.96	(intraclass $r = .91$)
b) Harmonically waning logistic.....	.97	
c) Arithmetic series.....	.95	

tific research in this area. The chain-tags technique offers a way of testing a wide range of models with high control of the experimental factors.

V. SUMMARY

This chain-tags technique for getting measurable data in a controlled experiment on social interaction in the form of all-or-none message diffusion promises to be a highly effective new instrument for social research. Tagged messages *can* be passed to order, rapidly and widely, through a small American community. The large percentage of compliance (40 per cent) justifies the use of this method.

The results also have substantive implications. The "Paul Revere" theme, appealing to the patriotism of the American public, stood out here as the most effective of the

four themes in eliciting the largest number of returns and the largest number of effective starters. The dollar theme demonstrated more persistence, as shown by longer chains. However, the administrative difficulty and expense counteract this advantage. The indication from this pretest is that the patriotic appeal, under these message-diffusion conditions, is quite satisfactory in getting a message passed on fast, faultlessly, and effectively. The "Paul Revere" message diffused fast in taking a median of 10 minutes from hearing to retellings. It diffused faultlessly by being a printed leaflet which lost nothing as it passed on from person to person. It diffused effectively to the extent that 55 per cent of the leaflets reached persons who complied with their instructions to mail back the tracer postcards.

UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON

EXHIBIT A

"TRACER" POSTCARDS WITH FOUR MOTIVATIONS

1

"Help Civil Defense"

We Want Your Help in Studying How News Travels from Person to Person

We are trying to find out how news gets around without the aid of newspapers, radio or telephone. In time of extreme emergency there might be no other way to get instructions to the public. Civil Defense agencies will be grateful for your help. When you opened the pack given to you, you found this card and a smaller pack. Please:

- (1) PASS ON the smaller pack to someone outside your own household who you believe will also be willing to help us.
- (2) FILL IN all of the other side of this card.
- (3) MAIL US the card by June 1, 1952. No postage required.

Passing on every pack is essential for this Civil Defense test of how a vital message could be got to everyone in an emergency.

2

"Help Research"

University of Washington

THIS IS PART OF A RESEARCH STUDY IN PERSON-TO-PERSON COMMUNICATION BEING CONDUCTED BY THE UNIVERSITY OF WASHINGTON. It may appear puzzling, but it really is a scientific experiment and has nothing to do with advertising. When you opened the pack given to you, you found this card and a smaller pack. Please:

- (1) PASS ON the smaller pack to someone outside your own household who you believe will also be willing to help us.
- (2) FILL IN all of the other side of this card.
- (3) MAIL US the card by June 1, 1952. No postage required.

Check on the enclosed postcard if you would like an explanation of this experiment sent to you.
Thank you for your cooperation.

3

"Help Paul Revere"

PAUL REVERE may have to ride again with a vital message if bombs ever fell near here.
YOU may be asked to carry that message.

THIS card is a TRACER MESSAGE testing how well you and other citizens can pass on a defense message, so that vital news will reach every living person in this community if radio, newspapers and telephones were all knocked out.

YOU and some of your fellow citizens are being asked to make this study in Tenino (Wash.) for the nation. Your part of this test is to pass on the enclosed message-packet and record your part of its path from person to person through Tenino.

OUR Civil Defense authorities need to learn just how best to communicate life-saving messages to everyone in an emergency (however unlikely we all hope that may be).

TO HELP any future Paul Revere, *Please*:

- (1) Give the enclosed message-packet to someone else.
- (2) Mail this card, filled out, back to us by June 1, 1952.

4

"Earn a Dollar"

We Will Pay You One Dollar for Your Help in a Study
of How News Travels from Person to Person

We are trying to find out how news gets around without the aid of newspapers, radio or telephone. When you opened the pack given to you, you found this card and a smaller pack. Please:

- (1) PASS ON the smaller pack to someone outside your own household
who you believe will also be willing to help us.
- (2) FILL IN all of the other side of this card.
- (3) MAIL US the card by June 1, 1952. No postage required.

When you send in your card the person who gave you your pack gets a dollar. In the same way, you get your dollar as soon as the person you give the smaller pack to sends in his card as a receipt with your name on it.

CRIMINALITY THEORIES AND BEHAVIORAL IMAGES¹

DANIEL GLASER

ABSTRACT

Theories of criminality are derived from distinct images of human behavior. A theory's scientific value is a function of the validity of these images. Six types of "monistic" criminality theory are distinguishable on the basis of their imagery. "Integrative" theories, which evoke a complex image to unite data underlying diverse monistic theories, are more useful than "pluralistic" theories, which preserve diverse images. Criticisms of "differential association" as an integrative theory are avoided by a "differential identification" theory of criminality.

This article attempts to appraise the scientific utility of alternative theories proposed for the explanation of that individual behavior which is most uniformly designated "crime" in our society. All such theories are derived, explicitly or implicitly, from more general psychological or social-psychological theories applicable to the larger class of behavior of which crime is considered an instance.

THEORIES AND IMAGERY

The language which explains a human act evokes imagery by which certain aspects of the act are abstractly conceived and are related to other phenomena. For example, an act may be explained as the rational pursuit of a purpose, as the expression of inner drives, as a conditioned neural response, or as a mechanical resultant of external pressures. Each type of explanatory language evokes a somewhat different image of how human beings behave—as rational, as driven from within, as internally mechanical, or as atoms in fields of external forces. Each set of terms for explaining behavior and the associated imagery constitutes a psychological frame of reference. When made explicit, they are called "models" or "paradigms."

"Language is, by its very nature and essence, metaphorical," Cassirer observed.²

¹ Acknowledgment is made of useful comments, leading to revisions of this article, which were received from Drs. J. E. Hulett, Jr., Alvin W. Gouldner, Bernard Farber, and others, all of the University of Illinois, and from Martin U. Martel, now of the University of Washington.

For example, such psychological concepts as "force," "stimulus," and "response" were imported from physics and physiology, where they were first developed to deal with phenomena other than those to which they are applied by psychologists. These concepts evoke images which give meaning to our observations by interrelating them. But since considerable compression, deletion, or extension of available observations of behavior are usually necessary to fit our observations into our frame of reference, these conceptual frameworks determine both what we look for and what we overlook.³

As a theory is more rigorously tested, it becomes increasingly formalized. Ultimately, it may be expressed as mathematical relations between quantitative variables which are operationally defined by objectively specified rules of observational procedure. It then evokes little in the way of concrete images. While any theory may be formalized, more or less adequately, the imagery evoked when the theory is first formulated limits what later testing seeks. As testing proceeds, the theory may be delimited on the basis of negative findings. But additions to scientific theory have always depended upon the introduction of new imagery, from

² Ernst Cassirer, *An Essay on Man* (Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday, 1953), p. 142.

³ Cf. Herbert Blumer, "Science without Concepts," *American Journal of Sociology*, XXXVI (January, 1931), 515-33; Kenneth Burke, *Permanence and Change* (New York: New Republic, 1936); Susanne K. Langer, *Philosophy in a New Key* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1942), esp. chap. iv.

the theory of evolution to time-space relativity to any hypothesis which is clearly new to a particular research situation (though probably metaphorically drawn from another situation). If we focus on explaining an empirical phenomenon, a theory may be sufficiently tested to provoke extensive revision before it is highly formalized. That is a justification for this article. If we focus on developing and applying techniques for formalizing theory, we are likely to select theories on the basis of their amenability to the techniques of formalization rather than by their relevance to the phenomenon which we initially sought to explain.⁴

Crime, like most topics in social psychology, refers to a class of behavior the separate instances of which have many and diverse subjective and objective aspects.⁵ Our theoretical conceptions of criminal or other behavior necessarily simplify this complexity, and in our effort to comprehend such behavior we may distort it. Nevertheless, we strive for the most valid theoretical image of actual behavior, assuming thereby that this effort will ultimately produce the most fruitful basis for prediction or control of behavior.

⁴ Cf. A. H. Maslow, "Problem Centering versus Means Centering in Science," *Philosophy of Science*, XIII (October, 1946), 326-31; Gordon W. Allport, "The Psychologist's Frame of Reference," *Psychological Bulletin*, XXXVII (January, 1940), 1-28; Paul H. Furfey, "The Formalization of Sociology," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (October, 1954), 525-28.

⁵ The term "crime" is here confined primarily to felonies, as felonies are defined by criminal courts in their prosecution and adjudication of cases, to which we add misdemeanors, such as petty larceny and assault, which are identified by lesser forms of the same attributes which identify felonies. This usage, which we believe corresponds to the usual connotation of "crime," excludes those misdemeanors which do not become felonies when "exaggerated," such as most disorderly conduct, vagrancy, and indecent exposure. It also excludes those "white-color crimes" not commonly prosecuted as felonies. We also include as crime any act legally called "delinquency" if the only attribute which is the basis for its being considered delinquency rather than crime is the fact that the doer is below a particular age.

We believe that there is a predominantly stable

In distinguishing the images which various criminality theories evoke, a somewhat imperfect distinction will be made between (1) "monistic" theories, which are based upon a single type of simple behavioral image; (2) "pluralistic" theories, which involve two or more distinct behavioral images; and (3) "integrative" theories, which attempt to subsume the aspects of behavior dealt with in pluralistic theories under a single relatively complex behavioral image. These theories will be appraised with respect to the interconnectedness of their explanatory imagery,⁶ their comprehensiveness (the types or aspects of crime to which they apply), and their implications for the continuity and validity of empirical research.

MONISTIC THEORIES

Underlying prevailing monistic criminality theories, the following types of imagery may be distinguished: spontaneity, possession, rationality, external forces, internal mechanism, and role.

An image of behavior as spontaneous underlies that "pure" free-will criminality theory which is still voiced in lay discussions of crimes and is implicit in the judicial notion

and uniform content to this reference of "crime" in Western society, despite some variation in its limits under different legal jurisdictions. Indicative of the complexity of crime as a topic for social-psychological study are the facts that crimes (a) occur in diverse situations; (b) must be identified by the symbolic interpretation given the behavior by the actors in the situation (e.g., identifying the victim's property as "owned" or his compliance as "involuntary"); (c) can be experienced or imputed subjectively as symbolic processes (ideation) and feelings (reflected in such legal language as "wilfully," "maliciously," etc.).

⁶ The significance of interconnectedness in theory was indicated when, in a lecture at the University of Chicago in 1939, Bertrand Russell distinguished mysticism from science by saying that mysticism accepts the possibility of distance between cause and effect, while "science cannot accept action at a distance." As Hume suggested, this distinction is relative rather than absolute, since the connection is conceived rather than directly observed. In terms of that philosophy of science which eschews the language of "causality," disconnectedness refers to the failure to specify intervening variables between a dependent and an independent variable.

of "choosing" between right and wrong. Such an explanation is the epitome of disconnectedness, since it indicates inability or unwillingness to relate the behavior to anything else. Actually, "pure" free-will theory is seldom maintained continuously, for, when practical problems are considered, it must be modified to reflect other types of imagery.⁷

Possession imagery, which involves an image of a prepotent force resident in the person and determining his behavior, has been evoked by biological determinism theories of criminality, from Lombroso to Sheldon. While criminal behavior is asserted to be caused by malformed biological structures, no direct connection between the specific actions involved in crime and the defective structure is indicated, at least not in terms of specific known functions of organic structures. Much use of the term "psychopath," especially when explicitly or implicitly modified by the adjective "constitutional," still conveys this image of determination by an ill-defined condition. Another such disconnected explanation is that implied in the assertions that criminality is correlated with hypoglycemia or with organic brain damage. These hypotheses have never been tested on representative samples of persons with these ailments. However, if such correlation were established, there would be pressure to focus theory and re-

search on establishing a conceptual connection between the correlated data. As an explanation for crime, it would still be "disconnected," as we use this adjective, because of the large conceptual gaps between organic phenomena and complex behavior.⁸

Freudian criminologists have ascribed criminality to instinct.⁹ This conception also involves possession imagery. However, in psychoanalysis, controls by the rational mind (ego) and society (superego) are seen as repressing or redirecting the instinctive criminal force (id), latent and manifest criminality being ascribed to the failure of the controls. Like other possession images, this conception fails to explain any aspect of criminality in which learning can be observed (such as complex criminal techniques, pride in conception of self as criminal, and pious loyalty to a criminal group). In the purely Freudian conception, we are possessed of criminal impulses, and we learn

⁸ When comparing delinquents and non-delinquents from high-delinquency areas, the Gluecks found the delinquents to be stronger and more athletic (mesomorphic) anatomically than the non-delinquents, as well as more aggressive and extroverted in what they call "temperament." An example of conceptual connection between such "biological" data and criminality is the following earlier statement by Sutherland (which is amenable to empirical validation): "In an area where the delinquency rate is high a boy who is sociable, gregarious, active and athletic is very likely to come in contact with the other boys in the neighborhood, learn delinquent behavior from them, and become a gangster. . . . In another situation the sociable, athletic, aggressive boy may become a member of a scout troop and not become involved in delinquent behavior" (E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology* [4th ed.; Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1947], p. 8; cf. also S. and E. Glueck, *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency* [New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1950]).

⁹ E.g., "The ideal criminal has not structured his personality in accordance with any value system. . . . Instinctual forces drive him on without any opposition from a restraining conscience" (K. R. Eissler, "General Problems of Delinquency," in K. R. Eissler [ed.], *Searchlights on Delinquency* [New York: International Universities Press, 1949], p. 7). Similar quotations from several other psychoanalytic writers are presented in Albert K. Cohen, *Delinquent Boys* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955), pp. 181-82.

⁷ We are implying that the free-will position in most debate on free-will versus determinism in criminology involves simultaneous employment of several definitions of "free will." No one endeavors to educate or to persuade without assuming that an individual's behavior is influenced by the experience to which he is exposed and that when this experience brings alternative choices to an individual's attention, he has the experience of choosing between alternative courses of action. Neither of these assumptions contradicts the notion of universal determinism in nature on which all science rests, nor has either the remotest relationship to the question of the indeterminacy of quantum particles, to which the free-will issue is often referred (cf. C. H. Cooley, *Social Organization* [New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1929], pp. 20-21; and *Human Nature and the Social Order* [rev. ed.; New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1922], pp. 38-43 and 55, n.).

or fail to learn to control them; there is no learning of distinctively new criminality.

The frustration-equals-aggression formula, an amalgamation of behavioristic and psychoanalytic theory, provides another variation of possession imagery. A sum of vaguely defined emotional energy is seen as fixed in an individual. If the steady and relatively moderate expression of this energy is blocked, one of two alternative results is predicted: either there is an immediate outburst of unusually violent and reckless behavior, or there is a slow accumulation of "blocked energy" which must ultimately be expressed. The immediate outburst may explain some "crimes of passion" which seem unplanned, but it is inapplicable where blockage does not lead to immediate aggression. The "blockage-leads-to-ultimate-expression-in-some-other-manner" formulation provides a disconnected explanation for any emotional behavior; early frustration, perhaps in infancy or even prenatal, can always be demonstrated or assumed and can then be cited as the cause of later behavior without a clearly connecting causal mechanism.

Observations of aggression following frustration are explained in less disconnected imagery by certain older theories of emotional behavior which also account more adequately for observations contradicting the frustration-equals-aggression formula. We may develop the habit of reacting to frustration by violence, growing more set in the habit with each occasion of it. The current reaction against extreme permissiveness in child-rearing, which had been advocated as preventing children from accumulating aggression, is based on the newer tenet that tolerance of their aggression develops aggressive children. The James-Lange theory of emotions, that "we are afraid because we run," can be restated as: When habitual behavior is frustrated, we mobilize attention and energy for initiating a new course of behavior. Emotions are sense-experiences of bodily changes concomitant with such mobilization. We experience anger when we react by mobilizing to strike, and fear when

we mobilize to flee. Mobilization may be inhibited before completion; we may only raise our voice rather than strike. Different experience leads to different habits of mobilization for given types of frustrating situation: one person mobilizes to fight, another flees, another deliberates. Different emotional experience accompanies each of these behavioral patterns.

The "classical" theory of criminality, identified with utilitarian philosophy and expressed in most criminal law, implies free will but immediately modifies it with the notion that man's behavior is determined by the nearness and efficacy of the choosable means for obtaining happiness. (Crime is to be prevented by making it produce unhappiness.) This is really a pluralistic theory, since the image of man shifts from a purely spontaneous actor to a rational calculator and, finally, to an atom moved by its external field of pleasant and painful forces.

Economic determinism in criminology is simply classical theory which assumes that economic ends are the primary means to the ultimate end of happiness. Crime is viewed as an alternative means to such ends when other means fail. The behavioral image of rational man in classical theory provides an insufficiently comprehensive explanation of irrational habits, predilections, and prejudices in specific cases of criminality; it also does not explain the absence of criminality in people whose economic need is equal to, or greater than, that of criminals. The imagery of external forces does not connect economic, geographic, and other abstract forces to specific criminal techniques and loyalties. Extreme cultural determinism theories may also arouse an imagery of external forces. They have been criticized for implying greater homogeneity of criminal subcultures than can be established empirically.

An image of internal mechanism (personality) developing through conditioning underlies many psychological explanations of crime which dispense with the concept of instinct. Its adequacy depends in part on the answer to the question of whether conditioning explains the acquisition of new re-

sponses rather than the association of new stimuli with old responses. Indicative of the issue of disconnectedness is the current debate on reductionism in the behavioral sciences: whether "voluntary" human behavior, in which images and symbolic evaluations of completed acts continuously enter into the initiation of new acts, can usefully be reduced to the conditioned-reflex model which physiologists verify from the study of isolated muscles or glands.¹⁰ The discovery of the extreme diversity of personality in criminals and of the frequency of allegedly criminal categories of personality among non-criminals supports the view that ascribing criminality to the habitual modes of behavior which psychologists usually connote by the term "personality" is based on an invalid image of criminal behavior.¹¹

The image of behavior as role-playing, borrowed from the theater, presents people as directing their actions on the basis of their conceptions of how others see them. The choice of another, from whose perspective we view our own behavior, is the process of identification. It may be with the immediate others or with distant and perhaps abstractly generalized others of our reference groups. (The "amateur" criminal may

identify himself with the highly professional "master"—criminal whom he has never met.) Rationalization is seen as a necessary concomitant of voluntary behavior, particularly when role conflicts exist. Acceptance by the group with which one identifies one's self and conceptions of persecution by other groups are among the most common and least intellectual bases for rationalization by criminals. Role imagery provides the most comprehensive and interconnected theoretical framework for explaining the phenomena of criminality.¹² We shall take up the problem of articulating the specific relationship of role theory with criminality in discussing "integrative" criminality theories.

PLURALISTIC AND INTEGRATIVE THEORIES

Serendipity—the influence of "unanticipated, anomalous and strategic"¹³ observations—in causing us to revise theory, has usually resulted in patchwork eclecticism rather than the systematic revision of criminality theory. Where one behavioral image does not fit, we skip to another. Most textbooks in criminology present a cluster of disparate monistic theories as "the theory of multiple causation." These should be regarded as temporary expedients in the

¹⁰ Still highly relevant are the questions raised in John Dewey, "The Reflex-Arc Concept in Psychology," *Psychological Review*, III (July, 1896), 357–70. New response learning seems accounted for by the concept of operants as response components which are "emitted rather than elicited" and which are continuously shaped into even the most complex behavior through reinforcement of those components yielding favorable consequences and extinction of the remainder (cf. B. F. Skinner, *Science and Human Behavior* [New York: Macmillan Co., 1953]). While mechanistic data on animal learning may support this theory, such data are related only by gross analogy to human learning of complex "voluntary" behavior like crime, since we have negligible evidence of animal ability to learn complex behavior through symbolic communication (hence accumulation of learning from one generation to the next) or of animals reinforcing their acts by verbal rationalization. Apart from the need to learn those gross principles applicable to both human and animal learning, further "control" of such human learning as that involved in crime requires more discriminating analysis and more reliable data on human verbal processes, feelings, and relationships.

¹¹ Where the measure of personality is a measure of the extent of criminal behavior (psychopathy scales), the empirical correlation discovered is that between criminality and itself. This has no explanatory value and does not compare with the fruitful logical reduction of complex theories to quasi-tautological relations between distinct conceptual frameworks (cf. Karl F. Schuessler, review of Hathaway and Monachesi, "Analyzing and Predicting Juvenile Delinquency with the MMPI," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX [November, 1954], 321–22; Donald R. Cressey and Karl F. Schuessler, "Personality Characteristics of Criminals," *American Journal of Sociology*, LV [March, 1950], 476–84).

¹² Cf. Nelson N. Foote, "Identification as the Basis for a Theory of Motivation," *American Sociological Review*, XVI (February, 1951), 14–22; C. Wright Mills, "Situated Actions and Vocabularies of Motive," *American Sociological Review*, V (December, 1940), 904–13; Tamotsu Shibutani, "Reference Groups as Perspectives," *American Journal of Sociology*, LX (May, 1955), 562–69.

¹³ Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949), p. 98.

course of revising theory. Instead, since the nineteenth-century writings of Enrico Ferri, they have been repeatedly extolled as the ultimate, most satisfactory formulations.

Pluralistic theories evoke a mixed metaphorical image—the criminal is possessed, pushed, rationally chooses, or interpretively interacts. The major practical objection is that no rules are provided for interrelating component theories and for shifting from one to another. Starting an analysis from the standpoint of one theory, one is likely to persevere in that theory in analyzing behavior and thus may be blinded to observations which might be revealed, were one to start with another theory. For example, even sociologists repeatedly find themselves neglecting social relationships through the natural tendency to look only at individual traits when trying to explain an individual's criminality. Both the defects and the merits of the component theories thereby remain in the multiple-causation mixtures.

There are precedents in the physical sciences for the simultaneous acceptance of alternative theoretical images of phenomena, such as the wave and the corpuscular conceptions of light, each being employed to explain different types of observation. This is considered a temporary and unsatisfactory state of affairs pending the appearance of a more general integrative theory which will account for all the observations. The old theories often become special cases of the more general theory (e.g., as Newtonian physics is a special case of Einsteinian physics).

The outstanding attempt to formulate an integrative theory of criminality is the "differential association" theory, proposed by the late Edwin H. Sutherland, who summarized his theory in the statement: "A person becomes delinquent because of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law."¹⁴ Personality, economic conditions, and other elements of monistic criminality theories are related to crime by this theory

¹⁴ E. H. Sutherland, *Principles of Criminology*, prepared by Donald R. Cressey (5th ed.; Chicago: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955), p. 78 (p. 6 in 4th ed.).

only to the extent that they lead to the procurement of an excess of definitions favorable to violation of law. Unlike the pluralistic approaches, such theory interrelates the separate monistic factors in each case. Differential association theory channels research by knitting diverse data together, whereas multiple-factor conceptions lead to the collection of disparate observations.

Sutherland's formal statement of this theory actually conveys a rather mechanistic image of criminality, which differs from the multiple-factor conception in one major respect. While the multiple-factor imagery presents the criminal as an atom in a multidimensional field, the differential association conception involves imagery of the criminal on a unidimensional continuum. Criminality is at one extreme of this continuum and non-criminality at the other, with the individual's associations pushing him toward one extreme or the other. This imagery is not altered essentially when Sutherland observes that criminal and non-criminal associations may vary in "frequency, duration, priority and intensity." The phrase "excess of definitions" itself lacks clear denotation in human experience.

Probably, the failure of Sutherland's language to evoke a clearly recognizable behavioral image is responsible for the limited acceptance of his theory. The criticisms have been of two principal types. First, there have been assertions that the differential learning of crime is more complex than the critics assume Sutherland's conception of differential association to be. Some critics have interpreted "association" in Sutherland's writings as synonymous with "contact."¹⁵ Sutherland seems to have been dis-

¹⁵ E.g.: "While this theory of crime explains the delinquent behavior of many juveniles, it does not adequately explain why some individuals who have extensive contacts with criminal norms and with persons who engage in criminal behavior do not themselves commit delinquencies" (Martin H. Neumeyer, *Juvenile Delinquency in Modern Society* [New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., 1949], p. 226); "[Sutherland's theory] . . . does not adequately explain why two or more children in the same home often respond differently to the situation of delin-

mayed by an assumption that "association" is distinct from "identification."¹⁶ Donald R. Cressey has suggested modification of differential association theory by:

the substitution of a different conception of the process by which criminality is learned for the conception of a differential in the quantity and quality of contacts with the two varieties of behavior problems. For example . . . a search for the differences in the typical vocabularies used by criminals and non-criminals in specific situations might reveal that it is the presence or absence of a specific, learned verbal label in a specific situation which determines the criminality or non-criminality of a particular person.¹⁷

These diverse comments suggest the need for a restatement of Sutherland's theory so as to make its behavioral referent less ambiguous.

A second criticism of Sutherland's theory consists of arguments for certain pluralistic criminality theories on the grounds that Sutherland's theory accounts for only one of several distinct types of criminality. The most common of these views evokes a dualis-

tic image of criminality as manifesting either differential association or personality, or both.¹⁸ It frequently ignores Sutherland's reference to personality as one of several factors determining patterns of differential association and therefore related to crime indirectly (cf. our n. 7). Usually it also involves the assumption that the major aspects of personality determining crime are relatively fixed from childhood on. A conception of personality reconcilable with Sutherland's theory would be as the sum total of a person's regular role patterns in a given period. This includes, as personality, aspects of roles which develop only in adulthood, such as class and occupational roles. Criminality itself would then be considered a component of personality, and the theory for explaining criminality presumably would be analogous with the theory for explaining other components of personality; it would go beyond descriptive designation of criminality as a component of the referent for the term "personality."

Some critics of Sutherland augment the dualism of personality and association by also calling for recognition of accidental and transitory situational causes of crime.¹⁹ Such criticism, prompted by the premises of pluralistic theory, implies that Sutherland's theory either should be radically revised or should be applied to a much more limited range of criminality than he and his students believed. But neither of these changes is necessary if we reconceptualize Sutherland's theory in terms which we call "differential identification."

¹⁸ Cf. Paul W. Tappan, *Juvenile Delinquency* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1949), pp. 82 ff.; S. Kirson Weinberg, "Theories of Criminality and Problems of Prediction," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, XLV (November-December, 1954), 412-24.

¹⁹ Cf. "The theory of differential association does not explain the incidental, the highly emotional, or the accidental crimes, but applies only to the confirmed types of criminality in which the offender accepts anti-social behavior as a suitable way of life" (Mabel A. Elliott, *Crime in Modern Society* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1952], p. 402).

quent and criminal members of the family" (Milton L. Barron, *The Juvenile in Delinquent Society* [New York: A. A. Knopf, 1954], p. 147). We might also note the recurrent question by students: Why doesn't the prison guard become a criminal, since his association is primarily with criminals?

¹⁶ Cf. "The opposition to 'differential association' as an explanation seems to be based on a misconception of a meaning of that process, as indicated by the sentence, 'Identification with a group of boys who stole was as important as contact with the differential association'" (Sutherland, *op. cit.*, n. 25, pp. 157-58; p. 138 in 4th ed.). In his posthumous revision of Sutherland, Cressey added to the above: "Differential identification is a clearly implied and congruous aspect of the differential association theory." The reformulation of "differential identification" set forth below supports everything in this added sentence except the word "clearly." Sutherland's theory has been very diversely interpreted.

¹⁷ Donald R. Cressey, "Application and Verification of the Differential Association Theory," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, XLIII (May-June, 1952), 43-52.

DIFFERENTIAL IDENTIFICATION AS AN
INTEGRATIVE CRIMINALITY THEORY

We describe identification somewhat unconventionally as "the choice of another, from whose perspective we view our own behavior." What we have called "differential identification" reconceptualizes Sutherland's theory in role-taking imagery, drawing heavily on Mead as well as on later refinements of role theory.²⁰ Most persons in our society are believed to identify themselves with both criminal and non-criminal persons in the course of their lives. Criminal identification may occur, for example, during direct experience in delinquent membership groups, through positive reference to criminal roles portrayed in mass media, or as a negative reaction to forces opposed to crime. The family probably is the principal non-criminal reference group, even for criminals. It is supplemented by many other groups of anti-criminal "generalized others."

The theory of differential identification, in essence, is that *a person pursues criminal behavior to the extent that he identifies himself with real or imaginary persons from whose perspective his criminal behavior seems acceptable.* Such a theory focuses attention on the interaction in which choice of models occurs, including the individual's interaction with himself in rationalizing his conduct. This focus makes differential identification theory integrative, in that it provides a criterion of the relevance, for each individual case of criminality, of economic conditions, prior frustrations, learned moral creeds, group participation, or other features of an individual's life. These features are relevant to the extent that they can be shown to affect the choice of the other from whose perspective the individual views his own behavior. The explanation of criminal behavior on the basis of its imperfect correlation with any single variable of life-situ-

ations, if presented without specifying the intervening identification, evokes only a disconnected image of the relationship between the life-situation and the criminal behavior.

Sutherland supported the differential association theory by evidence that a major portion of criminality is learned through participation in criminal groups. Differential identification is a less disconnected explanation for such learning, and it also does not seem vulnerable to most of the objections to differential association. Because opposing and divisive roles frequently develop within groups, because our identification may be with remote reference groups or with imaginary or highly generalized others, and because identifications may shift rapidly with dialectical processes of role change and rationalization during social interaction, differential association, as ordinarily conceived, is insufficient to account for all differential identification.

In practice, the use of differential identification to explain lone crimes the source of learning which is not readily apparent (such as extremes of brutality or other abnormality in sex crimes) gives rise to speculation as to the "others" involved in the identification. The use of this theory to explain a gang member's participation in a professional crime against property presents fewer difficulties. In so far as the former types of offense are explained by psychiatrists without invoking instincts or other mystical forces, they usually are interpreted, on a necessarily speculative basis, in terms of the self-conception which the offender develops in supporting his behavior and the sources of that self-conception. Such differential identification, in the case of most unusual and compulsive crimes, offers a less disconnected explanation than explanations derived from the alternative theories.²¹

The one objection to the theory of differ-

²⁰ Cf. D. Glaser, "A Reconsideration of Some Parole Prediction Factors," *American Sociological Review*, XIX (June, 1954), 335-41; G. H. Mead, *Mind, Self, and Society* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1934); Foote, *op. cit.*; Mills, *op. cit.*; Shibusani, *op. cit.*

²¹ For an outstanding illustration of what becomes differential identification rather than the usual conception of differential association, applied to compulsive crimes, see Donald R. Cressey, "Differential Association and Compulsive Crimes," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, XLV (May-June, 1954), 29-40.

ential association which cannot be met by differential identification is that it does not account for "accidental" crimes. Differential identification treats crime as a form of voluntary (i.e., anticipatory) behavior, rather than as an accident. Indeed, both legal and popular conceptions of "crime" exclude acts which are purely accidental, except for some legislation on felonious negligence, to which our discussion of criminality must be considered inapplicable. Even for the latter offenses, however, it is noteworthy that the consequences of accidentally committing a crime may be such as to foster identification with criminal-role models (whether one is apprehended for the accidental crime or not).

During any period, *prior identifications* and *present circumstances* dictate the selection of the persons with whom we identify ourselves. Prior identifications which have been pleasing tend to persist, but at any time the immediate circumstances affect the relative ease (or salience) of alternative identifications. That is why membership groups so frequently are the reference groups, although they need not be. That, too, is why those inclined to crime usually refrain from it in situations where they play satisfying conventional roles in which crime would threaten their acceptance. From the latter situations their identification with non-criminal others may eventually make them anticriminal. This is the essence of rehabilitation.²²

There is evidence that, with the spread of urban secularism, social situations are becoming more and more deliberately rather than traditionally organized. Concurrently, roles are increasingly adjusted on the basis of the apparent authority or social pressure in each situation.²³ Our culture is said to give a common level of aspiration but different capacities of attainment according to socioeconomic class. At the same time, it is suggested, economic sources of status are becoming stronger while non-economic

sources are becoming weaker. Therefore, when conventional occupational avenues of upward mobility are denied, people are more and more willing to seek the economic gains anticipated in crime, even at the risk of losing such non-economic sources of status as acceptance by non-criminal groups.²⁴ All these alleged features of urbanism suggest a considerable applicability of differential identification to "situational" and "incidental" crimes; focus on differential identification with alternative reference groups may reveal "situational imperatives" in individual life-histories.

Differential identification may be considered tautological, in that it may seem merely to make "crime" synonymous with "criminal identification." It is more than a tautology, however, if it directs one to observations beyond those necessary merely for the classification of behavior as criminal or non-criminal. It is a fruitful empirical theory leading one to proceed from the legalistic classification to the analysis of behavior as identification and role-playing.²⁵

²³ This evidence has come most dramatically from recent studies of race relations. Cf. Joseph D. Lohman and Dietrich C. Reitzes, "Note on Race Relations in Mass Society," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (November, 1952), 240-46; Dietrich C. Reitzes, "The Role of Organizational Structures," *Journal of Social Issues*, IX, No. 1 (1953), 37-44; William C. Bradbury, "Evaluation of Research in Race Relations," *Inventory of Research in Racial and Cultural Relations*, V (winter-spring, 1953), 99-133.

²⁴ Cf. Merton, *op. cit.*, chap. iv. It may be noteworthy here that classification of Illinois parolees by status ratings of the jobs to which they were going was more predictive than classification by the status of their father's occupation or by whether their job was of higher, lower, or equal status than their father's occupation. Regardless of their class background, the parolee's infractions seemed primarily to be a function of their failure to approach middle-class status (cf. Daniel Glaser, "A Reformulation and Testing of Parole Prediction Factors" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Chicago, 1954], pp. 253-59).

²⁵ A number of examples of useful tautologies in social science are presented in Arnold Rose, *Theory and Method in the Social Sciences* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954), pp. 328-38. In so far as a proposition is of heuristic use, however,

²² Cf. Donald R. Cressey, "Contradictory Theories in Correctional Group Therapy Programs," *Federal Probation*, XVIII (June, 1954), 20-26.

IMPLICATIONS

Three general hypotheses are derived from the assumption that the image of criminal behavior evoked by the theory of differential identification is more valid than those evoked by alternative formulations.

The first hypothesis is that the imagery invoked by the theory of differential identification is the most adequate and parsimonious theoretical framework with which to account for the findings of criminology. We have shown the more disconnected imagery and the failure to comprehend major aspects of criminality inherent in theories which do not evoke an image of criminality as role-expressive activity. Parsimony of preconception is indicated by (1) its "integrative" function in interrelating the diverse phenomena which may be associated with crime through specifying intervening behavior; (2) its relating of criminal behavior to other behavior rather than to conceptually more distant phenomena; (3) its capacity to comprehend a tremendous diversity of criminal behavior. The theory of differential identification, by indicating the relevance of phenomena grossly correlated with crime, promotes continuity in research and theoretically should direct attention to phenomena having higher correlations with crime. Even more than differential association, as that theory is ordinarily conceived, differential identification should facilitate the recognition of "behavior systems" in crime.²⁶

The second hypothesis is that differential identification orients one to evaluate soundly the rehabilitative effects of correctional techniques. Tests of this hypothesis will require more extensive and sophisticated research than that now applied to the appraisal of rehabilitative efforts.²⁷ However,

one may question whether it is appropriately designated a "tautology."

²⁶ Cf. Sutherland, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii.

²⁷ Cf. Daniel Glaser, "Testing Correctional Decisions," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, XLV (March-April, 1955), 679-84.

some suggestive clues are available, for example, from studies of inmate social systems. These systems are seen as coercing each prison inmate into identification with fellow-inmates and hampering, if not preventing, his identification with non-criminal persons. Many prison policies sometimes considered "progressive," such as housing men in large dormitories, facilitating freedom of contact between inmates, assigning prison social workers to cope with prisoners' grievance claims, and keeping relations between inmates and the rest of the institution staff highly formal, may be criticized from the standpoint of their effects upon identifications.²⁸

The third hypothesis is that research workers of diverse background are converging on a differential identification type of theory. While the proposition can be tested only by time, illustrations of the trend can be provided from several areas.

1. Psychoanalysts are supplied by adult neurotic patients with a wealth of volunteered verbal data on which to speculate freely. When juvenile delinquents are referred to analysts, however, such co-operation is not always forthcoming. Milieu therapy, which developed in part to meet this contingency, requires that the analyst (a) live intimately with small groups of delinquents, (b) capture his data when manifested in their interaction, and (c) exert a therapeutic influence by counseling and manipulating the environment when strategic moments arise. It is interesting that milieu therapists increasingly seem to be forced by their data to interpret their observations and justify their treatment techniques by analysis of simple role expression. Their efforts to fit their data into traditional psycho-

²⁸ A sophisticated analysis of the impact of inmate social systems on correctional programs is presented in Lloyd W. McCorkle and Richard Korn, "Resocialization within Walls," *Annals*, CXCI (May, 1954), 88-98; see also Donald Clemmer, *The Prison Community* (Boston: Christopher Publishing House, 1940); Richard McCleary, "The Strange Journey," *University of North Carolina Extension Bulletin*, Vol. XXXII (March, 1953).

analytic frameworks then seem superfluous and the strain obvious. Aichhorn's pioneer discussion of the ego ideal in milieu therapy provides considerable analysis of differential identification in both group and individual delinquency. Redl and Wineman, who drop Aichhorn's postulation of instincts, are even more dependent on role analysis to interpret behavior and to justify therapeutic techniques. When superimposing Freudian conceptions on role analysis, they are forced to contradictory portrayals of the delinquent's reified ego as both weak and strong, depending on which chapter one reads. It is quite easy to reconceptualize their data as illustrating ambivalent and undefined roles in the case of the weak ego, highly organized learned delinquent roles in the case of delinquent egos and superegos, and therapy as a shift of identification from delinquent to non-delinquent persons.²⁹

2. The Gluecks once wrote: "It is the presence or absence of certain traits and characteristics in the constitution and early environment of the different offenders which determines . . . what such offenders will ultimately become and what will become of them."³⁰ This preconception is reflected in their choice of alternative possible explanations of their findings. For example, they have been criticized for dismissing their datum that gang membership was the feature most differentiating delinquents from non-delinquents.³¹ It is interesting that, of

three of the Glueck's delinquency prediction scales, two based on personality traits and one on early parent-child relationships ("Social Background Scale"), only the latter has been validated.³² Warm and consistent relationships with parents are the basis for predicting non-delinquency by this scale, for, say the Gluecks, such relationships create personalities free of criminal tendencies. Yet there is no evidence that early personality classifications are as predictive of delinquency as classifications of the social relationships themselves. A more adequate explanation for the predictive value of the data on social relationship may be that warm relationships inside the family strengthen the identifications with it. These latter, which are predominantly non-criminal, compete with the identifications developing from delinquent and criminal contacts.

3. Psychologists studying delinquency have increasingly been forced by their data to focus on peer-group relations rather than on personality traits. Harris, in summarizing research findings, stated:

It is interesting to note that Hart's factor analysis of 25 traits in 300 delinquent boys yielded six factors, at least four of which have a distinct group reference. . . .

There is ample evidence that the delinquent is quite conversant with the wide social code, yet there are suggestions that on an absolute basis as well as on a relative basis his values are scaled somewhat differently than are similar values in the experience of non-delinquents.

²⁹ As another psychoanalytic milieu therapist has put it: "The basic requirement in all education [of delinquents] is that the adult place himself in relation to the child whereby the child accepts him and therefore accepts his social concepts and community values" (S. R. Slavson, *Re-educating the Delinquent through Group and Community Participation* [New York: Harper & Bros., 1954], p. 242. Cf. August Aichhorn, *Wayward Youth* [New York: Viking Press, 1935]; F. Redl and D. Wineman, *Children Who Hate* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1951]; and Redl and Wineman, *Controls from Within* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1952]).

³⁰ S. and E. Glueck, *Criminal Careers in Retrospect* (New York: Commonwealth Fund, 1943, p. 285 (original italicized).

³¹ Cf. E. W. Burgess, review of Gluecks' *Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency*, in *Federal Probation*, XV (March, 1951), 53-54; A. J. Reiss, Jr., "Unravelling Juvenile Delinquency. II. An Appraisal of the Research Methods," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVII (September, 1951), 115-20.

³² Cf. Richard E. Thompson, "A Validation of the Glueck Social Prediction Scale for Proneness to Delinquency," *Journal of Criminal Law, Criminology, and Police Science*, XLIII (November-December, 1952), 451-70; S. Axelrad and S. J. Glick, "Application of the Glueck Social Prediction Table to 100 Jewish Delinquent Boys," *Jewish Social Service Quarterly*, XXX (winter, 1953), 127-36.

QUANTITATIVE ANALYSIS OF QUALITATIVE DATA IN THE ASSESSMENT OF MOTIVATION: RELIABILITY, CONGRUENCE, AND VALIDITY¹

ROBERT F. WINCH AND DOUGLAS M. MORE

ABSTRACT

The testing of hypotheses about personality has been rendered difficult by the lack of quantification. Once a problem has been conceptualized in the categories of a depth psychology, this paper presents procedures for deriving scores on the basis of which quantitative tests of hypotheses become possible. Estimates are made of the reliability, validity, and congruence of several techniques of deriving such scores.

From Freud to, say, Riesman, social science has been rich in hypotheses about relationships between behavior and covert aspects of personality. It is difficult, however, to make the concepts operational. Thus a rich heritage in hypotheses has proved at times to be frustrating. The purpose of this paper is to propose a methodology for the quantitative analytic use of qualitative material involving covert aspects of personality.

Twenty years ago the social scientist made much of a dichotomy between the "case" method and the "statistical" method, implying that the two methods were so opposed as to be irreconcilable. The dichotomy continues to exist between clinicians, who strive for molar syntheses of their case studies, and psychometricians, who prefer to work only with rigorously defined and "isolated" variables.² That a given investigator would adhere to only one of these methods seems due to the fact that research workers were frequently not equipped with the technical skills (or, indeed, with the "temperament") required by both procedures.

Enthusiasts of the case study maintained that a personality could not be reduced to holes in an IBM card and that only *their* procedure retained the richness of the idiosyncratic personality. Those of quantitative

bent spoke of their adversaries as "artists" or "humanists" and insisted that only statistical methods could lead to firm conclusions.

More than twenty years ago Ernest W. Burgess noted that this was a false problem: "In terms of the requirements of many individual research projects [these two methods] are interdependent or integral." He went on to suggest, in effect, that the case method was useful for generating hypotheses, and the statistical procedures for testing them.³

Meehl's review, noted here, indicates that the issue of the clinical versus the statistical approach to the study of personality is not a dead one. But by now the dispute has moved out of the realm of scientific social psychology. Meehl and Sarbin⁴ have discussed the clinical or idiographic study of individuals in all their uniqueness for the (usually therapeutic) purpose of making predictions about only those individuals. The area of our interest, on the other hand, is the usual scientific one of testing general, rather than particular, propositions. We think of each individual as a case, whether he responds to a short attitude scale or allows us to listen to his free associations for many months; but, whether the data be regarded as clinical (or qualitative) or not, our interest in them is

¹ This investigation was supported by a research grant (MH-439) from the National Institute of Mental Health, United States Public Health Service.

² For an able and systematic review of the logic and evidence on this question cf. Paul E. Meehl, *Clinical versus Statistical Prediction* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954).

³ E. W. Burgess, "Family Study," in L. L. Bernard (ed.), *The Fields and Methods of Sociology* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1934), pp. 440-57, esp. 454-55.

⁴ T. R. Sarbin, "A Contribution to the Study of Actuarial and Individual Methods of Prediction," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLVIII (1942), 593-602.

for the test of general propositions about human behavior. Except in the extremely rare case of a homogeneous universe, empirical generalizations—including tests of hypotheses—must be based upon statistical inference, with careful attention to specification of the level of assurance with which any assertions are made. If the researcher is equipped with quantitative and qualitative skills (including an absence of mental “block” against the use of either kind), he can find no opposition but only complementary fulfillment in the methods, “case” and “statistical.” It is our judgment, then, that within the context of a nomothetic social psychology there is little evidence that this traditional issue is anything but moribund.⁵

More formally, the purpose of this paper is (a) to propose methods and techniques for obtaining data on covert psychic processes in such form that they may be amenable to quantitative analyses and (b) to estimate the reliability, congruence, and validity of such data.

We shall illustrate the use of personal documents in nomothetic research by reference to a problem posed in testing the theory of complementary needs in mate-selection. Then we shall show the process of gathering data, quantification, and statistical analysis through the point at which estimates of reliability, congruence, and validity emerge. So far as this presentation is concerned, the only significance of the study of complementary needs is that it has provided a context within which information about covert psychic processes was required. Many other relevant contexts might be imagined, e.g., Jurgen Ruesch's interesting hypothesis about acceptance or rejection of the father-figure and upward or downward mobility.⁶

⁵ For that little see Claude C. Bowman, “A Sour Note on Questionnaires,” *American Sociological Review*, XVII (1952), 362; and “Uncomplimentary Remarks on Complementary Needs,” *ibid.*, XX (1955), 466.

⁶ Jurgen Ruesch, “Social Technique, Social Status, and Social Change in Illness,” in Clyde Kluckhohn and Henry A. Murray (eds.), *Personality in Nature, Society, and Culture* (New York: A. A. Knopf, 1948), pp. 117–30.

THE PROBLEM

We began with the hypothesis that the pattern of emotional needs of person A is complementary to the need pattern of B, A's spouse. In other papers we have tried to specify what is meant by “complementary.”⁷ For the present it is sufficient to note that we require a set of motivational categories (or “needs”) on which each subject has some ascertainable value. Although the central hypothesis of the study is derived from Freudian psychology, that system does not provide clearly defined unidimensional variables. For this reason the need schema of H. A. Murray was used.⁸ Murray's list of needs and traits was modified to achieve maximum simplicity while still consistent with the objective of covering the domain of man-woman attraction and selection. Twelve needs and three general traits were postulated. Each of the fifteen variables was scrutinized to determine whether or not it should be dichotomized by (a) level of expression, i.e., whether the need (or trait) is present in *overt* behavior and/or present in *covert* psychic life, and by (b) the locus of expression, i.e., whether *within* the marriage and/or *without* the marriage. Some variables were dichotomized, some were doubly dichotomized, and some were not dichotomized at all. As a result, the fifteen variables became forty-four subvariables. On these

⁷ Robert F. Winch and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: An Analytic and Descriptive Study,” *American Sociological Review*, XIX (1954), 241–49; Robert F. Winch, “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: A Test of One Kind of Complementariness,” *American Sociological Review*, XX (1955), 52–56; and “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection: Final Results on the Test of the General Hypothesis,” *ibid.*, pp. 552–55. Statements of the theory underlying this study may be found in Robert F. Winch, *The Modern Family* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952), chap. xv; and Thomas and Virginia Ktsanes, “The Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate-Selection,” in Robert F. Winch and Robert McGinnis (eds.), *Selected Studies in Marriage and the Family* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1953), pp. 435–53.

⁸ H. A. Murray et al., *Explorations in Personality* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1938).

forty-four subvariables the ratings were made.⁹

METHODS AND TECHNIQUES OF OBTAINING DATA

The need interview.—To obtain data concerning each of the variables, we set about to formulate questions to be asked in interviews. For example, to tap the intensity and mode of expression of aggression, the subject was asked how he felt when someone stepped in front of him in a queue in a crowded restaurant; and, on the variable, recognition: how he felt when he saw his name in print. The subject was encouraged to give a full reply and to describe instances. If the subject had not met with the situation, the interviewer would recast the question in the light of the subject's experiences. Forty-five such questions were compiled to cover our variables in a two- to three-hour session which we called the "need interview" (hereafter referred to as the "NI"). Subjects were seen in interviewing rooms in a laboratory of social psychology. Their testimony was recorded, and the records were transcribed.

Ancillary techniques.—When we began the study, we were not confident that information on the levels of motivation in which we were interested could be obtained by such a direct process as the NI. The whole burden of Freudian-oriented literature raised doubts that subjects would or could give us the information desired. If the emotional processes involved were "covert" or "latent" or "unconscious," then it seemed unlikely that we should be able to illuminate our hypotheses by methods which might well work only at the "overt" or "manifest" or "conscious" level. This reasoning plus the desire to have background materials to help explain the working of our hypotheses led us to include in our design ancillary methods of gathering data.

⁹ A table of the variables used in the study and the dichotomies applied to each appears in Robert F. Winch, Thomas Ktsanes and Virginia Ktsanes, "Empirical Elaboration of the Theory of Complementary Needs in Mate Selection," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology* (in press).

The first additional method was a case-history interview. It began with the subject's earliest memories, covered his percepts and experiences with key familial and other figures, and brought him through his various developmental stages to the present moment. The second ancillary method was an eight-card Thematic Apperception Test, consisting of those cards which we thought most appropriate to our task.¹⁰ We thought this instrument, which had been designed originally to tap need systems, would be particularly useful in attempting to assess covert motivation.

METHODS OF ANALYSIS

Content analysis.—As the first procedure, we undertook a content analysis of the NI responses. Although each question was designed with a specific variable in mind, the response might pertain to it and/or some other variable. The response was assigned to one or more of the fifteen variables¹¹ and then given a rating for each from low to high on a five-point scale with respect to the appropriate needs and/or traits. The subject's rating on each subvariable was the arithmetic mean of the ratings he received from all responses on that subvariable. We refer to this content analysis of responses in the NI as *direct analysis*.¹²

¹⁰ We used cards 1, 6GF, 3BM, 4, 14, and 13MF for all subjects. In addition, we administered 6BM and 7BM to the husbands and 9GF and 5 to the wives.

One other data-gathering procedure, R. B. Cattell's 16 P.F. Test, Form A, was incorporated in the original design just to see what it would yield. Peter Jacobsohn has reported the largely negative results in his unpublished Master's thesis, "An Investigation of Psychic Homogamy and Heterogamy" (Northwestern University, 1952).

¹¹ And hence to one or more of the forty-four subvariables.

¹² In a sense the Aron technique of analyzing the TAT is a form of content analysis (cf. Betty Aron, *A Manual for Analysis of the Thematic Apperception Test* [Berkeley, Calif.: Willis E. Berg, 1949]). This procedure was undertaken with essentially negative results (cf. Jean M. Moore, "The TAT as a Measure of Complementary Needs in Marriage" [unpublished Master's thesis, Northwestern University, 1951]).

Holistic analysis.—Just as we were concerned to tap both overt and covert levels of data, so we were also alive to the hazard that the content analysis of the NI might be too “mechanistic” or too much on the “manifest” level for our purposes. In other words, we thought a holistic or organic type of analysis might reveal our general hypothesis to be true, even though this finding might not emerge from the more mechanistic procedure.

Accordingly, we submitted the NI as well as the case history (CH) and the TAT to holistic interpretations, treating the subject's responses to the NI, the CH, and the TAT as his projections. Or, to phrase it differently, the analyst was constantly looking for the meaning “behind” the remarks of the subject. Thus our orientation was explicitly in the direction of discovering “latent” significance.

The method of achieving ratings from holistic analyses of our three sets of data deserves explicit attention. A holistic analysis does *not* mean that the analyst simply wrote out a summary paragraph or two on the functioning of a subject and on each of his needs after a scrutiny of his record. Rather, what was attempted was a complete dynamic analysis of the individual, including references to significant experiences whenever these were available or could reasonably be inferred from the record. After an analyst had studied one of the personal documents (NI, CH, or TAT), he prepared a written holistic interpretation of the subject. This report summarized categories of information about the subject and presented a psychological analysis of him. Although lack of space prohibits a presentation of the case outline, it may be noted that the psychological assessment presented the subject in terms of such categories of analysis as the subject's basic emotional attitude, his anxiety, his pattern of affects and emotions, ego defenses and systems of control, his ideals and identifications, the content of his internalized morality, the manner of handling his guilt, and his level of psychosexual development. The report based upon this outline

ordinarily would run to 12–15 double-spaced typewritten pages per subject.¹³

Clinical conferences.—Up to this point each analyst's presentation of the personality of a subject had been based on a “blind” analysis of a single personal document and had been reflected in the ratings which he had based on this analysis. In order to arrive at a psychodynamic interpretation and a set of ratings for each subject in which we could place our greatest confidence, a clinical conference of five persons was formed. In this final conference on each subject (hereafter called “FC”) each analyst read and criticized all the three written reports (based on NI, CH, and TAT). Inconsistencies were discussed, and relevant evidence was examined. Then a final conference report was prepared (usually between 30 and 35 double-spaced typewritten pages in length), and ultimately all five analysts worked together to achieve consensus on a last set of ratings of the needs.¹⁴

RELIABILITY

We may distinguish two kinds of reliability; one pertains to the subject's response,

¹³ This framework was originally formulated for this project by Dr. O. J. B. Kerner and was modified later by the junior author. Both these persons are considerably indebted in devising this outline to Professors W. E. Henry, R. J. Havighurst, and the late Caroline McC. Tryon (cf. W. E. Henry, “The Thematic Apperception Technique in the Study of Culture-Personality Relations,” *Genetic Psychology Monographs*, XXXV [1947], 3–135). It is apparent that this framework draws heavily on propositions of Freudian developmental psychology and upon modern theories concerning the societal background for and phrasing of behavior. It will be noted that the analyst's impressions of the hierarchy of needs within the individual are recorded only at the end of the analysis of that individual's personality. On the basis of this completed interpretation, the analyst then rated each subject on each of the forty-four subvariables, using a nine-point scale because we had found that the previous five-point scale was unduly restrictive. It might be noted that not every question raised by the outline could be answered for every subject from every source of data.

¹⁴ We shall see below that a roughly comparable three-person committee was used to criticize the holistic analysis of the TAT and to derive ratings from it.

the other to the analyst's rating of that response. In the present design, we are able to deal with only the latter. To estimate the consistency of the analysts' ratings on the content analysis of the need interview (NI₁), the holistic analysis of the need interview (NI₂), and of the (holistic analysis of the) case history (CH), a second analyst was assigned to each procedure who produced his own independent ratings. Table 1 summarizes the correlations between pairs of raters on each of these personal documents, as well as the estimated reliability based on double length.¹⁵ The reason for showing the latter

had one well-qualified TAT analyst and two analysts conversant with dynamic psychology but not experienced in TAT. Each read each protocol, made his own assessment of the subject, and then read the analysis of the expert. Following this, the expert's statement was discussed and criticized in the TAT conference. This led to consensus on the case, and finally ratings were assigned by the group as a whole. By the time the team had gone through 27 cases, it was felt that all were sufficiently familiar with the TAT procedure to contribute independent ratings. For 23 cases, then, we have ratings

TABLE 1
SUMMARY OF INTERRATER RELIABILITIES BASED ON 44 SUBVARIABLES,
50 SUBJECTS, AND THREE INSTRUMENTS—NI₁, NI₂, AND CH

CATEGORY OF SUBVARIABLES	No. OF SUBVARIABLES IN CATEGORY	UNCORRECTED*			CORRECTED		
		NI ₁	NI ₂	CH	NI ₁	NI ₂	CH
Range for all subvariables.....	44						
Highest.....		.85	.84	.79	.92	.91	.88
Lowest.....		.33	.50	.24	.51	.67	.39
Median:							
All subvariables....	44	.60	.71	.61	.75	.83	.76
Needs.....	38	.62	.72	.62	.77	.84	.77
General traits....	6	.57	.62	.58	.73	.77	.73
Overt categories...	20	.69	.75	.64	.82	.86	.74
Covert categories..	20	.55	.69	.59	.71	.82	.74
Within categories..	19	.55	.71	.67	.71	.83	.80
Without categories.	25	.61	.71	.57	.76	.83	.73

* Uncorrected correlations between raters and correlations corrected for double length. For a two-sided test and with $N = 50$ (or d.f. = 48), the critical values are: $r_{.05} = .28$; $r_{.01} = .36$.

values is that the ratings used in subsequent analyses were the sums of the values assigned by the two raters on each document. No median reliability of any category of subvariables is below .7 in the columns of corrected reliabilities. Of the 132 interrater correlations (uncorrected reliabilities), one fails to achieve significance at the .05 level ($r = .24$ on vicariousness-without on the CH). When corrected for double length, this coefficient exceeds the value required for .01 significance. In view of the kind of data being treated, it is gratifying to have achieved these levels.

At the beginning of the TAT analysis we

¹⁵ Each analyst's ratings were normalized within subvariable and within sex. Then product-moment correlations were run.

made by each analyst before the conference as well as the ratings developed by the conference. Moreover, one analyst restudied and rerated these 23 cases a year later. Table 2 summarizes these results.

Table 2 reports two striking findings: (a) Preconference interrater correlations are very low (cf. the first three columns). In the distributions of correlations summarized here, there is a sprinkling of negative correlations, although none of these is significant. Furthermore, even the medians of these three columns fail to achieve significance at the .05 level in the positive range. (b) Despite the low magnitude of interrater correlations, the average of the three raters results in a median correlation of .73 with the ratings subsequently made by the confer-

ence of the same three analysts (cf. last column on the right).

Because the statistical analyses of the TAT are based on ratings produced in the TAT conference, it is the conference ratings whose reliability is of direct interest. On this point the implications of Table 2 are as follows: while a single analyst working alone (or perhaps more properly, one of *these* analysts working *singly*) would probably not produce reliable ratings, three, in conference, produce reasonably reliable judgments.

For the five-person conference based on

psychometric work. The equivalence results from the fact that we did obtain scores on what we regarded as the same set of forty-four subvariables from each instrument. The "roughness" of the equivalence results from the fact that no attempt was made to assure that the instruments would be parallel; on the contrary, diversity was what we were seeking.

As Table 3 shows in summary form, there is a fair degree of congruence between three instruments (NI₁, NI₂, and CH). None of the three shows congruence with the ratings derived from the TAT conference.

TABLE 2

SUMMARY OF COEFFICIENTS OF INTERRATER RELIABILITY OF THE TAT ON 23 SUBJECTS*

Category of Subvariables	No. of Subvariables in Category	X×Y	X×Z	Y×Z	Z×Z _r	X×A	Y×A	Z×A	X×C	Y×C	Z×C	A×C
Range for all subvariables	44											
Highest.....		.66	.71	.61	.65	.89	.85	.84	.85	.71	.73	.89
Lowest.....		-.04	-.26	-.26	-.17	.40	.43	.39	.06	.15	.02	.36
Median:												
All subvariables.....	44	.28	.24	.20	.31	.71	.67	.70	.65	.45	.53	.73
Needs.....	38	.29	.22	.20	.33	.71	.67	.70	.62	.47	.52	.73
General traits.....	6	.35	.37	.27	.41	.74	.70	.74	.76	.45	.65	.78
Overt categories.....	20	.32	.21	.18	.30	.72	.66	.61	.67	.48	.47	.76
Covert categories.....	20	.25	.22	.24	.39	.68	.68	.74	.56	.44	.56	.67
Within categories.....	19	.20	.19	.18	.27	.67	.64	.69	.59	.43	.45	.71
Without categories.....	25	.36	.25	.25	.40	.76	.68	.72	.68	.54	.58	.75
Out of the 44 r's this number failed to achieve .05 significance.....		32	34	38	29	1	0	1	11	13	14	1

* X, Y, and Z are the three raters; X is the expert mentioned in the text. Z_r is second ratings by rater Z. A is arithmetic mean of ratings assigned by the three raters. C is ratings assigned by the TAT conference; denoted in other tables by TAT-C. For a two-sided test, $r_{.05} = .41$; $r_{.01} = .53$.

all three personal documents (FC), it would have been awkward and very time-consuming to achieve a second set of ratings. Since we did not do so, we have no direct means of estimating the reliability of the ratings made by the final conference.¹⁶

CONGRUENCE

We use "congruence" to refer to the degree of similarity of results achieved among the various instruments: NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT-C. In a sense this process is roughly equivalent to that usually called "inter-instrument," or parallel-forms, reliability in

¹⁶ In a sense we may view the correlations in Table 4 as indirect estimates of the reliability of FC ratings. It may be reasoned, however, that these values are biased on the low side and really estimate minimum values below which the reliabilities would not be expected to fall.

VALIDITY

We are handicapped in estimating the validity of our ratings because of the lack of an external criterion, a common situation in personality research. We do feel, however, that we have substantial reasons for regarding one set of ratings as "best." The final conference ratings (FC) reflect the deliberations of the largest number of judges (five) on the largest range of data (both interviews and the TAT). Accordingly, we reason that these should be our "best" scores on our forty-four subvariables. Then we operationally define the validity of each of the other instruments (NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT-C) in terms of the correlations between ratings derived from those instruments and ratings based on the consensus of the final conference. The results of such comparisons are summarized in Table 4.

From Table 4 it appears that the three sets of ratings based on the analyses of the interviews (NI₁, NI₂, and CH) are all estimating our final ratings of our subjects (as reflected in the FC) with roughly comparable efficiency. Given the reliabilities of these three instruments (cf. Table 1), it appears that their validities are reasonable. The NI₂ looks a bit better than the other two, but the increment of improvement is not susceptible of clear-cut interpretation

because the same analysts performed the content analysis of the NI₁ and the holistic analysis of the need interview (NI₂), albeit with an interval of about a year and a half between the two operations.

On the other hand, the TAT-C seems not to be a consistent measure of anything which the other sets of ratings reflect. With only the data of Table 4, it would not be possible to choose between the interpretation (a) that, in effect, the TAT-C is a

TABLE 3
SUMMARY OF COEFFICIENTS OF CONGRUENCE AMONG FOUR INSTRUMENTS: INTERCORRELATIONS BETWEEN RATINGS ON ALL SUBJECTS ($N = 50$) DERIVED FROM NI₁, NI₂, CH, AND TAT-C*

Category of Subvariables	No. of Subvariables in Category	NI ₁ ×NI ₂	NI ₁ ×CH	NI ₁ ×TAT-C	NI ₂ ×CH	NI ₂ ×TAT-C	CH×TAT-C
Range for all subvariables.....	44						
Highest.....		.83	.75	.32	.86	.33	.33
Lowest.....		.21	.14	-.39	.32	-.29	-.34
Median:							
All subvariables.....	44	.58	.44	.04	.63	.00	.00
Needs.....	38	.63	.48	.05	.64	.01	.06
General traits.....	6	.49	.37	.05	.57	-.07	.08
Overt categories.....	20	.69	.51	.05	.64	.07	.02
Covert categories.....	20	.53	.39	.01	.62	-.03	.06
Within categories.....	19	.54	.42	-.01	.63	.00	.08
Without categories.....	25	.63	.45	.08	.64	-.02	.03
Out of the 44 r 's this number failed to achieve .05 significance.....		1	7	41†	0	40‡	41§

* $r_{.05} = .28$; $r_{.01} = .36$.

† Of the 3 significant r 's, 2 are positive, 1 negative.

‡ Of the 4 significant r 's, 2 are positive, 2 negative.

§ Of the 3 significant r 's, 1 is positive, 2 negative.

TABLE 4
COEFFICIENTS OF VALIDITY BETWEEN FINAL CONFERENCE RATINGS AND FOUR INSTRUMENTS (NI₁, NI₂, CH, AND TAT) ON ALL SUBJECTS ($N = 50$)*

Category of Subvariables	No. of Subvariables in Category	Correlation of FC with			
		NI ₁	NI ₂	CH	TAT-C
Range for all subvariables.....	44				
Highest.....		.84	.93	.89	.29
Lowest.....		.24	.63	.50	-.19
Median:					
All subvariables.....	44	.60	.81	.74	.00
Needs.....	38	.62	.84	.74	.02
General traits.....	6	.52	.73	.74	.01
Overt categories.....	20	.69	.86	.74	.04
Covert categories.....	20	.52	.78	.74	.01
Within categories.....	19	.59	.79	.74	.06
Without categories.....	25	.60	.81	.74	.00
Out of the 44 r 's this number failed to achieve .05 significance.....		1	0	0	43

* For a two-sided test the critical values are: $r_{.05} = .28$; $r_{.01} = .36$.

measure of some other set of variables roughly orthogonal to those reflected in the interview analyses or (b) that the TAT-C is so unreliable that the low correlations merely reflect error. The right-hand column of Table 2 suggests that *b* is not the case. The median correlation in the column indicates that the reliability of the TAT-C was high enough for substantial correlations to have appeared in Table 4 if the TAT-C had been measuring the same variables as were the analyses of the interviews. The TAT records were analyzed "blind." Since all analysts were using the same definitions of variables, the data of Tables 2 and 4 then lend plausibility to the inference that the TAT alone gives a rather different picture of the personality from that derived from interviews.

Although we cannot be sure of our impression until a study has been done, the procedures involved in interpreting the TAT are sufficiently consistent to yield respectable reliabilities; but these interpretive procedures may contain systematic sources of bias which will be discovered only when the interpretations from the TAT are compared with analyses based on other data. For example, an error in the imputation of an identification-figure can result in a serious error of analysis in the personality (e.g., a shift of imputation from contending that the person would behave in a predominantly passive-submissive fashion to asserting that he would behave in a generally aggressive-dominative manner). And such an error might be made consistently—by all analysts.

SUMMARY

Procedure.—From the conceptualization of the problem in not-very-researchable Freudian categories to the production of quantitatively analyzable ratings the steps were as follows:

1. Conceptualization of the problem in Freudian categories
2. Recasting the problem in terms of conceptually "cleaner," i.e., unidimensional, variables
3. Use of several data-gathering procedures of

varying degrees of directness: need interview, case history, TAT

4. Use of two kinds of analyses:

- a) The more direct: content analysis—on need interview (NI₁)
- b) The less direct: holistic analysis stated in formal written report—on need interview (NI₂), case history (CH), and TAT

5. Producing plural sets of ratings on each of these instruments (NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT) for the purpose of estimating interrater reliabilities

6. Final conference considering all three reports prepared in 4b and concluding with:

- a) A single consistent report based on the three reports
- b) A consensual set of ratings

7. Calculation of estimates of congruence of ratings from the different instruments: NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT

8. With final conference ratings (FC) regarded as our "best" data, and hence as criterion scores, calculation of estimates of the validities of NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT

Findings.—Median interrater reliabilities for the NI₁, NI₂, CH, and TAT over the forty-four subvariables are around .7. The congruence of NI₁, NI₂, and CH runs a little lower. With the final conference ratings used as criterion scores, the case history and both analyses of the need interview give median coefficients of validity in the same general range as the reliabilities. The TAT shows neither validity nor congruence in terms of these operations.

DISCUSSION

It will be recalled that we started out with a problem conceived in Freudian categories and emerged with each subject described in terms of ratings on forty-four subvariables. It is clear that much richness of detail is necessarily lost in this operation and that a 35-page psychodynamic description cannot be reproduced from one or several sets of forty-four ratings. On the other hand, the present paper has shown that these ratings are stable and consistent; other papers in this series have shown that such ratings are highly useful in testing hypotheses.

NORTHWESTERN UNIVERSITY
CHICAGO, ILLINOIS

THE FUNCTIONS OF METROPOLITAN SUBURBS¹

LEO F. SCHNORE

ABSTRACT

A study of selected characteristics of the larger suburbs located within the metropolitan areas of the United States in 1950 reveals a number of differences between *industrial* and *residential* suburbs. The characteristics reviewed include (1) regional location, (2) size of population of the central city, (3) size of population of the suburb itself, (4) age of the suburb, (5) position of the suburb within the metropolitan area, (6) distance between the suburb and the central city, and (7) level of rents in the suburb.

INTRODUCTION

The continued decentralization of large cities in the United States has stimulated increasing research in metropolitan areas. These areas, of course, contain a great number of suburban places of varying size. A problem that has yet to be extensively explored is the functional character of these suburbs. It is readily apparent to even the most casual observer that suburbs, like other cities, differ in the functions that they discharge. Despite the many functional types of cities that have been identified by social scientists in various disciplines,² most writers have classified suburbs into two major types. On the basis of observation carried on in the 1920's, Douglass identified *industrial*

and *residential* suburbs as the two predominant forms. According to him, industrial suburbs represent the decentralization of production, while residential suburbs represent the decentralization of consumption.³ A measure of confirmation of this twofold division of suburbs was provided by a later study using a systematic statistical approach. Working with his own functional typology and confining his study to the 140 metropolitan districts defined in the 1940 Census, Harris concluded that "the commonest types of individual suburbs are *housing or dormitory* suburbs and *manufacturing or industrial* suburbs."⁴

Assuming the validity of this simple dichotomy, we may observe certain differences between the larger suburbs in the metropolitan areas of the United States. The descriptive materials presented here are necessarily limited to the incorporated places of 10,000 or more inhabitants found within the 168 standard metropolitan areas defined by the Bureau of the Census in 1950. Sufficiently detailed census data are not available for unincorporated areas and for incorporated places with smaller populations. In addition, it must be remembered that the census data forming the basis of

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the Regional Science Association, New York City, December 30, 1955. The data reported here were gathered while the writer held a Research Training Fellowship from the Social Science Research Council.

² See W. S. Tower, "Geography of American Cities," *Bulletin of the American Geographical Society*, XXXVII (1905), 577-88; Marcel Aourousseau, "The Distribution of Population," *Geographical Review*, XI (1921), 568-75; R. D. McKenzie, "Ecological Classification of Communities," in R. E. Park, E. W. Burgess, and R. D. McKenzie, *The City* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1925), pp. 66-67; W. F. Ogburn, *Social Characteristics of Cities* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1937), pp. 41-46; Homer Hoyt, "Economic Background of Cities," *Journal of Land and Public Utility Economics*, XVII (1941), 188-95; C. D. Harris, "A Functional Classification of Cities in the United States," *Geographical Review*, XXXIII (1943), 86-99; Colin Clark, "The Economic Functions of a City in Relation to Its Size," *Econometrica*, XIII (1945), 97-113; E. E. Bergel, "Functional Types," in his *Urban Sociology* (New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1955), pp. 145-65.

³ H. Paul Douglass, *The Suburban Trend* (New York and London: Century Co., 1925), pp. 84-85, and "Suburbs," in *Encyclopaedia of the Social Sciences* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1934), XIV, 433-35.

⁴ C. D. Harris, "Suburbs," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIX (1943), 6; italics added. Among the 352 suburbs for which data were available, 174 were found to be dominantly residential and 149 dominantly industrial, with only 29 falling into the remaining categories.

this study are reported for politically defined areas which often do not conform to actual functional boundaries.

INDUSTRIAL AND NON-INDUSTRIAL SUBURBS

In an effort to discover some of the major differences between metropolitan suburbs according to their functional type, use was made of the classification originally devel-

Table 1. It can be seen that the greatest number of suburbs fall into the manufacturing category, with smaller numbers classified as industrial and diversified centers in which manufacturing predominates. The second and third largest numbers of suburbs are found in the categories designated as diversified centers in which retail trade predominates and retail service centers as such.⁶ Only 22, or 5 per cent, of the metro-

TABLE 1
METROPOLITAN SUBURBS OF 10,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS ACCORDING
TO MAJOR ECONOMIC BASE, 1950

Type	Operational Definition of Economic Base	Suburbs
Mm.....	<i>Manufacturing centers:</i> Employment in manufacturing is at least 50 per cent of the aggregate employment in manufacturing, trade, and service, and employment in retail trade is less than 30 per cent of this aggregate employment	128
M.....	<i>Industrial centers:</i> Employment in manufacturing is more than 50 per cent; as in the manufacturing center, but it is balanced by retail-trade employment of at least 30 per cent	35
Mr.....	<i>Diversified centers with manufacturing predominant:</i> Employment in manufacturing is dominant but less than 50 per cent	36
Rm.....	<i>Diversified centers with retail trade predominant:</i> Employment in retail trade is dominant, but manufacturing is at least 20 per cent of aggregate employment	109
Rr.....	<i>Retail-trade centers:</i> Employment in retail trade is greater than employment in wholesale trade, service, or manufacturing, and employment in manufacturing is less than 20 per cent of aggregate employment	95
Ed.....	<i>Educational centers:</i> The enrolment in schools of collegiate rank totals 20 per cent or more of the city's population	7
Mg.....	<i>Mining centers:</i> Fifteen per cent or more of the resident labor force reports mining as an occupation	6
X.....	<i>Resort or retirement centers:</i> Employment in manufacturing is less than 15 per cent, and 10 per cent or more of the resident labor force is employed in restaurants and other eating places, hotels, or places of amusement and recreation	5
G.....	<i>Government centers:</i> Fifteen per cent or more of the resident labor force is employed by a governmental unit	2
T.....	<i>Transportation centers:</i> Twenty-five per cent or more of the resident labor force reports transportation as an occupation	2
W.....	<i>Wholesale-trade centers:</i> Employment in wholesale trade totals at least 25 per cent of the aggregate employment in manufacturing, trade, and service	0
Total.....		425

oped by Harris and applied by Jones to the 1950 Census data.⁵ According to this detailed typology, the economic bases of the larger metropolitan suburbs are shown in

politan suburbs of 10,000 or more inhabitants are found in the six remaining classes: educational, mining, resort, governmental, transportation, and wholesale-trade centers.

⁵ Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," in *The Municipal Year Book, 1953* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1953), pp. 49-57; these data are used here with the kind permission of the publishers. The number of suburbs identified in this study exceeds the number described as such in the Jones report. We have treated as suburbs a number of places defined as central cities by the Bureau of the Census and by Jones. Among the multiple-center

areas defined by the Bureau of the Census, only the following are treated as such in this study: Allentown-Bethlehem, Pennsylvania; Beaumont-Port Arthur, Texas; Minneapolis-St. Paul, Minnesota; New Britain-Bristol, Connecticut; Springfield-Holyoke, Massachusetts; and Stamford-Norwalk, Connecticut. This procedure follows that of Harris, "Suburbs," *op. cit.*

⁶ It is necessary to note that suburban retailing is often of local importance only (see *ibid.*, p. 6).

In conformity with the twofold division mentioned earlier and in order to obtain sufficient numbers for analysis, a combination of these detailed categories was made to yield two broad types: (1) *industrial suburbs*: types Mm, M, and Mr; (2) *non-industrial suburbs*: types Rm and Rr. As seen in Table 2, these two broad classes of suburbs are of almost equal size, with 199 "industrial" and 204 "non-industrial" suburbs (the remaining 22 places are omitted from Table 2).

Panel A of Table 2 shows the expected predominance of manufacturing in the Northeast, where almost two-thirds of the suburbs are industrial in type. In contrast,

each of the three remaining regions shows a preponderance of non-industrial suburbs. This is particularly noteworthy in the South and the West, where approximately 7 out of every 10 suburbs are non-industrial. Panel B, however, indicates that there is no association between the size of the population of the central city and the balance between the two types of suburbs.

A much more striking pattern emerges in Panel C, where suburbs with populations of various sizes are compared. There is a clear association between the size of the suburb and its economic function, as measured here. Three out of every 4 of the largest suburbs (those over 50,000 in population)

TABLE 2
INDUSTRIAL AND NON-INDUSTRIAL METROPOLITAN SUBURBS OF 10,000 OR
MORE INHABITANTS BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1950

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF METROPOLITAN SUBURBS	SUBURBAN ECONOMIC BASE*		TOTAL (PER CENT)	N
	Industrial (Per Cent)	Non-indus- trial (Per Cent)		
All suburbs classified	49.4	50.6	100.0	403
A. <i>Regional location</i> :†				
Northeast	65.3	34.7	100.0	173
North-central	44.5	55.5	100.0	119
South	31.3	68.7	100.0	32
West	29.1	70.9	100.0	79
B. <i>Size of central city, 1950</i> :				
1,000,000 or more	45.9	54.1	100.0	181
500,000-1,000,000	53.5	46.5	100.0	107
100,000-500,000	50.0	50.0	100.0	68
Under 100,000	53.2	46.8	100.0	47
C. <i>Size of suburb, 1950</i> :				
50,000 or more	77.2	22.8	100.0	57
25,000-50,000	65.1	34.9	100.0	86
10,000-25,000	38.1	61.9	100.0	260
D. <i>Age of suburb</i> :‡				
Less than 30 years	20.0	80.0	100.0	40
30-40 years	20.0	80.0	100.0	35
40-50 years	35.4	64.6	100.0	65
50 years or more	61.2	38.8	100.0	263
E. <i>Position in area</i> :				
Within urbanized area†	45.1	54.9	100.0	342
Outside urbanized area†	73.8	26.2	100.0	61
F. <i>Distance from central city</i> :				
0-10 miles	46.2	53.8	100.0	199
10-20 miles	48.9	51.1	100.0	141
20-30 miles	55.3	44.7	100.0	47
30+ miles	75.0	25.0	100.0	16
G. <i>Suburban rent level, 1950</i> :*				
High	18.4	81.6	100.0	114
Average	59.8	40.2	100.0	256
Low	75.7	24.3	100.0	33

* Source: Victor Jones, "Economic Classification of Cities and Metropolitan Areas," *The Municipal Year Book, 1953* (Chicago: International City Managers' Association, 1953).

† As designated by the Bureau of the Census in 1950.

‡ As measured by the date of incorporation.

are industrial centers, while over 3 out of every 4 of the smaller suburbs (those between 10,000 and 25,000) are non-industrial centers. Moreover, when the age of the suburb is measured by the date of its incorporation, the older suburbs appear more frequently to be industrial centers: Panel D shows that 6 out of every 10 of the oldest suburbs are industrial centers, while 4 out of every 5 recently incorporated suburbs appear in the non-industrial category.

Panel E in Table 2 shows that metropolitan suburbs lying outside the heavily built-up urbanized area tend to be industrial centers. Within the urbanized area, on the other

ship. Non-industrial suburbs predominate in the highest-rental category; in fact, 4 out of every 5 high-rent suburbs are non-industrial centers. On the other hand, 3 out of every 4 low-rent suburbs are industrial centers.⁸

RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL SUBURBS

Many suburbs are thought to be little more than "dormitories" serving to house persons employed elsewhere in the metropolitan area. It is fortunate that available data permit fairly precise identification of such suburbs. On the basis of a comparison of the number of employed residents with the number of jobs located within the suburb, an "employment-residence ratio" has been computed by Jones for all the places included in this study.⁹ Those suburbs which contain significantly more employed persons than jobs are here designated as "residential" centers; all other suburbs are called "non-residential" centers. Most of the latter fall into the industrial class, as defined previously, while the residential centers are, for the most part, those previously identified as non-industrial centers (Table 3). However, Table 3 shows that the overlap between these types is not complete. This is to be expected, of course, since the dichotomies are drawn along different dimensions.

Table 4 compares the two broad types of suburbs—residential and non-residential—with respect to the same array of characteristics as those identified in Table 2. This procedure supplements the information previously presented.

Panel A of Table 4 shows that there is very little regional variation in the balance between residential and non-residential suburbs. A slightly higher proportion of non-

TABLE 3

METROPOLITAN SUBURBS OF 10,000 OR MORE INHABITANTS ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC BASE AND EMPLOYMENT-RESIDENCE RATIO, 1950

SUBURBAN EMPLOYMENT-RESIDENCE RATIO	SUBURBAN ECONOMIC BASE		TOTAL (PER CENT)	N
	Industrial (Per Cent)	Non-industrial (Per Cent)		
Residential	18.9	81.1	100.0	185
Non-residential	75.2	24.8	100.0	218
Total	49.4	50.6	100.0	403

hand, there is a rough balance between the two types of suburbs under discussion. This tendency is confirmed in Panel F, which compares the economic bases of suburbs within each of four concentric distance zones. As distance from the center increases, the proportion of industrial suburbs increases progressively, while the proportion of non-industrial centers decreases.⁷ Finally, Panel G shows another very clear relation-

⁷ Working with 1940 Census data, Kish has recently shown that the extent of functional differentiation among metropolitan suburbs varies inversely with distance from the central city (see Leslie Kish, "Differentiation in Metropolitan Areas," *American Sociological Review*, XIX [1954], 388-98).

⁸ The definitions of these rent levels are as follows: *high*: more than ten dollars per month above the average rent for the whole metropolitan area; *average*: within a range of five dollars below and ten dollars above the average rent for the whole area; *low*: five dollars or more below the average rent for the whole area (Jones, *op. cit.*).

⁹ *Ibid.* Estimates of the number of jobs in a given suburb were drawn from the censuses of manufacturing and business of 1947 and 1948; labor-force figures were taken from the population census of 1950. This disparity, of course, may affect the accuracy of the ratio. Changes in the number of employment opportunities in the intervening years, for example, could artificially raise or lower the true value of the ratio. In addition, areal changes in the intervening years are likely to distort the ratio.

residential suburbs can be seen in the Northeast, but, in general, the differences between the four regions are not significant. Panel B, on the other hand, shows a clear association between the employment-residence ratio and the population of the central city near which the suburb is located. As size

employment-residence ratio and the population size of the suburb itself. Panel C shows a slight tendency for smaller suburbs to be residential centers, but the differences between the two larger suburban size classes are minimal. On the other hand, there appears to be a close association between the

TABLE 4
RESIDENTIAL AND NON-RESIDENTIAL METROPOLITAN SUBURBS OF 10,000
OR MORE INHABITANTS BY SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS, 1950

SELECTED CHARACTERISTICS OF METROPOLITAN SUBURBS	SUBURBAN EMPLOYMENT- RESIDENCE RATIO*		TOTAL	N
	Non- residential	Resi- dential		
All suburbs classified	54.8	45.2	100.0	425
A. <i>Regional location:</i> †				
Northeast	62.1	37.9	100.0	177
North-central	46.4	53.6	100.0	125
South	50.0	50.0	100.0	42
West	54.3	45.7	100.0	81
B. <i>Size of central city, 1950:</i>				
1,000,000 or more	47.8	52.2	100.0	182
500,000-1,000,000	54.6	45.4	100.0	108
100,000-500,000	59.2	40.8	100.0	81
Under 100,000	73.7	26.3	100.0	54
C. <i>Size of suburb, 1950:</i>				
50,000 or more	66.1	33.9	100.0	59
25,000-50,000	69.6	30.4	100.0	92
10,000-25,000	47.4	52.6	100.0	274
D. <i>Age of suburb:</i> ‡				
Less than 30 years	28.6	71.4	100.0	42
30-40 years	32.4	67.6	100.0	37
40-50 years	47.0	53.0	100.0	66
50 years or more	63.6	36.4	100.0	280
E. <i>Position in area:</i>				
Within urbanized area†	47.1	52.9	100.0	355
Outside urbanized area†	94.3	5.7	100.0	70
F. <i>Distance from central city:</i>				
0-10 miles	44.3	55.7	100.0	210
10-20 miles	58.2	41.8	100.0	146
20-30 miles	74.5	25.5	100.0	51
30+ miles	94.4	5.6	100.0	18
G. <i>Suburban rent level, 1950:</i> *				
High	25.0	75.0	100.0	120
Average	64.9	35.1	100.0	271
Low	79.4	20.6	100.0	34

* Source: Jones, *op. cit.*

† As designated by the Bureau of the Census in 1950.

‡ As measured by the date of incorporation.

increases, the proportion of suburbs that serve largely as residential centers increases. Only one-fourth of the suburbs in metropolitan areas with small central cities (under 100,000 inhabitants) are residential centers, while over half the suburbs of the largest central cities (more than 1,000,000 inhabitants) fall into this classification. There is no such clear association, however, between the

age of a suburb and its employment-residence ratio. Panel D shows that over two-thirds of the more recently incorporated suburbs are residential centers, compared with only a little over one-third of the older suburbs. In general, the proportion of residential suburbs declines as age of suburb increases.

Panel E of Table 4 indicates that there is

a rough balance between the two types of suburbs within the heavily built-up urban core of the metropolitan area. As might be expected, however, less than 1 out of every 10 centers lying beyond the limits of the urbanized area is a residential suburb. This tendency is repeated in Panel F, where a comparison is made between the suburbs lying in the four concentric zones. As distance increases, the proportions of suburbs classed as residential centers fall off sharply. The farther a suburb is from the central city, the more likely that it will be non-residential. Finally, Panel G shows the relationship between the employment-residence ratio and the level of rents in the suburb. The higher this ratio (i.e., the greater the employment in the suburb), the lower the average rent level. Three out of every 4 high-rent suburbs are residential centers. On the other hand, almost 4 out of every 5 low-rent suburbs are non-residential centers.

SUMMARY

At the risk of oversimplification, the materials from both Table 2 and Table 4 will be combined here, in order that we may discuss the two major types of metropolitan suburbs.

In general, the *industrial suburbs* are employing centers, attracting workers from other parts of the metropolitan area. As might be expected, they tend to be concentrated in the heavily industrialized areas of the northeastern and north-central regions. They appear relatively more frequently in the areas with smaller central cities, but they are themselves larger than other suburbs. Industrial centers also tend to be older than other subcenters. Although they appear throughout the entire metropolitan area, they are more frequently found beyond the limits of the densely settled urban core. As distance from the central city increases, in fact, suburbs of the industrial type are found with relatively greater frequency. Finally, these industrial centers are typically characterized by low rents.

Residential suburbs are distinctly different. Here retail trade—usually local in scope

—is the dominant economic activity. Residential suburbs are found in the metropolitan areas of all regions. They tend to appear with increasing relative frequency as the size of the central city increases, although they are themselves smaller than average. Residential suburbs predominate among the more recently incorporated subcenters. Very few of them lie either outside the densely occupied urbanized area or farther than thirty miles from the central city.¹⁰ Finally, rents are higher than average in these residential suburbs.

The foregoing description is based upon general tendencies of a rather gross nature. The omission of the smaller and the more highly specialized suburbs must be kept in mind. Moreover, the extremely broad types discussed in this paper undoubtedly conceal significant differences between suburbs that a more refined taxonomy would reveal. In a discussion of crucial research problems confronting urban sociologists, Whetten has recently observed that "there is need for further identification and classification of suburban populations into meaningful groupings or community types."¹¹ In point of fact, the larger question of the functional classification of cities in general has yet to be adequately resolved. It is hoped, however, that this description of certain general tendencies among the larger metropolitan suburbs will serve to suggest further research effort in this area. Successful solution of the many problems facing our metropolitan communities will require much more detailed knowledge of the functional nature of both cities and suburbs than is presently available.

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¹⁰ This pattern can probably be found among smaller centers as well. For example, a study of places under 2,500 inhabitants in a subregion of North Carolina showed that *residential* villages were located significantly nearer places of 10,000 or more inhabitants than were *industrial* villages (see V. H. Whitney, "Economic Differences among Rural Centers," *American Sociological Review*, XII [1947], 50-57).

¹¹ N. L. Whetten, "Suburbanization as a Field for Sociological Research," *Rural Sociology*, XVI (1951), 325.

INTERMETROPOLITAN MIGRATION: A CORRELATION ANALYSIS¹

THEODORE R. ANDERSON

ABSTRACT

Variations in the rates of in-migration, out-migration, net migration, and total migratory activity between metropolises in the northeastern and north-central regions of the United States between 1935 and 1940 may be substantially explained by four independent measures derived from two theories of migration. The independent measures were (1) the percentage of unemployed in the labor force, (2) the mean rent, (3) the population size, and (4) the location of the metropolis. Net migration can be explained purely in terms of the push-pull theory, while each of the other rates is explained by a combination of the push-pull and size-distance theories.

In the recent past, migration peopled the West and produced a vast growth in cities. Today, however, these streams are of less importance. Indeed, more than half the migrants to metropolises between 1935 and 1940 came from other metropolises, thus contributing not to the general growth of cities but rather to the redistribution of people already in cities. This paper reports a study of the process of intermetropolitan migration.

The question was asked: What factors account for the variation in migration rates between the major metropolises in the northeastern and north-central regions of the United States between 1935 and 1940? The fifty-four metropolitan subregions (as defined by the Census of 1940) within these regions contain the populations to be studied.² Only migration between pairs of these metropolises was considered. Four migration rates were established as the dependent variables of the study: (1) the rate of in-migration (I_r); (2) the rate of out-migration (O_r); (3) the rate of net migration

($N_r = I_r - O_r$); and (4) the rate of total migratory activity ($M_r = I_r + O_r$).

The use of these four measures of migratory activity raises a second and related question: Which rates are basic to the migration process?

THE PROBLEM OF EXPLANATION

Past research and theory have tended to focus on two types of variable as potentially capable of explaining migratory activity. According to one theory, migration—especially net migration—results from socioeconomic imbalances between communities. It is generally hypothesized that migration tends to proceed from less to more “prosperous” areas. This may be called the “socioeconomic push-pull theory.”³

A second theory is that migration—especially total migratory activity—arises out of the complex of forces centering on the cost of movement and the number of persons available to move. This theory may be called the “size-distance” or “gravitational theory.”⁴ Obviously, these theories are

¹ Paper read at the annual meeting of the Eastern Sociological Society, April, 1955. The material in the paper has been taken from the author's unpublished dissertation, “Characteristics of Metropolitan Subregions Associated with Intermetropolitan Migration, 1935 to 1940” (University of Wisconsin, 1953), in which undertaking the late Dr. T. C. McCormick gave generous and valuable help.

² The basic migration data were provided by the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems. These metropolises were selected primarily because they are in relatively “mature”—i.e., not rapidly filling—areas.

³ Cf., e.g., Julius Isaac, *Economics of Migration* (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner & Co., Ltd., 1947); Carter Goodrich and Others, *Migration and Economic Opportunity* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1936); and Dorothy Swaine Thomas, *Social and Economic Aspects of Swedish Population Movements, 1750-1933* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1942).

⁴ For selected references to theories of this general type consult George K. Zipt, “The P_1P_2/D Hypothesis: On the Intercity Movement of Persons,” *American Sociological Review*, XI (December, 1946), 677-86; Samuel A. Stouffer, “Intervening Op-

not incompatible, though they are quite distinct. Actually, they complement each other, since each focuses on a particular aspect of migratory experience.

Each of the theories has been tested a number of times, though not with respect to intermetropolitan migration as such.⁵ Since they have proved promising with other streams, operational variables derived from them may be expected to explain (in a statistical sense) intermetropolitan migration. Accordingly, it was hypothesized that the variance in the four migration rates would be substantially reduced by a linear multiple regression equation involving the following

TABLE 1
MULTIPLE CORRELATIONS SQUARED BETWEEN ALL HYPOTHESIZED INDEPENDENT MEASURES AND EACH MIGRATION RATE

Rate	R ²
I_r (in-migration).....	.685
O_r (out-migration).....	.608
M_r (total migratory activity).....	.639
N_r (net migration).....	.728

characteristics of the metropolises: E_1 = percentage of the labor force that is unemployed; E_2 = mean rent of all dwelling units; G_1 = log of the population size; and G_2 = log of the sum of (population divided by distance), summed over the ten metropolises nearest the one being considered. The symbol E_i refers to a measure derived from the push-pull theory, while the symbol G_i refers to a measure derived from the gravitational theory.⁶ The measure G_2 will be called a measure of the spatial position of the metropolis, a high value implying a central location (i.e., one in a cluster of metropolises), a low value relative isolation from other metropolises. For example, Trenton, New Jersey, is centrally located,

opportunities: A Theory Relating Mobility and Distance," *American Sociological Review*, V (December, 1940), 845-57; and Stuart C. Dodd, "The Interaction Hypothesis: A Gravity Model Fitting Physical Masses and Human Groups," *American Sociological Review*, XV (April, 1950), 245-56.

⁵ See, however, Warren S. Thompson, *Migration within Ohio, 1935-1940* (Miami University, Oxford, Ohio: Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, 1951).

being very close to both New York City and Philadelphia, while Duluth, Minnesota, is relatively isolated.⁷

For all 54 metropolises the linear multiple regressions involving these independent measures yielded the squared multiple correlations given in Table 1. Thus, for each migration rate over 60 per cent of the variance was explained by the hypothesized independent measures. This evidence clearly supports the hypotheses, though the fact that between 30 and 40 per cent of the variance remains unaccounted for indicates that the hypotheses are not entirely sufficient.

How can this residual variance be explained? Are there other characteristics of metropolises which affect migration? To answer this question, eleven other characteristics of metropolises were selected, representing most of the major ways in which cities differ, at least in so far as these differences are reflected in census data. Six of these characteristics had first-order correlations of .3 or above (in absolute value) with at least one of the migration rates.⁸

Multiple regression equations were then determined for each migration rate, by using

⁶ In the direct application of Zipf's hypothesis, population size would not be a factor in the rate of migratory activity. However, if the numerator (P_1P_2) of his equation is raised to any power but 1, then size will affect the various migration rates. Thus, if size is explanatory, there is evidence that Zipf's numerator should be raised to a power other than 1. Consult the author's other study of these data, Theodore R. Anderson, "Intermetropolitan Migration: A Comparison of the Hypotheses of Zipf and Stouffer," *American Sociological Review*, XX (June, 1955), 287-91.

⁷ The measure G_2 derives directly from Zipf's P_1P_2/D hypothesis (see Zipf, *op. cit.*). The concept of spatial location may or may not be best measured by the index used here. This index appears reasonably adequate, however, in that its results agree substantially with results obtained from simply examining a population map of the country or from any other form of subjective judgment.

⁸ These characteristics were (1) percentage of employed in clerical occupations, (2) percentage of employed in manufacturing, (3) a density index, (4) percentage of dwelling units with more than one person per room, (5) value added by manufacture per manufacturing employee, and (6) wage-earners per manufacturing establishment. Thus, in general, these variables measured the occupational-industrial composition of the labor force, the density of the population, and the extent of crowding.

these six measures in addition to the four hypothesized measures. Naturally, the resulting multiple correlations were higher than those emerging when only the hypothesized characteristics were used. However, the differences were small indeed, considering that six characteristics had been added to the regression equation. The largest increase occurred in connection with out-migration, where the multiple R^2 was increased from .608 to .688. Since the improvement in explanation was so small, it was concluded that the addition of other census characteristics to those hypothesized as explanatory does not materially improve the explanation of the dependent characteristics.

The next step was to test the reliability of the hypothesized measures by determining whether they would be effective in a variety of conditions. For this purpose the original 54 subregions were divided into three subgroups, one consisting of the subregions along the Atlantic Coast (the eastern group), the second centering around Cleveland, Ohio (the middle group), and the third centering on Chicago (the midwestern group).

These three subgroups of metropolises differ widely with respect to the independent variables; e.g., the metropolises in the eastern group are all centrally located, while those in the Midwest are isolated from other metropolises.

Table 2 shows the squared multiple correlations within each subgroup of metropolises. While there is some variation in the effectiveness of the independent characteristics, they appear to be effective under all the tested conditions. The lowest multiple correlation squared is .58 (in the Midwest on out-migration), indicating high predictability. It will be noted that, in general, the predictions are most accurate in the East and least accurate in the Midwest.⁹

Finally, all 15 independent characteristics were factor-analyzed by the principal components' method. The first four principal components were used as an alternative set of explanatory concepts. That is, multiple regressions were determined for each migration rate using the four principal components. The resulting multiple correlations

(squared) were all considerably smaller than those resulting from the four hypothesized measures.¹⁰ While the principal components may have considerable value for other studies, they were not analyzed further in connection with the migration rates because of the obvious explanatory superiority of the hypothesized measures.

TABLE 2

SQUARED MULTIPLE CORRELATION COEFFICIENTS WITHIN EACH OF THREE SUBGROUPS OF METROPOLISES AND FOR ALL METROPOLISES STUDIED (USING THE HYPOTHESIZED INDEPENDENT MEASURES)

SUBGROUP	DEPENDENT VARIABLE			
	I_r	O_r	M_r	N_r
East.....	.80	.77	.77	.84
Middle.....	.66	.72	.69	.71
Midwest.....	.69	.58	.65	.66
Total.....	.68	.61	.64	.73

It may be argued that the hypothesized variables (as measured) are sufficient to explain most (but not all) of the variation in the migration rates and that other census data do not, in general, improve the explanation materially. Clearly, this latter conclusion depends upon which other census characteristics are investigated. However, since the other measures used here represent the major types of data collected in the census, the conclusion is probably valid.

THE PROBLEM OF CONCEPTS

The four migration rates are linearly dependent upon any two of them. Hence, logically, only two of them are necessary for a complete statement of the migratory behavior (in terms of over-all rates) of cities. But which two rates should be selected?

⁹ The inclusion of the measure percentage of unemployed on public emergency relief would have materially improved the prediction in the Midwest, which indicates that migration there may have responded to slightly different pressures, but pressures still within the framework of the push-pull theory.

¹⁰ The multiple correlations squared for the four major principal components were:

Rate	R^2
I_r.....	.465
O_r.....	.256
M_r.....	.357
N_r.....	.427

Past research and theory have tended to focus on the rate of net migration (the push-pull theory) and on total migratory activity (the size-distance theory). However, theories have been developed both for out-migration (Stouffer's "Intervening Opportunities" theory¹¹—in a sense a combination of the push-pull and gravitation theories) and in-migration (Young's "Force of Attraction" theory). Furthermore, net migration may have been emphasized in past theory simply because it is easier to estimate the number of net migrants than other migrants when direct migration data are lacking. Thus past theory does not seem to pro-

plies, too, that those rates are to be preferred whose regressions give major weight to either the push-pull or the gravitational measures, but not to both.

Table 3 presents the regression weights of each independent measure in the equation for each migration rate when all the measures are in standard score form. It shows that N_r (the rate of net migration) is the only rate explained primarily by one theory, namely, the push-pull theory. Only unemployment and mean rent have significant regression weights in the regression equation of N_r . Each of the other three migration rates borrows explanation (in the sense of statistically significant regression weights) from both theories. Thus this evidence supports the selection of N_r or net migration as a fundamental migration concept but does not discriminate between the other three rates.

However, it will be noted that net migration measures a city's change in size due to migration. A logical companion of this concept would be a measure of the change in composition of the population or a measure of the extent to which the actual human beings in the population are being interchanged. Such a measure might be called the "turnover rate" of the population. Unfortunately, turnover rate can be given precise meaning only when the population is not changing in size or when net migration is zero. In that case, each of the other three rates is a measure of turnover rate. But when net migration is not zero, it is reasonable to argue that total migratory activity is a better approximation to turnover than is either in- or out-migration, since total migratory activity takes both in- and out-migration into account.

Thus it may be tentatively suggested that the rate of total migratory activity (the rate of in-migration plus the rate of out-migration) be used as the companion to the rate of net migration when conceptualizing the over-all migration process, even though our empirical evidence does not clearly indicate its superiority over the rates of in- or out-migration.

TABLE 3

MULTIPLE REGRESSION WEIGHTS FOR EACH INDEPENDENT VARIABLE ON EACH MIGRATION RATE WHEN ALL MEASURES ARE IN STANDARD SCORE FORM

INDEPENDENT MEASURE	MIGRATION RATES			
	I_r	O_r	M_r	N_r
E_1 (unemployment)	-.12	.51*	.16	-.57*
E_2 (mean rent) . . . . .	.57*	.21	.47*	.51*
G_1 (population size)	-.64*	-.68*	-.74*	-.19
G_2 (location) . . . . .	.39*	.45*	.46*	.08

*Indicates statistical significance at the 5 per cent level.

vide a definite answer to the question of how best to conceptualize the migration process.

The question may be approached logically. If two different types of variable are required to explain migratory activity or if two theories are required, then it would be reasonable to isolate whatever aspect of migration experience is explained by each theory. That is, ideally, each theory should explain one migration variable.

Now our analysis so far has shown that (a) all the migration rates may be explained quite well by four hypothesized independent measures and (b) these four measures derive from two theoretical approaches to migration. If we could find a migration rate that is explained only by the economic push-pull measures and another explained only by the size-distance measures, then the problem would have been solved, for these migration rates would be the best in terms of which to conceptualize migration. This argument im-

¹¹ Stouffer, *op. cit.*

CONTINUITY IN THE REBUILDING OF BOMBED CITIES IN WESTERN EUROPE

LEO GREBLER

ABSTRACT

In the rebuilt cities in western Europe the whole pattern of urban reconstruction shows strong evidence of continuity and persistence. No case of abandonment is on record. The economic bases and growth patterns of cities have not changed significantly. With few exceptions, cities and towns have been rebuilt on the same site, and the new city centers occupy the same area as before the war. There are few massive land-use changes. No effort has been made to create a new urban pattern designed for protection against future war.

The gigantic process of European city rebuilding during the last ten years presents social scientists with a case par excellence for examining the continuity and the discontinuities in urban patterns. Theoretically, destruction and reconstruction provided one of the greatest opportunities in history for urban change, both physical and social—an opportunity for redistributing the urban population and activities, for dispersion and deconcentration, for new territorial arrangements of land uses within cities, as well as for physical improvements of urban facilities.

A survey of five western European countries—England, Holland, France, Germany, and Italy—shows impressive evidence of change in certain respects.¹ Change manifests itself in new or radically altered street patterns, developed to accommodate modern traffic; in completely new city centers with less building coverage and lower residential densities; in planning innovations, such as the adoption of “open development” in lieu of the closed blocks that have characterized at least the last hundred years of town building. The buildings in the rebuilt city sections are usually much larger and more efficient than those they replaced. The new housing is sanitary and has more light and air than the slums, many of which fell victim to war’s destruction. Change manifests itself in the architecture of some of the reconstructed areas, while others were deliberately restored to the old model.²

¹ This article is based on a study tour of 28 cities during the latter half of 1954, undertaken with the aid of a grant from the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation.

But when the observer shifts his focus from physical improvements and detail to the entire pattern of urban reconstruction, a great deal of persistence can be detected. All the hundreds of destroyed cities and towns, even those which were most thoroughly wiped out, are being rebuilt. One might have expected that some communities, because their economic base had weakened and their population had for some time been drifting away, would be abandoned. But no case of complete abandonment is on record. The amazing persistence of cities throughout history has again been demonstrated on a massive scale. Cities have disappeared when entire civilizations have fallen. But so long as a civilization was viable, its cities have risen again and again from every kind of disaster. Ghost towns in the United States and elsewhere are altogether negligible exceptions.

The persistence of urban communities after destruction in World War II and in earlier cases as well is probably rooted in social behavior as well as in economics. Contrary to some interpreters of urban life, cities are powerful cohesive elements as well as the seedbeds of social disruption. Urban communities are built on human associations which spell home even when the cities are in ruins.

Cassino was completely reduced to rubble, its inhabitants scattered all over the countryside and in distant cities. Within a

² Some of these changes are or will be described in detail in other journals. See the author’s “New City Centers in Europe,” *Urban Land-News and Trends* (Washington, D.C.: Urban Land Institute, April, 1955).

few weeks of the end of active battle, people drifted back to live in caves, cellars, and dugouts, without food or means of livelihood, in an area infested with malaria and 550,000 mines. Their wisdom may be questioned, but their action symbolizes the power of the city over people, even when all its physical features have disappeared. Economic opportunity, even in the context of Italian life, was meager: Cassino has long had a shaky economic base.

THE RETURN OF POPULATION

Persistence is evident generally in the early return of populations to war-devastated cities in the face of incredible hardships. Fred Charles Iklé, in a study that covered the early postwar years,³ presented impressive evidence, which can now be confirmed from the vantage point of 1954. In spite of a pervasive housing shortage and in spite of transportation difficulties and general disorder, the overwhelming majority of the destroyed or heavily damaged communities have a population equaling or exceeding their prewar numbers. Not only have bombed-out or evacuated people and businesses flocked back at the earliest opportunity, but many of the bombed cities have continued to attract migrants from the country and from small towns.

More city dwellers than ever before had an opportunity to get acquainted with alternatives to urban living and, stirred up by war and city destruction, were probably more disposed toward making a choice than under normal circumstances. They chose to return. Of course, the small towns and villages to which they migrated or were evacuated were not ideal communities, and circumstances were unfavorable to adjustment. For that matter, however, the cities to which they went back were by no means functioning normally.

³ Fred Charles Iklé, "The Impact of War upon the Spacing of Urban Population" (unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Chicago, 1950); see also Iklé's article, "The Effect of War Destruction upon the Ecology of Cities," *Social Forces*, Vol. XXIX, No. 4 (May, 1951).

Perhaps even more striking is the persistence of urban growth patterns and the economic base of cities. Generally, the tremendous dislocations of war destruction have caused no permanent sharp deviations from prewar rates of growth. Cities and towns which were expanding fast before the war have continued to expand rapidly, even in the face of large-scale war damage. Destroyed communities have only temporarily lost trade to undamaged or only slightly damaged cities and towns in their proximity. People in bombed-out Bristol for years went shopping in Bath, Cheltenham, and Taunton, 13-44 miles away, but normal shopping habits have long since been restored. Le Havre, which lost some industry during the early postwar years when housing for workers was inadequate, is now recouping its losses. Growth in some cases might have been faster and certainly more steady in the absence of war damage. On the whole, however, war and destruction have brought surprisingly small permanent changes in the economic base and growth patterns of cities.

Some major exceptions to this observation exist in West Germany. Here the war and its aftermath have produced changes which have lasted to this day and which may have more permanent effects. Germany's partition has created several postwar "profiteers" and postwar losers among cities. Frankfurt has gained from the flight of banks, insurance companies, and industrial headquarters from Berlin and has inherited the fur trade and much of the publishing business of Leipzig. Hanover has also attracted many firms and institutions from Berlin and East German cities and has developed the West German equivalent of the Leipzig Fair. Bonn, of course, has expanded from a somewhat sleepy university town to a government center. On the other hand, there are several cases of population loss: Berlin, a city torn by political and economic division; Cologne, which is far behind in reconstruction; Cassel and other German cities near the Russian zone, which have lost part of their hinterland and are politically

so exposed that people and business firms shy away from them. Kiel, Hamburg, and Darmstadt are among the German cities suffering from a decline in their prewar economic base, but they are making valiant efforts to replace the losses.

The tremendous scale of city destruction in Germany and the influx of millions of expelled persons and refugees have also produced unusual differences in the growth of large cities and small towns. Considering the fact that West Germany now has a population of 50,000,000 as against 39,000,000 before the war, most of its heavily bombed and larger cities have gained much less than proportionately. On the other hand, many undamaged small towns have doubled in size, partly because expelled persons and refugees were deliberately settled in them. But the pattern is already changing. Increasing numbers of refugee families have been permitted to move to the large industrial centers, for they are short on labor, while many of the small communities offer only insufficient employment. By bringing industry to the small towns that had an influx of population and by holding down the larger centers, West Germany might have been able to effect major urban decentralization. According to German experts, however, a large-scale transfer of industry to the small towns would have been too costly. Moreover, many of the smaller communities that had dramatic increases in population are near the Russian zone; entrepreneurs as well as the government considered industrial investment in that area too great a political hazard. The whole atmosphere of postwar Germany militated against planned reindustrialization upon a new spatial basis.

Most of the changes in urban growth patterns and in the economic base of German cities must be attributed to military defeat and political partition rather than to war destruction as such.

PERSISTENCE OF CITY LOCATION

Practically all cities and towns, even those which were completely destroyed, have been rebuilt on the same site. Here,

again, one might have assumed that some locations would have become so obsolete that destruction would provide an opportunity for wholesale relocation. But roads and rails, underground utilities, rivers and port sites, have remained powerful physical determinants of city location, and even though some of the man-made facilities were damaged, tradition and pride were motives to reduplicate the original forms. There is a (perhaps apocryphal) story that immediately after the war Polish leaders considered relocating Warsaw until they were reminded of Hitler's boast that Warsaw would not be rebuilt in a thousand years. John Steinbeck reports that the Soviets debated moving Stalingrad to a different site, but "a dogged determination that the city . . . should, for sentimental reasons, be restored exactly where it had been," as well as the existence of underground utilities, militated against a transfer.⁴

A few small towns and villages in Italy have been moved from hilltops and mountainsides to near-by plains, since the reasons for their original location—malaria in the lowlands and the need for protection against enemies and robbers—no longer existed. But many more have been rebuilt where they were before; tradition won out over rational considerations. And some of the attempted relocations have not been quite complete; the hilltops have been partially built up again, while other groups of buildings have been constructed down below. This has resulted in "split communities" similar to those which sometimes developed in the age of railroad building when the railroad station in the plains gave rise to a new urban nucleus (the "basso" part of the town) in addition to the old one on the hill (the "alto").

Cassino is the best-known case of relocation. Here a whole town has been moved from its precarious and hemmed-in position on the mountainside to an adjoining level site 1,500–2,000 feet away. The ruins of old

⁴ John Steinbeck, *A Russian Journal* (New York, 1948), p. 132; see also Michel Gordey, *Visa to Moscow* (New York, 1952), p. 363.

Cassino, so thoroughly leveled that they are hardly visible, have been declared a national monument where no construction is permitted, and they are being beautified by green plantings. The new town occupies an area about ten times as large as the old one. Significantly, the new site lies in the path of Cassino's prewar growth.

Outside Italy the only recorded case of relocation is the Dutch village of Empel in the province of Brabant, a bad case of ribbon development which was given up in favor of a site 2 miles away. There was some discussion—never serious—about leaving the rubbled peninsula of Saint-Malo as a war memorial and rebuilding farther south on the mainland, where the new town could be joined to two existing communities. Saint-Servan and Paramé. But a strong feeling of tradition and a well-developed appreciation of Saint-Malo's value as a tourist attraction prevented the adoption of this radical solution.

NEW CENTERS ON OLD SITES

Persistence is evident in the replacement of the great majority of ruined city centers on the same site. Scores of central business districts were so severely destroyed that some locational change was at least a strong possibility. But only two cases of relocated city centers are on record in the five countries: Bristol and Kiel.

The case for relocation in Bristol rests primarily on topography. The old business center of 16 gross acres was felt to be too small for the expanding city, particularly if its narrow streets were to be widened. Expansion was difficult because the area was confined by waterways and an ancient moat and wall involving a 30-foot drop. Building tall structures offered no solution, since the demand was mainly for retail facilities. Thus the business district was moved to a site of about 25 gross acres adjoining the old center to the north, an area of highly mixed land uses that was also heavily destroyed. The old retail quarter is to be used as a civic and education center. Whatever the merits of the case, there is little doubt that the

move has slowed reconstruction. The planners who were for it and the business groups that were against it were locked in fierce and time-consuming struggles. Also, the compulsory purchase by the city of land in the new as well as in the old area has required, at least temporarily, larger financial outlays.

The main shopping area of Kiel has been shifted from a war-damaged site north of the Altstadt to an area south of it that is nearer the railroad station. Here destruction seems to have hastened a development that had already begun before the war.

If war destruction was to be used as an opportunity for relocating the business district within a built-up city, one of the necessary conditions was heavy war damage in two areas: the old site and a new site of suitable size and location. For, quite apart from the question of financial compensation and the resulting burden on the public purse, no country or city could afford to throw away existing real estate assets while urban facilities were extremely scarce. The condition of two destroyed sites was rarely met. In Rotterdam, for example, a case might have been made for moving the business center to the west, in line with tendencies apparent before the war. But it so happened that the area west of the old business district was only slightly damaged, and wholesale demolition of existing buildings was considered impossible.

While instances of the relocation of entire business centers are rare, the opportunity presented by destruction has been used in many cases for enlarging the prewar sites of the business center. The core of the city has lost none of its essential functions, and the new center usually provides more facilities than before the war for performing these functions.

Persistence is evident in the relatively slight permanent effect of the gigantic war-time dislocations of business firms. Destruction tore the very fabric of the intricate relationships that cause firms to concentrate in certain urban areas. Linkages were broken, and establishments that had thrived on proximity to others could no longer survive

in the old way. Space anywhere was at a premium. One might have expected that a reshuffling of such magnitude would have some major lasting effects. Entrepreneurs would discover that their old sites were poor; the inertia that is so great an obstacle to efficient location would be overcome. But, measured against the scale of wartime displacement, significant permanent shifts are few and far between. The only massive change has occurred in housing, where the decongestion of central city areas has accelerated peripheral development.

NO ADAPTATION TO THE ATOMIC AGE

Few, if any, precautions against future war can be detected in the rebuilding of European cities. After the incredible shock of bombing experienced by millions of city dwellers, one might have anticipated an irresistible popular demand for an urban pattern designed for protection. But no wholesale decentralization or dispersal has been attempted. Special reinforcements of structural elements of new buildings are required in only a few places (such as the City of London). Provisions for bomb shelters are rare. Decongestion of central city areas, wider streets, more open space, and the creation of industrial districts away from the centers have been motivated by the desire to create better cities rather than the need for protection, although the threat of war has sometimes been used as a subsidiary argument for these measures. The same is true for the new towns and the government-planned industrial relocation in Great Britain. That so little heed has been given in European city reconstruction to providing protection against future wars may be improvidence or defeatism in the face of the overwhelming new weapons of destruction. Basically, however, this remarkable phenomenon reflects the same attitude that caused people to return to the bombed cities in spite of the crowding and makeshift.

SOME DETERMINANTS OF CONTINUITY

When Europe's cities were being laid waste, there were high hopes that compensa-

tory benefits would come from the holocaust: the present generation might be freed from some of the errors of the past. Planners could start with a clean slate, and the new cities would reflect modern technology and our improved knowledge of the social, economic, and aesthetic requirements for good urban living.

These expectations were widely shared. Much of the planning literature of the war and early postwar period postulates, if it does not predict, the emergence of reshaped cities and new kinds of urban living and, indeed, the dawn of an age of planning that would remake our whole urban civilization.⁵ Lord Reith's exhortation to "plan boldly" became the slogan of the day. Measured against these expectations, Europe's rebuilt cities are disappointing. There are far fewer cases of radical innovation than many of the planner had hoped to see. The whole pattern of urban reconstruction is one of continuity. Changes in most of the rebuilt cities are timid, contrasting with the bold anticipation of new kinds of urban communities. The "believers" will look in vain for a sample of Le Corbusier's skyscraper city⁶ or for a pro-

⁵ See, for example, the essay on "Social Foundations of Postwar Building," in Lewis Mumford, *City Development* (New York, 1945); C.B. Purdom, *How Should We Rebuild London?* (London, 1945); *Land Settlement and Town Planning* ("Rebuilding Britain Series," No. 11 [January, 1945]); M. André Vera, "Opportunité de l'urbanisme," in *Urbanisme* (Paris, 1945); E. A. Gutkind, *Creative Demobilization* (London, 1943); Dr. Kurt Blaum, "Wiederaufbau zerstörter Städte" (an address delivered November 1, 1945, Frankfurt a.M.).

⁶ Le Corbusier, upon invitation by a group of young industrialists, actually designed a skyscraper city for St-Dié, a French city in the Vosges Mountains with 20,000 population, which was heavily destroyed. The plan provided for "vertical" apartment blocks with a battery of communal services in the mode of the designer's Unité d'habitation in Marseilles, as well as for some garden-type apartments and a new civic center (*Architectural Record*, October, 1946). The plan was not executed. Instead, St-Dié was rebuilt in conventional style but with considerable modification of the street pattern. One may well question whether Le Corbusier's plan fits in at all with the realities of St-Dié, an overgrown village gone industrial. To bring vast green areas into a city where lovely forests are within easy walk-

tototype of Frank Lloyd Wright's broadacre city or of other idealized types of communities. The new towns in England approximate Ebenezer Howard's garden city, but they are only remotely associated with programs of rebuilding.

It would be a grievous mistake, however, to condemn European city reconstruction solely because it has not come up to the levels of earlier aspiration. For most of the explicit or implicit assumptions underlying the wartime expectations were proved false by postwar realities. The city folk did not heed the romantics but returned in droves to cities in rubble. The men and machines employed in war could not simply be diverted to a gigantic revision of the city, for people after the war wanted many things in addition to better cities. And when reconstruction had to be tackled in earnest, it became clear that the assumption of a great "opportunity" for building radically different communities was based on a variety of optical and other illusions.

When people looked at the devastated cities during the war, what had been left standing escaped attention. They usually had an exaggerated impression of the size of destroyed areas. Newspaper reports on the extent of damage were in like manner overdramatic and exaggerated.

The planner faced with the actual task of reconstruction could not help focusing on the large sections still standing, for these delimited his opportunities. While some small towns, such as Saint-Malo in France, Cassino in Italy, and Freudensstadt in Germany, were almost wiped out, even the most savage bombing had often accomplished an incomplete job of destruction in the larger cities. Some centers, it is true, were 50-80

per cent destroyed, but this often left unaffected a large portion of the whole urban area, or volume of building or taxable values—even if additional destruction and spot damage in other districts are considered. When C. B. Purdom in 1945 urged the "rebuilding" of London, he failed to acknowledge that about 90 per cent of the County of London remained intact or was only slightly damaged. It is a stark fact that a city cannot be made over if 90 or 80 or even 70 per cent of it has been saved from destruction. In such a situation, the bulk of the city must still be rebuilt in the slow, more or less piecemeal, fashion in which a city renews itself in peacetime conditions.

Moreover, the bombs did not always fall where they would do the least harm or the most good from the viewpoint of replanning and rebuilding the city. Even in the areas of vast destruction, whole buildings or groups of buildings were often untouched or only slightly damaged.⁷ Regardless of the difficulties of financial compensation, no country emerging from the war with a scarcity of urban facilities of every kind could afford to demolish on any large scale structures that had escaped the fury. The slate was much less clean than had been assumed. A student of London's history has estimated that the Great Fire of 1666 proportionately did more physical damage than the destruction inflicted by air raids on any English city.

Even where planners had a relatively free hand, as in England and Holland, boldness

⁷ Only 9 per cent of the total acreage of the County of London in 1949 was accounted for by war-damaged and temporary buildings and vacant land potentially available for construction. Of dwellings, about 80,000 (August, 1945) were estimated to be destroyed or beyond repair, in a total of about 850,000 dwellings (London County Council, *Development Plan, 1951*, "Analysis," pp. 28-29). Exact measurement of war damage is extremely difficult, depending upon whether land area, taxable values, buildings, floor area of structures, or dwelling units are taken as bases. There is no comparability in estimates between different countries or sometimes even between different cities in the same country. The accounting for partial damage of varying degrees of severity is especially problematical.

ing distance would seem to be uncalled for. To design "communal houses" for the strongly individualistic population of St-Dié would seem to be utterly unrealistic. This case highlights one of the difficulties with startlingly new planning ideas and one of the reasons why they were not adopted. Some of the advanced designers attempted to impose their preconceived ideas on places for which they were not suitable.

was held in check by financial considerations. Cities were in a hurry to restore taxable resources and trade and were thus under pressure to compromise. Even though they owned the land in reconstruction areas and could theoretically dictate the manner of rebuilding, they needed private developers willing to stake their money on new construction and, in many cases, had to accede to their wishes.

The amount of change effected was also limited by the necessity for those nations which were weakened by war to resort to various economizing devices. This was true particularly of Germany and Italy. Making maximum use of the existing underground utilities is one such device. Another is the utilization of foundations and walls of gutted buildings. Much of Hamburg was rebuilt in this way. The "opportunities" in most cases were far more limited than had been anticipated, and so were the resources for the rebuilding task, which came at a time of overwhelming pressures on manpower and materials.

Finally, the strength of persistence and continuity in European city reconstruction can perhaps be fully understood only against the background of western European society as a whole. People are much less mobile than in the New World; the spectacular postwar migrations in Germany are

exceptional. Family and group attachments to particular cities and even neighborhoods are much stronger than in our country and other young countries. The far greater importance of status still lends a high degree of fixity to location, occupation, and property ownership. The transfer of urban as well as rural land is much less frequent than in the United States. Businessmen are generally more conservative and tradition-bound. Affection for the visible heritage of a long, rich, and proud past, the historical monuments, churches, and treasured buildings, is widespread and has been intensified by destruction. One must comprehend the dimensions of European tradition, in time and depth, to appreciate the power of the status quo.

If later studies of city rebuilding were to include eastern European and Asian countries, these cultural determinants could be examined in more detail and with greater confidence. Meanwhile, it is significant that a detailed study of Okayama, a heavily destroyed city in Japan, has also highlighted the persistence and continuity in the distribution of population and in land-value patterns.⁸

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

⁸ Amos H. Hawley, "Land Value Patterns in Okayama, Japan, 1940 and 1952," *American Journal of Sociology*, Vol. LX, No. 5 (March, 1955).

FARM BACKGROUND AND URBAN PARTICIPATION¹

BASIL G. ZIMMER

ABSTRACT

City populations are made up in large part of both urban and farm migrants. Migration itself appears to limit participation in the urban setting, but type of previous community experience is a more significant determinant. Migrants as a group have a lower level of participation than natives, but on this point urban migrants are more similar to the natives than to the farm migrants. High status tends to transcend the limiting influence of farm background. Any increase in amount of farm experience is closely related to a decrease in level of participation in the urban community.

A large but unknown part of the population of any city is made up of migrants. They come from other urban centers as well as from farm areas. Because of the significance of migration in modern society, a great deal of research has been centered on it. However, a careful review of the literature indicates that the focus has been on selected characteristics, amount, and direction of movement. From these data the potential implications to both the community of origin and the community of destination have been inferred.

One of the possible consequences of migration is that persons who have been trained to live in one type of environment may find that they are not fully prepared for the way of life that is found in a different community. Thus persons who have been reared on farms learn rural patterns of behavior that may make assimilation into city life difficult.² Indeed, when one moves from a rural to an urban setting, the differences in way of life are likely to be more marked than when one moves from one city to another. Many urban problems today are believed to be due, in part, to the fact that a large proportion of the city's population is made up of people not trained to live in it. However,

there are very few empirical studies which attempt to test whether this diversity of background actually does make for differential behavior in the city.

There is some evidence to show that migrants enjoy less participation in community activities than natives and that the difference decreases with length of time the migrants have resided in the community.³ The question here is whether the level of participation of migrants is related to their experience before having entered the present urban community. Is it migration as such or similarity of community experience that is the important determinant of level of participation?

HYPOTHESES

For a given community, at a given time, does previous community experience of migrants influence their behavior? This is the problem of the present study. The following hypotheses are made:

1. Migrants as a group will differ in level of participation from the natives, but mi-

² R. Freedman, A. H. Hawley, W. S. Landecker, and H. M. Miner, *Principles of Sociology* (New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952), p. 489; C. A. Dykstra, "The Challenge of Urbanism," *Public Management*, XVI (November, 1934), 333; E. B. Strong, "Individual Adjustment in Industrial Society," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XIV, No. 3 (June, 1949); T. Lynn Smith and C. A. McMahon, *The Sociology of Urban Life* (New York: Dryden Press, 1951), p. 58.

³ Harry P. Sharp, "Migration and Social Participation in the Detroit Area" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, 1954); B. G. Zimmer, "Participation of Migrants in Urban Structures," *American Sociological Review*, Vol. XX, No. 2 (April, 1955).

¹ Read before the annual meeting of the Rural Sociological Society, College Park, Maryland, August 29, 1955. This paper is based on data obtained in a research project carried on in 1952 and 1953 as part of Air Force contract 33 (038)-25630, Community Inventory, University of Chicago, with the Human Resources Research Institute, Maxwell Air Force Base, Montgomery, Alabama. The research reported here is that of the author and should not be construed as reflecting the view or indorsement of the Department of the Air Force.

grants who come from a similar environment will be more like the natives than migrants who come from a dissimilar environment. Other cities are assumed to resemble the city under study, and farm areas are assumed to offer a different environment.

2. The level of participation will vary inversely with the experience of migrants in a dissimilar environment. Thus, as dissimilar experience increases, the level of participation is expected to decrease.

VARIABLES STUDIED

As measures of participation in the community, we shall investigate membership in formal organizations⁴ and officeholding in them, in religious organizations, or in unions. Since other researchers have found these items significantly related to age, education, and occupational status, we shall employ these characteristics as control variables.

Three categories are studied—farm, urban, and natives. Farm and urban migrants are classified according to place of birth.⁵ Natives include persons who were born in the present community or persons who entered it prior to ten years of age and who have since lived there continuously.⁶ As a measure of the amount of experience in a dissimilar environment, all persons in our

⁴ Such groups are ordinarily thought of as clubs, groups, or societies by people in the community. The role of these organizations in urban society has been classically stated by Louis Wirth in "Urbanism as a Way of Life," *American Journal of Sociology*, XLIV (July, 1938), 20.

⁵ The census criterion is used. The name of the community of birth and the size at the time were obtained from the respondent. The size was verified in the census nearest to the date of birth of the respondent. Because of the heterogeneity of the "rural non-farm" and the "foreign" categories, we are not including them in the present study.

⁶ It was assumed that persons who arrived prior to ten years of age had had little opportunity to participate in their community of origin and would have had experiences in the present community comparable to the natives. In a more recent study in Detroit it is reported that "migrants who come to the community before the age of ten are very similar to natives in their tendency to belong to formal organizations" (Sharp, *op. cit.*).

sample who have lived in farm areas are classified according to number of years lived on a farm and according to age when last lived on a farm.

SOURCE OF DATA

The data for this study were gathered by the personal-interview method in a midwestern community with a population of nearly 20,000. Interviews were obtained from respondents living in a random sample of dwelling units.⁷ We are reporting here only

TABLE 1

PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS* BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE
($\chi^2 = 17.1$; $P = 0.001$)

TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE	TOTAL No.	MEMBERSHIP		TOTAL PER CENT
		Belong	Not Belong	
Farm.....	244	33	67	100
Urban. ...	256	46	54	100
Natives...	94	55	45	100

* Does not include church organizations or labor unions.

TABLE 2

PER CENT OF OFFICEHOLDERS* BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE
($\chi^2 = 9.2$; $P = 0.01$)

TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE	TOTAL No.	OFFICEHOLDING		TOTAL PER CENT
		Yes	No	
Farm.....	176	24	76	100
Urban.....	190	37	63	100
Natives...	73	40	60	100

* Special positions in formal organizations, church organizations, or labor unions. All persons in this table belong to at least one of these type groups.

married males; thus both marital status and sex are controlled.

HYPOTHESIS 1

Farm migrants have the lowest rate both of membership in formal organizations and of officeholding. Natives participate in the largest proportions. Urban migrants, in both measures, rate lower than the natives but higher than the farm migrants. These data are shown in Tables 1 and 2.

⁷ Addresses were randomly selected from the work sheets used in compiling the city directory, prior to its publication; this was an up-to-date list-

In both types of behavior the urban migrants' level of participation is more similar to the natives' than to the farm migrants', i.e., the gap in participation is larger between farm migrants and urban migrants than between the latter and the natives. The difference between urban migrants and natives is particularly small in respect to officeholding. At any rate, both membership and officeholding appear related to previous community experience.⁸

sented in Table 3. Within each type, persons in the occupational and educational categories enjoying high status participate more than do those of lower status.

We note a variation in the pattern of difference already observed by type of migrant, when occupation and education are employed as control variables. Among manual workers and at the grade-school and high-school levels, the same variation in level of participation, by previous community

TABLE 3
PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN AGE, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL GROUPS, BY TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE

CONTROL VARIABLE	TYPE OF COMMUNITY EXPERIENCE					
	Farm		Urban		Native	
	Per Cent*	No.†	Per Cent	No.	Per Cent	No.
Total.....	33	244	46	256	55	94
<i>Age:</i>						
Under 40 years....	34	90	41	146	56	59
40 years and over.	32	154	48	110	54	35
<i>Occupation:</i>						
White-collar.....	63	68	51	131	63	46
Manual.....	22	176	37	125	48	48
<i>Education:</i>						
Grade school.....	17	110	27	45	33	15
High school.....	34	87	43	113	50	50
College.....	73	41	54	97	74	27

* The complement of this percentage is the proportion who do *not* belong.

† This is the base on which the percentage is computed.

Within age groupings the same general pattern is found. Farm migrants have the lowest membership rate in formal organizations, and natives the highest. No differences in membership are observed by age within each type.⁹ However, marked differences are found when occupation and education are considered. These data are pre-

experience, is found. Farm migrants have the lowest participation rate, and natives have the highest. In each subgroup the urban migrants are between the other two groups in level of participation. However, among white-collar workers and the college-trained, farm migrants have a higher participation rate than do the urban migrants and a rate which is equal to that of the natives.¹⁰

Thus Hypothesis 1 is only partially supported by our data. Migrants as a group

ing. Of the 794 households selected, completed interviews were obtained from 741 respondents.

⁸ When last place of residence is used to classify migrants, farm migrants have a lower participation rate than when place of birth is used as a basis for classification.

⁹ A more detailed breakdown by age groups does show differences by age. The middle age groups have a higher membership rate than those at either extreme. Because of the small number of cases, we have employed only two age categories, which divide the total sample at the median age.

¹⁰ This reversal in pattern was observed in an analysis of different types of behavior, such as officeholding, church attendance, membership in church organizations, and registration to vote (see B. G. Zimmer, "Adjustment of Migrants in an Urban Area" [unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Department of Sociology, University of Michigan, June, 1954], pp. 137-89).

participate less than the natives, and the level of participation is higher among migrants who came from a similar environment than among those who came from a dissimilar environment. This relationship is found within age groups but does not hold up within each occupational and educational category. It is found among manual workers and at both the grade-school and high-school levels; but among white-collar workers and the college-trained the situation is reversed. At the high-status levels farm migrants participate more than do urban migrants. This we did not expect. However, it may be that farm migrants of high status may have learned to live in the city as part of their formal education. It may also be due to the attempt by farm people with higher education to "enter" the higher levels of the community through these formal structures. That is, farm migrants may use these formal structures as a way of becoming recognized in the city. Highly educated farm-born persons may perhaps put forth more deliberate effort to participate than do the urban-born of equal education, and, if so, the initial disadvantage of ruralism is overcome by training, experience, and effort. Further, it may be that manual jobs select those farmers who have not had much experience with the urban way of life, so that both occupational role and lack of membership are due to ruralism; whereas those in the white-collar class have learned the city way of life in preparing for their jobs. Thus holding a white-collar position, itself an urban phenomenon, aids in transcending the limitations of the rural environment.

It seems that a farm background is a limiting factor in one's participation in the formal life of the urban community, but these factors can be overcome by special training. The former countryman by specific effort may learn to excel in city ways, just as a foreigner may acquire proficiency in language by training; he may end by being better equipped in its employment than the native who depends more or less on learning it through use. Thus the white-collar worker with a rural background is,

more or less deliberately, more active in the urban way of life than is the native urbanite. It is also likely that the migrant of rural origin may use these formal organizations as a means of "entering" the urban way of life, as suggested previously—his motives would make an interesting object of study—whereas the urban migrant participates in urban life more informally, that is, without deliberate effort. Further, it may be that the farm migrant white-collar worker is more highly selected than is the urban worker of the same class.

In summary, it seems that level of participation is higher among migrants whose background has been culturally similar to the urban environment of the present community than among migrants who came from a dissimilar environment. When these relationships do not hold, the reversal may be attributed to the fact that education and white-collar positions effectively transcend previous community influences.

HYPOTHESIS 2

The second part of this study analyzes the farm migrants in greater detail. The sample is limited to those who have lived on a farm. Here we are interested in the influence of amount of farm experience on behavior in the city. More specifically, the question here is whether farm migrants who differ in the amount of farm experience also differ in level of participation in the urban community.

Participation in both formal organizations and officeholding decreases with amount of farm experience. These data are presented in Tables 4 and 5. Persons with the least amount of farm experience are the most active. The same pattern of difference is found whether farm experience is measured in terms of number of years lived on a farm or of age when last lived on a farm.

This same relationship is found when age, education, and occupation are employed as control variables. These data are presented in Table 6 for membership in formal organizations only. Within each subgroup the level of participation decreases as the amount of

farm experience increases. High status does not compensate for increased farm experience. The negative influence of farm experience is observed in those of both high and low status. Within each farm experience, category participation varies by age, education, and occupational position. Those under forty years of age, white-collar workers, and the college-trained participate the most.

From these data it is evident that the amount of experience in a dissimilar environment is an important deterrent to participa-

tion in city life. As farm experience increases, the level of participation decreases. Thus Hypothesis 2 is supported by our data. Farm experience appears clearly as setting limits upon adjustment to urban community life, and any increase in it is closely related to a decrease in participation.¹¹

CONCLUSION

Although migration itself does limit participation, the community of origin is a

¹¹ The same general relationships were observed in an analysis of frequency of church attendance,

TABLE 4

PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS BY AMOUNT OF FARM EXPERIENCE

FARM EXPERIENCE*	No.	MEMBERSHIP		PER CENT
		Yes	No	
<i>No. years lived on farm:</i>				
Under 10..	54	50	50	100.0
10-19.	118	34	66	100.0
20-29.	101	30	70	100.0
30 and over	39	18	82	100.0
<i>Age when last lived on farm:</i>				
Under 15..	56	45	55	100.0
15-19.	82	41	59	100.0
20-39.	145	29	71	100.0
40 and over	26	4	96	100.0

* Includes all persons who have ever lived on a farm.

TABLE 5

PER CENT HOLDING OFFICE BY AMOUNT OF FARM EXPERIENCE

FARM EXPERIENCE	No.	OFFICEHOLDING		PER CENT
		Yes	No	
<i>No. years lived on farm:</i>				
Under 10..	43	37	63	100.0
10-19.....	88	28	72	100.0
20-29.....	72	26	74	100.0
30 and over	25	16	84	100.0
<i>Age when last lived on farm:</i>				
Under 15..	40	43	57	100.0
15-19.....	64	30	70	100.0
20-39.....	110	23	77	100.0
40 and over	...*	..	..	.....

* Less than 15 cases.

TABLE 6

PER CENT BELONGING TO FORMAL ORGANIZATIONS WITHIN AGE, OCCUPATIONAL, AND EDUCATIONAL GROUPS, BY AMOUNT OF FARM EXPERIENCE

FARM EXPERIENCE	AGE				OCCUPATION				EDUCATION†			
	Under 40 Years		40 Years and Over		White-Collar		Manual Workers		Grade School		High School	
	Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent		Per Cent	
	No.*	No.†	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.	No.
<i>No. years lived on farm:</i>												
Under 10 years	62	26	39	28	62	21	42	33	36	22	56	18
10-19	31	55	36	63	57	35	24	83	20	50	33	49
20-29	23	39	34	62	50	26	23	75	16	44	30	43
30 and over	..	..§	19	37	..	..§	20	35	12	26	..	..§
<i>Age when last lived on farm:</i>												
Under 15 years	56	44	36	31	65	20	33	36	30	20	46	22
15-19	39	61	45	38	58	31	31	51	30	30	34	35
20-39	21	79	34	92	50	28	24	117	18	73	33	54
40 and over	..	..§	4	26	..	..§	5	20	0	18	..	..§

* The complement of this percentage would be the proportion who are non-members.

† This is the base on which the percentage is computed.

‡ At each level are included all persons who have had at least some schooling in the given category.

§ Less than 15 cases.

more important determinant. Our data have shown that movement from city to city puts a less significant limitation upon becoming "integrated" in the city than does movement from rural to urban areas. The latter type of migrant is one whose previous experience has not equipped him for the urban way of life. However, certain characteristics overcome the limiting influences of his background.

The total American population is becoming

membership in church organizations, and registration to vote (*ibid.*).

ing involved in an urban economy and thus is acquiring urban cultural traits. Thus, in the future, we would expect rural migrants to our cities to be more familiar with the urban way of life, which will greatly facilitate their adjustment and make for a higher level of integration in the urban centers than we have witnessed in the past. It is also evident that the rural-to-urban movement so characteristic of the United States will markedly decline in importance in the future, since a decreasing proportion of the population live in rural areas.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

ILLEGITIMATE BIRTH RATES IN AN ATYPICAL COMMUNITY

ROBERT C. SCHMITT

ABSTRACT

Illegitimate birth rates were computed by census tract for the Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area. Despite the atypical character of this area, the illegitimacy rates conformed closely to classical ecological models. Rates followed a distinct geographic gradient and showed a relatively high correlation with most, but not all, housing, health, and social-breakdown rates.

This brief study presents an analysis of the distribution by census tracts of illegitimate birth rates in the Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area. This community is geographically unique among American metropolises and hence is an excellent testing ground for ecological principles developed under less unusual conditions. The consistency with which illegitimacy rates and similar ecological phenomena follow traditional patterns in ostensibly atypical cities like Honolulu may therefore be viewed as a measure of the adequacy of current ecological theory.

Honolulu differs from mainland metropolitan communities in at least six geographic characteristics:

1. The Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area is coterminous with a small island (Oahu), containing only 589 square miles of land area.
2. It is located more than 2,000 miles from the nearest continental land mass.
3. The economic base of this island is almost exclusively services to the armed forces, tourism, and plantation agriculture.
4. Major employment centers are dispersed over a large area, from Schofield Barracks and the Pearl Harbor Navy Base through Iwilei industrial district and the central business district to Waikiki.
5. Temperatures are mild, with little daily, seasonal, or geographic range, but rainfall varies greatly.
6. The racial and ethnic composition of the population differs from that of any city on the mainland.

The Honolulu Standard Metropolitan Area (or "SMA," as it is frequently abbreviated) was divided into forty-two census tracts in preparation for the 1940 United

States Census: twenty-nine in the central city and thirteen in the metropolitan ring. They comprised the basic geographic units for the present analysis. For each of the forty-two census tracts, the number of illegitimate births per 1,000 live births during the five-year period ended December 31, 1952, was computed. Basic data were initially compiled by the Bureau of Health Statistics, Territorial Department of Health, by place of mother's usual residence, and published in a report of the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency.¹ The years 1948-52 were selected because of their centering on 1950, when the most recent United States Census (source of many related statistical series) was taken.

The tract statistics were also grouped according to driving distance from the intersection of Fort and King streets, in the heart of the Honolulu central business district. For the central city, four concentric zones were defined, with successive radii of 1.5, 3.0, and 4.5 miles and the city limits. A fifth zone included the entire metropolitan ring.

Rates for individual census tracts ranged from 8.5 to 138.6. The highest rate was that for the River Street area, a blighted, transitional neighborhood immediately adjacent to the central business district. The lowest rate was reported for Schofield Barracks and environs, a military post surrounded chiefly by pineapple fields, some 20 miles from downtown Honolulu.

A distinct gradient pattern was apparent in the zonal analysis. The illegitimacy rate was 75.2 in the innermost 1.5-mile zone,

¹ Robert C. Schmitt, *Housing, Health, and Social Breakdown on Oahu: A Study of Census Tract Statistics* (Honolulu: Honolulu Redevelopment Agency, 1954), Table 11, p. 53.

54.4 in the second zone, 42.7 in the third, 43.2 in the fourth, and 35.3 in the outer zone (Table 1).

The illegitimacy rates by census tract showed a close correlation with other measures of social breakdown (see Table 2). Data on housing, mortality, morbidity, and social pathology were compiled by the Honolulu Redevelopment Agency for the corresponding five-year span.² Coefficients of correlation between the illegitimacy rates by tract and various related indexes ranged from .195 to .831. The highest coefficient was computed for the admissions rate to Oahu Prison. Ten coefficients fell in the .500-.600 range and included both of the two housing measures (dilapidation and overcrowding), five of the six health rates (all deaths, sui-

distribution of illegitimacy (as well as sex offenses) in Chicago.³ Mowrer's data indicated both a well-defined gradient and close association with other measures of social breakdown. Comparable findings have been reported for other cities, for a variety of ecological series.⁴

It would thus appear that one of two conclusions is possible. Either Honolulu is less atypical than many analysts have hitherto assumed, or else ecological generalizations derived from data for less exceptional cities

TABLE 1
ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS, FOR OAHU, BY RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM DOWNTOWN
HONOLULU, 1948-52
(Based on Usual Place of Residence of Mother)

GEOGRAPHIC AREA AND RESIDENTIAL DISTANCE FROM FORT AND SOUTH KING STREETS	LIVE BIRTHS	ILLEGITIMATE BIRTHS	
		Number	Rate
Island of Oahu	54,592	2,612	47.8
City of Honolulu	37,968	2,026	53.4
Under 1.5 miles	8,019	603	75.2
1.5-2.9 miles	11,859	645	54.4
3.0-4.4 miles	6,925	296	42.7
4.5 miles and over	11,165	482	43.2
Balance of island	16,624	586	35.3

cides, tuberculosis, venereal disease, and mental disorders), and three of the seven social-breakdown categories (unemployment, couples without own household, and widowhood or divorce). Only four series were found to have correlation coefficients less than .500: adults under five years of schooling, juvenile delinquency, infant mortality, and, lowest of all, incomes less than \$2,000.

These findings agree closely with the results of similar studies made in various mainland cities. The classic example, of course, is that reported by Mowrer, who made a detailed investigation of the spatial

² *Ibid.*, Tables 2-19, pp. 44-61.

TABLE 2

COEFFICIENTS OF CORRELATION BETWEEN ILLEGITIMACY RATE AND SPECIFIED HOUSING, HEALTH, AND SOCIAL-BREAKDOWN RATES, FOR OAHU CENSUS TRACTS, 1948-52

Correlated Rate	r
<i>Housing:</i>	
Dilapidation . . . . .	.560
Overcrowding . . . . .	.600
<i>Health:</i>	
All deaths . . . . .	.548
Infant deaths . . . . .	.208
Suicides . . . . .	.566
Tuberculosis cases . . . . .	.554
Venereal disease cases . . . . .	.527
Mental hospital admissions . . . . .	.592
<i>Social breakdown:</i>	
Unemployment . . . . .	.580
Couples without own household . . . . .	.581
Incomes under \$2,000 . . . . .	.195
Adults under five years' schooling . . . . .	.406
Widowed or divorced persons . . . . .	.553
Juvenile offenders . . . . .	.307
Prison admissions . . . . .	.831

apply equally well to Honolulu, unique though it be, and, by inference, to other unusual metropolises. If the latter is the answer—and there is much to suggest that it is—there is good reason for extending the concepts of internal urban structure, developed initially from data for a limited number of midwestern cities, to a much broader universe than has previously been deemed advisable.

HONOLULU REDEVELOPMENT AGENCY

³ Ernest R. Mowrer, *Disorganization: Personal and Social* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1942), pp. 148, 305, and 307.

⁴ See, e.g., James A. Quinn, *Human Ecology* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1950), Part IV.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

THE BEHAVIORAL AND THE PHYSICAL SCIENCES

November 13, 1955

To the Editor:

Professor Lundberg's excellent article in the November issue of the *Journal* presents convincing evidence that the controversy between the positivists and the antipositivists has become milder with the passage of the years.

Perhaps the most fundamental disagreement remaining between Lundberg and myself concerns the proposed division of the empirical sciences into "natural" and "moral" sciences, that is, *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*. Of course, the choice of terms (which I myself have used as freely as anyone else) is abominable. When Lundberg calls his viewpoint that of "natural science," the term would seem to imply that his opponents' methods are either unnatural or unscientific, an accusation which, I am sure, he is far too courteous to intend. On the other hand, one would expect that "moral" sciences would deal primarily with morality, synonymous with "ethical" sciences, whereas actually this is not the case. Let us call the two categories "physical" and "behavioral" sciences. If I understand Lundberg correctly, he holds that the distinction is nugatory and that the behavioral sciences (such as sociology, anthropology, or social psychology) should use essentially the same approach as the physical sciences (such as physics, astronomy, or geology).

Lundberg accuses me of harboring an "unspoken premise or postulate of 'mind.' " He may be right. Possibly I am attracted to the distinction between the physical and behavioral sciences because I adhere to a dualistic metaphysics which recognizes mind and matter as equally fundamental realities. (I didn't realize, however, that my premise was "unspoken.") On the other hand, per-

haps the positivists prefer to reduce all science to physical science because they adhere to a monistic metaphysics which recognizes only matter as the fundamental reality.

Avoiding the level of metaphysics, there seem to be very sound empirical reasons for recognizing the behavioral sciences as a separate category. First of all, they are characterized by almost completely distinctive methods: one does not give attitude tests to amino acids or study human motivation with a mass spectrograph. A book on social research (the excellent one that Lundberg himself wrote, for example) is helpful not only to sociologists but to social psychologists or anthropologists as well but is completely wasted on a chemist. Each of the behavioral sciences has its own peculiar techniques, of course, but at the same time they all have a good deal in common which they do not share with the physical sciences.

If I am doing research on truancy, I can put myself imaginatively into the truant's place, and this *Einfühlung* can help me conceive a promising hypothesis. I am part of the behavioral world that sociology studies. There is no parallel to this in physics; the physicist gains no added insight by putting himself in the place of the electron. It is true enough, as Lundberg often insists, that the inner world of consciousness can be explored only through *sensa* interpreted by the critical standards common to all science. We read life-history documents with the same eyes as those with which physicists watch their pointer readings. Yet the critical interpretation of life-history documents and the critical interpretation of pointer readings demand skills of quite different sorts.

The generalizations of physics are expressed ideally and most typically in equations. We sociologists, when we attempt mathematical analysis, sharpen the contrast between our science and physics. The typical graph showing the relation between two variables in physics is a smooth curve; the

typical graph showing the relation between two variables in sociology is a scattergram. In the one case the relation is functional; in the other it is stochastic. The amount of variability characterizing social phenomena is enormous. As a result, the problem of adequate sampling plagues us eternally. The chemist goes to the stockroom and returns with a bottle of reagent, knowing that it is typical *within known limits* of all the other bottles of the same reagent in the whole world; but have we sociologists *ever* studied an adequate sample of American families or urban delinquents or middle-class adolescents?

When I say that the behavioral sciences *ought* to be sharply distinguished from the physical sciences, I am, of course, stating a metasociological value-judgment, a personal preference for a particular approach to sociology as being more promising, more revealing, more realistic, than the alternatives. If Professor Lundberg still prefers his own, it is pretty hard to argue against him. If we leave metaphysics aside and argue on a purely empirical level, it is not easy to prove that one method will be better in the long run than another. Probably the proof of the pudding is in the eating. Probably we shall have to wait fifty years to see whether Dodd's *Dimensions of Society* represents the successful sociology of the future. My own hunch is that it does not. But I could be wrong.

PAUL HANLY FURFEY

Catholic University of America
Washington, D.C.

January 2, 1956

To the Editor:

I am glad to know that Professor Furfey agrees with me regarding the "abominable" implications of the terms *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*. Since this confusing dichotomy is deeply imbedded in the language and thought of our time, I have found it necessary to use and to emphasize *natural* science because that phrase has a relatively definite referent, namely, a

set of postulates and logical methods which have been fairly clearly stipulated and which transcend particular subject matters. As long as the word "science" is used in various other ways (e.g., "all systematized knowledge," "Christian Science," etc.), it is necessary to use the adjective "natural" to designate a more limited and specific meaning. Whether to call *other* fields and methods "unscientific," "non-scientific," "unnatural," or "non-natural" is a problem for those who feel the need of such dichotomies, including the *Natur* and *Geist* Classification. I think the formulators of the last-named dualism, more frankly than some of their successors, did in fact consider *super-natural* science as the antonym of "natural" science. In any event, it is not my problem, just as it is not the biologist's problem to deal with ectoplasm.

The trouble, of course, is that all these dualisms come down to us from a period antedating the rise of modern science, and, in conformity with a deep-seated semantic error, we feel compelled to seek referents in nature (or beyond) for these categories just because these words happen to exist in our language. I do not believe that the *Natur-Geist* dichotomy is relevant to modern scientific work. Indeed, to the extent that the terms imply the inapplicability of scientific methods to human social phenomena, they are an obscurantist nuisance. I hold that the data of all (natural) sciences consist of knower-known *transacts* (in the Dewey-Bentley sense). For certain purposes it is useful to classify sciences according to whether they are more or less closely related; and, as long as these classifications are not taken seriously as calling in question the unity of science, its general method, and its applicability to all subject matters, any classification found mutually understandable and useful can be accepted. The current distinction between the physical and the biological sciences is of this character. No one, I think, misunderstands this classification to mean that the biological sciences are not physical or that it is improper to designate both as "natural sciences" be-

cause physicists use spectrographs while physiologists employ kymographs.

I have no great objection to Professor Furfey's proposal to substitute "physical" and "behavioral" for *Naturwissenschaften* and *Geisteswissenschaften*. On the other hand, I see no advantage in the proposal if the new terms are to retain the basic implications of the *Natur-Geist* dichotomy as regards the applicability of the methods of (natural) science. I gather that the category "behavioral science" was invented to designate those sciences that deal with social behavior or, more especially, human social behavior. If so, I don't see why "social sciences" or "human social sciences" is not a preferable designation. Behavioral science implies that the non-human and the non-social sciences do not study behavior, whereas actually that is what all sciences study. I am not at all impressed with the attempts I have seen to date to specify the domain of the behavioral sciences.

I think Furfey's reference to the relative smoothness of *some* curves depicting "physical" relations as compared with *some* curves depicting social relations is entirely a matter of degree and holds only if one chooses one's illustrations. The same is true of the familiar illustration of the frequently greater sampling variability in sociological data. The "purity" of the chemist's reagents is the result of much *purification* by chemists, not evidence of intrinsic absence of variation in chemical phenomena. I do not believe, either, that "functional" and "stochastic" can be set off against each other as representing intrinsic differences in subject matter.

I have no objection whatever to Furfey's regarding mind and matter as "equally fundamental realities." Indeed, I wish he would go a step further and regard them as manifestations of the *same* reality, namely, *matter-energy* known through (Dewey-Bentley) *transacts* of the observer and observed, the knower and the known. It would then be a matter of indifference to me—indeed, meaningless—whether social behavior is regarded as physical, or, *per contra*, atomic

behavior (e.g., "brain waves") as "mental," or vice versa. I could get along equally well either way. This view also takes care of the old nonsensical question as to whether I propose to "reduce" sociology to physics. I first called attention to Bentley's work on this ancient difficulty in the first edition of my *Social Research* (1929) and at greater length in my *Foundations* (1939). When the Dewey-Bentley position, which is only now beginning to be recognized, becomes more generally known, perhaps it will become evident that under this formulation we no longer have to waste time on the question of the "ultimate" nature of reality. As Dewey and Bentley have pointed out, the known world consists of transacts of observer and the observed, regardless of "subject matter."

Metaphysics aside, the root of the difficulty as between Furfey's position and mine seems to be the old misunderstanding regarding what we mean by (a) scientific method (general rules of procedure) as contrasted with (b) laboratory and other concrete techniques of observation, which vary widely according to the problem and the subject matter under study. I have never been able to figure out why this distinction should cause so much trouble, for both parties agree that the *logic* of observation, classification, and the rules of mathematical and statistical analysis are the same, regardless of subject matter. Likewise, all agree that concrete techniques of observation, etc., differ widely even among such sciences as chemistry, physics, astronomy, and biology, not to mention the social sciences.

The "sound empirical reasons" which Furfey states for classifying sciences in different categories are, in fact, recognized in various traditional classifications today, such as chemistry, physics, biology, economics, sociology, and the numerous sub-categories of each. But I am impressed with the reasons which underlie the unity-of-science movement and the powerful reinforcing effect of the developments in some sciences on the others and, conversely, the

enervating effect of provincialism and parochialism about "fields of knowledge" assumed to be unrelated to one another or to anything else. Does anyone seriously contend that the history and methods of the physical and biological sciences down to and including Einstein have no implications for sociology? Or that R. A. Fisher's statistical methods of drawing conclusions from agricultural experiments have not been useful to sociologists? By the way, to what science do mathematics, statistics, and the theory of evolution "belong"? As for the *Einführung* that is possible in human sociology and not in physics, this is, as some have pointed out, at most a fortunate circumstance which makes certain aspects of hypothesis formation in sociology easier than in physics. When it comes to communicating and testing these hypotheses, the same laborious rules that govern the drawing of valid conclusions from any and all empirical data still apply.

I share Professor Furfey's feeling that, while some apparent disagreements on some of these subjects remain, we are rapidly moving toward greater mutual understanding. However, I do not expect that any book or books now in print will represent "the successful sociology of the future." I am more interested in which books may contribute to, rather than obstruct, the development of sociology.

GEORGE A. LUNDBERG

University of Washington

ON CHANGING CRIMINALS

November 22, 1955

To the Editor:

Professor Cressey's sensible thesis applying the theory of differential association to the reform of criminals (this *Journal*, September, 1955) provides a refreshing contrast to the thus far futile approach sponsored by clinicians of varied psychiatric stripe.

There are, however, two assumptions implicit in this "cure" copied from Alcoholics

Anonymous: that lawful society will readmit the criminal and that there is a law-abiding culture (or subcultures) to which the "cured" criminal can adhere. The first assumption has long been recognized. The second bears an obvious relationship to the first but needs analysis of the sort initiated by Sutherland in his *White Collar Crime*.

Albert Deutsch has called American culture criminogenic, and studies of the incidence of unreported criminality among the law-abiding lend him support—for example, the research by Wallerstein and Wyle among middle-class adults; by Porterfield among college students; by Hartung in the wholesale meat industry; by Clinard in the black market; by the University of California's Institute of Personality Assessment among doctoral candidates; and by the *Reader's Digest* among radio, watch, and automobile repairmen. Our own study, in process, of the salesman will not contest the findings of these well-known surveys.

Since the corrected criminal must be returned sometime, somewhere, to the "real world"—assuming, again, that it will have him—the discovery of a law-abiding subculture in which he will be insulated against criminogenic association may be a problem. The studies cited, among others, warn against the reformed criminal's immersion in the subcultures of the bartender, taxi-driver, dance-band musician, salesman, repairman of watches, radios, TV sets, or automobiles, or the worlds of real estate, insurance, banking, and shipping and receiving. The practice of law and medicine might prove corrupting, as might advertising, motion-picture making, and pharmacy. Farm and factory have their peculiar temptations, as does hotel management.

The group therapy of criminals would seem most assured if large numbers could be encouraged to enter social work, teaching, and the ministry, and even in these improbable occupations, *¿quien sabe?*

GWYNNE NETTLER

Monterey Peninsula College

NEWS AND NOTES

American Orthopsychiatric Association, Inc.—The thirty-third annual meeting will be held at the Hotels Commodore and Roosevelt in New York City, on March 15, 16, and 17, 1956. Orthopsychiatric theory and practice in five broad fields will be presented: schools and mental health; inpatient and outpatient psychiatric treatment of children; adolescence and juvenile delinquency; psychiatric clinic management; and adult psychotherapy. There will be twenty workshop sessions, with limited attendance provided for by advance registration.

Inquiries about the program, reservations, exhibits, and other matters should be directed to Marion F. Langer, American Orthopsychiatric Association, 1790 Broadway, New York 19, N.Y.

American Psychological Association.—A new monthly journal entitled *Contemporary Psychology: A Journal of Reviews* is to be published, whose editor is Edwin G. Boring, of Harvard University, with Adolph Manoel, of Park College, serving as film editor. A group of twenty-six consultants in the specialized fields of psychology will assist Dr. Boring.

Contemporary Psychology will provide critical reviews of books in the broad field of psychology and related sciences. Specialized book reviews formerly appearing in the APA journals *Psychological Bulletin*, *Journal of Applied Psychology*, *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, and *Journal of Consulting Psychology* will now be concentrated in the new journal.

Subscriptions to *Contemporary Psychology* will be \$8.00 a year, foreign subscriptions \$8.50 a year. Correspondence regarding subscriptions should be addressed to American Psychological Association, 1333 Sixteenth Street, N.W., Washington 6, D.C. Correspondence with the editor should be sent to Dr. E. G. Boring, Memorial Hall, Harvard University, Cambridge 38, Mass.

Boston University.—Norval Morris, who is associate professor in the Faculty of Law at the University of Melbourne, Australia, is teaching a course in American and European correctional systems during the second semester of the cur-

rent year. Dr. Morris is secretary of the department of criminology in the Faculty of Law at the University of Melbourne.

Brown University.—Sidney Goldstein, of the University of Pennsylvania, has joined the staff as assistant professor and director of research studies.

Jack Preiss, of the University of Missouri, is lecturer in sociology. Mr. Preiss simultaneously holds a Russell Sage Residency at the Emma Pendleton Bradley Home.

Robert O. Schulze, of the University of Michigan, has been appointed instructor.

Walter Buckley, of the University of Wisconsin, is serving as teaching intern under a grant from the Fund for the Advancement of Education.

Loftus Carson and Melvin Reichler have been appointed teaching assistants.

Myron Nalbandian has been reappointed research assistant.

Vincent Whitney has resumed his duties as chairman of the department, after a semester on leave.

Shigemi Kono holds a Population Council Fellowship and is continuing his program of study at the university.

University of Chicago.—Lloyd E. Ohlin, director, Center for Education and Research in Corrections at the University of Chicago, has prepared for the American Sociological Society and the Russell Sage Foundation a bulletin on certain practical professional problems, entitled *Sociology and the Field of Corrections*. The sixty-page bulletin covers, among other topics, research opportunities in corrections, organizational aspects of the prison system, the prison culture, the social psychology of prison life, probation and parole, and opportunities for sociologists in the field. The regular price is 50 cents, but it may be ordered at the special price to members of the society of 40 cents. It is to be ordered through the American Sociological Society, New York University, Washington Square, New York 3, N.Y.

Elihu Katz will be out of residence for the spring quarter.

W. Lloyd Warner and David Riesman, who were out of residence in the winter quarter, have returned to the campus.

Philip M. Hauser returned in January from Indonesia and Thailand, where he was a consultant on population problems.

Anselm Strauss, who has been an exchange professor at the University of Frankfurt since October, returns to the campus in the spring quarter.

The Family Study Center's Workshop on Family Life Education will run from July 9 to July 27. For information write to the Family Study Center, 5757 Drexel Avenue, Chicago, Ill.

Bevode McCall has accepted the position of research associate with the Committee on Human Development and will be conducting a study of urban social stratification with W. Lloyd Warner.

Warren A. Peterson and Richard Coleman have been appointed research assistants with the Committee on Human Development and will be working on the sociological aspects of the Kansas City Study of Adult Life.

Illinois Wesleyan University.—The *Journal* learns with regret of the death of Augustus W. Hayes at the age of seventy-one. He was born in Illinois in 1884, received a Bachelor's degree from the University of Illinois in 1907 and a Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Wisconsin in 1920. He then was a member of the sociology staff at Tulane University for five years. After two brief interim appointments he went to Marshall College, Huntington, West Virginia, where he remained until retirement in 1949. After retirement Dr. Hayes taught for one year at Illinois Wesleyan University in Bloomington, Ill.

Iowa State College.—New appointments this year include Robert Hamblin and Ralph Luebben as assistant professors and Robert Herman as instructor. Mr. Hamblin is teaching courses in undergraduate and graduate theory and research methods and is acting as research consultant to other staff members. Mr. Luebben is in charge of work in anthropology and industrial sociology, and Mr. Herman is co-ordinating the teaching of introductory sociology and also preparing the introductory course in sociology as a credit course offered by the college television station, WOI-TV.

Frank DiPaul has left to teach at Northern Illinois State College.

William Dyer has accepted a position at Brigham Young University.

George Beal is just completing a research project dealing with the motivation to participate in farmer co-operatives, as well as a second project, the investigating of patterns of social relations and lines of communications in the acceptance of new farming and homemaking ideas in a rural community.

William Kenkel's current recent research project is the empirical investigation of family decision-making.

Work is continuing toward developing an integrated graduate program in family life at Iowa State College. Ten departments, representing both the science and the home economics divisions, are co-operating through a committee on family relations instruction. David Fulcomer, of the sociology department, is chairman of this committee. He is also working with lay and professional groups in several Protestant denominations on the subject of the church's responsibilities and resources in family life.

University of Kansas City.—In the autumn quarter Ernest Manheim, chairman of the department of sociology, was Fulbright professor at the University of Graz, Austria, lecturing on American empirical sociology. In the spring semester he is lecturing at the University of Vienna. During his stay in Austria he has addressed several scientific and professional meetings. In late July he will return to teach during the second summer session at the University of Kansas City.

Howard S. Becker, Irwin Deutscher, Dan C. Lortie, and Elijah L. White, of Community Studies, Inc., Kansas City, Missouri, and Wolfgang G. Roessler, senior planner of the City Plan Commission of Kansas City, are lecturers during the spring semester. Dr. Becker is giving a graduate seminar in contemporary sociological theory, and Dr. Roessler a graduate seminar in the sociology of knowledge. Mr. Lortie gives industrial sociology. Mr. Deutscher and Mr. White jointly offer the B.A. thesis and methodology seminar.

The Merrill-Palmer School.—A new graduate and postgraduate program of intensive research training in human development and family life is being scheduled. One-year programs designed to supplement graduate training in

psychology, sociology, education, and home economics will offer students supervised research experience in an ongoing project or in one initiated by the student. The direct research activity, comprising over one-half of the student's time, will be combined with course work, including an advanced seminar on the role of theory and method in research in human development and family life and elective courses.

The program is directed by Irving Sigel with Lee Scott, Marian Breckenridge, Anton Brenner, Melvin Baer, Albert Dreyer, Martin Hoffman, Clark E. Moustakas, Nancy Norse, Donald Pomeroy, David Smillie, and Irving Torgoff as participating staff members.

Fellowships are available with stipends from \$1,000 to \$2,500. Applications will be acted on beginning March 1. For further details write to: Dr. Irving Sigel, Merrill-Palmer School, 71 E. Ferry Ave., Detroit 2, Michigan. For information on fellowships write to the registrar at the same address.

University of Michigan.—For the ninth consecutive year the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan will hold its annual summer Institute in Survey Research Techniques. This special program is designed to illustrate the theory and application of survey research to such fields as business and human relations, psychology and sociology, political behavior, public affairs, public health, economics, statistics, etc. Again this year a special workshop will be offered in the practical application of survey research methods to these individual fields. The dates for the regular session are July 23–August 18, with introductory courses offered from June 25 to July 20.

For further information, write to the Survey Research Center, University of Michigan, Ann Arbor, Mich.

Michigan State University.—The department of sociology and anthropology will have available a number of assistantships for the academic year 1956–57.

Charles P. Loomis is serving as a special consultant to the Public Health Service as a member of the newly established Hospital Facilities Research Study Section. This section is charged with the responsibility of reviewing applications for research grants and the status of research which comes within the purview of this section.

Ruth Useem, who has served on the staff as instructor and research associate, has been nom-

inated to membership in the Committee on Educational Inter-exchange Policy of the Institute of International Education.

D. L. Gibson has been appointed co-ordinator of continuing education for the college of science and arts and will assist in the development and operation of general extension activities in science and arts. He retains his professorship in the department of sociology and anthropology on a part-time basis.

University of Minnesota.—Beginning with the academic year 1956–57, the graduate school will institute a new four-year program of integrated training leading to the doctoral degree. It is designed for students who intend to follow research careers in one or a combination of the following behavioral sciences: economics, political science, sociology, social anthropology or psychology. A small number of high qualified students will be given fellowship and assistantship support during the four-year program. Funds for the support of these students come in part from a fellowship grant to the university by the Behavioral Sciences Division of the Ford Foundation and in part from departmental budgets within the university.

Mississippi: State College and University.—New members of the State College staff include Wilfred C. Bailey and J. V. D. Saunders. Dr. Bailey, who has a full-time research appointment, is studying the role of community clubs in agricultural education and the mobility channels of low-income groups in rural society. Dr. Saunders is engaged in research in the sociology of health.

Gerald Windham and Helen Cabler have been appointed assistant sociologists; Mr. Windham is doing research in the sociology of health, and Miss Cabler is engaged in population research.

Harald A. Pedersen has been promoted to the rank of professor. He has resumed his research and teaching duties after a year's leave of absence in Denmark, where he was a Fulbright exchange professor at the Royal College of Agricultural and Veterinary Science.

Dorris W. Rivers has been promoted to an associate professorship.

Marion T. Loftin is in charge of a study of the role of the practical nurse in Mississippi hospitals. The project, which attempts to evaluate the effectiveness of a training program, is being conducted for the state Department of Voca-

tional Education and is part of a series of studies in this area financed by the Kellogg Foundation.

Harold Kaufman and Morton B. King, Jr. have completed a survey of the first phase of a community-development project in a small rural community in the Yazoo-Mississippi delta.

Robert L. Rands is continuing his research on Middle American archeology at Harvard University's Peabody Museum. The Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution has published his study, *Some Manifestations of Water in Mesoamerican Art*.

Mississippi's People, 1950, by Morton B. King, Jr., Harald A. Pederson, and John N. Burrus (Mississippi Southern College) is the latest co-operative research publication under the Mississippi program in sociology and anthropology.

University of Missouri.—Toimi E. Kyllonen has returned from Finland, where he spent the academic year 1954-55 on a Fulbright research appointment making a study of social organization in industry. He has been advanced to the rank of associate professor.

Richard Keslin, who has been doing graduate work at Wisconsin, has been appointed instructor in anthropology. He will direct the work of the Missouri Archaeological Society in addition to teaching courses on the American Indian.

The department has received a grant from the National Park Service for archeological investigation in the Table Rock reservoir area in southern Missouri. Carl H. Chapman is devoting most of his time this year to the direction of field work in the area.

Robert W. Habenstein is the co-author, with William Lamers of Milwaukee, of an occupational history entitled *A History of Funeral Directing in America*.

Edwin A. Christ has been appointed research associate in sociology. He and Robert Habenstein have just completed a study of the professional nurse in central Missouri. The study was financed by the American Nurses Association and is published under the title *Professionalizer, Traditionalizer, Utilizer*. Mr. Christ is completing an additional study of the practical nurse in Missouri. For the next year he will be engaged in writing a history of the nursing profession in this state under a grant from the Missouri Nurses Association.

C. T. Pihlblad is preparing a report of research on internal migration in Norway, which

he carried on under a Fulbright appointment.

Noel P. Gist has completed a revision of his *Urban Society* for publication in 1956.

North Carolina State College.—The college has received a grant from the Kellogg Foundation for the purpose of making a five-year study of the new farm and home-development intensive educational program of the North Carolina Agricultural Extension Service. The project is under the direction of the State College department of rural sociology. Frederick L. Bates, assistant professor, is the project leader, and C. Paul Marsh, assistant professor, is associate leader. Formerly assistant rural sociologist of the University of Kentucky, Mr. Marsh joined the staff last November.

Selz C. Mayo has been promoted from associate professor to professor of rural sociology. Dr. Mayo is in charge of research and teaching in the field of community organization in the department of rural sociology.

Northwestern University.—Francis L. K. Hsu, professor of anthropology, is on leave of absence from the university and will be in India until the fall of 1957. His project, supported by grants from the Wenner-Gren Foundation, the Rockefeller Foundation, and the Indian government, is the study of religion, art, family and marriage patterns, class and caste structure, economic practices, and political behavior. He will do research for a year in Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and New Delhi and for three months each in a northern village and in a southern village.

University of Pennsylvania.—Eleanor Stoker Boll, research associate of the William T. Carter Foundation for Child Development since 1940, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. With James H. S. Bossard, she is co-author of *The Large Family System*, a report of a six-year study of large families, scheduled for publication this spring.

Population Reference Bureau, Inc.—The bureau and the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, Miami University, Ohio, will co-operate in the 1956 College Study. The study will be supported by a grant from the Population Council of New York. The College Study, now ten years old, has recorded each year the number of children born to graduates of about 200 sample colleges throughout the

country. The work of collecting and compiling the College Study data has been done since 1946 under the direction of Clarence J. Gamble and Betty U. Kibbee, at Milton, Massachusetts. The bureau's College Study office at Milton has been discontinued. Statistical analysis of the 1956 study will be under the direction of Pascal K. Whelpton, director of the Scripps Foundation and formerly director of the Population Division of the United Nations.

The Race Relations Law Reporter.—*The Race Relations Law Reporter*, which is the first legal reporting service in the nation devoted exclusively to race relations and the law, began publication in February at Vanderbilt University in Nashville, Tennessee. The Vanderbilt School of Law is sponsoring the publication through a foundation grant.

The magazine is designed primarily to provide basic legal materials, beginning with the 1954 decision of the Supreme Court in the school segregation cases. Legal background articles and bibliographies will be included. A large part of the publication will be concerned with segregation in the public school systems, and it will also report on transportation, recreation, and other areas where legal questions are presented.

Subscriptions at \$2.00 for the six issues a year may be ordered from the *Race Relations Law Reporter*, Vanderbilt University, Nashville 5, Tenn.

University of Rochester.—An Institute on Minority Groups in the United States was begun in October and completed in December. The speakers included Wayne Leys, Rev. John LaFarge, John Collier, Oscar Handlin, Ira de A. Reid, Dorothy Swaine Thomas, Clarence Senior, and Joseph B. Gittler. The institute is an outgrowth of the Center for the Study of Group Relations, which was set up a year ago. Papers read at the institute will be published by John Wiley and Sons.

Nicholas Babchuk has been appointed assistant professor in the department of sociology.

Society for the Scientific Study of Religion.—At the fall meeting held at Harvard, the following officers were elected for a two-year term: president, Richard V. McCann, Harvard University; vice-president, Werner Wolff, Baird; secretary, Walter Houston Clark, Hartford Seminary; treasurer, Jacqueline Y. Sutton,

Princeton. Members of the council are James Luther Adams, University of Chicago; P. A. Sorokin, Harvard University; J. Paul William, Mt. Holyoke College.

The spring meeting is to be held in New York City on April 21, the chief theme being "The Ministry as a Profession." There will be room on the program for a few unsolicited papers, preferably, though not necessarily, on this theme. Three copies of an abstract of *not more* than 300 words should be sent to the chairman of the planning committee, Charles Y. Glock, Bureau of Applied Social Research, Columbia University, New York 27, N.Y., before March 15.

At its December meeting the Midwest Branch of the Society for the Scientific Study of Religion elected the following officers: president, Ross W. Snyder; vice-president, Robert J. Havighurst; secretary-treasurer, Sally Cassidy. Members of the executive committee are James L. Adams, Everett C. Hughes, Robert S. Platt, and David Riesman.

The Sociologist.—A new journal, *The Sociologist*, began publication at the University of Colorado at the end of February, 1956. *The Sociologist* will usually contain an estimated 100+ pages of articles to interest American and foreign readers. It will appear quarterly.

Subscription rates in the United States are as follows: one copy, \$1.00; one volume, \$3.00. Elsewhere the prices are \$0.75 and \$2.00.

University of Southern California.—Two men have been added to the sociology staff in this academic year: Robert A. Ellis, whose specialty is social stratification, as instructor, and David Hays, whose chief interest is small groups.

James Peterson's book, *Education for Marriage*, was published in January, 1956, by Charles Scribner's Sons.

Harvey J. Locke and Georges Sabagh are completing their study of marital adjustment, primary communication, and empathy.

Martin H. Neumeyer, chairman of the department, has designed an extensive study of correlational factors of juvenile delinquency in Los Angeles.

Trinity College.—Would those who teach a course in the sociology of religion in university or college kindly send the title and brief description to Eva J. Ross, Trinity College, Washington 17, D.C.? Dr. Ross is anxious also to have

brief details of any research in progress in this field. She has been asked to send a detailed report on the sociology of religion in the United States to the secretary of the Conférence internationale de Sociologie religieuse by April this year, who is to present a world résumé to the triennial meeting of the society in Louvain, Belgium, August 31–September 2, 1956.

State College of Washington.—Milton A. Maxwell has received a grant of \$5,500 from the Washington State College committee on research for the analysis of life-stress factors in alcoholic patients at the Shadel Sanitarium, Seattle.

Walter L. Slocum, Murray A. Straus, and Albert G. Kristjanson are working in co-operation with the Department of Agricultural Economics and Agricultural Extension Service on a five-year study of methods used in agricultural extension, which is supported by a grant to the State College of Washington of \$50,000, by the W. K. Kellogg Foundation.

Harry Elmer Barnes returned to the department for a short series of lectures in criminology

during the fall semester.

Paul Honigsheim will be guest lecturer in the spring semester of 1956. He has just returned from a lecture tour in Europe.

Yale University.—The Summer School of Alcohol Studies will hold its fourteenth annual session in 1956, July 1–26 inclusive. A series of lectures and seminars offers a systematic investigation of various aspects of the functions and problems of alcohol as they affect the individual and society. The program is organized around a number of major topics: "The Origins, Structure, and Nature of Social Problems"; "Theories in the Development of Personality"; "Society and the Problems of Alcohol"; "Drinking as a Folkway"; "The Chemistry and Physiological Action of Alcohol"; "The Psychological Effects of Alcohol"; "Theories concerning the Nature of Alcoholism"; "Theories concerning the Treatment of Alcoholism"; "Specific Contemporary Problems."

For information apply to the Registrar, Summer School of Alcohol Studies, 52 Hillhouse Avenue, Yale Station, New Haven, Conn.

BOOK REVIEWS

Family, Socialization, and Interaction Process.

By TALCOTT PARSONS and ROBERT F. BALES, with the collaboration of JAMES OLDS, MORRIS ZELDITCH, JR., and PHILIP E. SLATER. [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. xvii+421. \$6.00.

There has been a change in theoretical orientation in Parsons' writings since his collaboration with Bales, which seems to reflect the influence of Simmel's conceptions in contrast to those of Pareto, Weber, and Durkheim. This is evident in the focus in this book on processes of interaction and differentiation rather than on value orientations and their integration and also in the significance which formal characteristics of social structures, such as size and number of distinct roles, assume in the analysis.

The basic problem here is personality development. Generalizing from observations of interaction in experimental groups, the authors suggest that differentiation along two dimensions—the power axis and the instrumental-expressive axis—characterizes all persisting small groups, including the nuclear family, and that this differentiated structure is of crucial importance for the family's role as socializing agent. Social structures can be considered "nesting series"; the family is part of a larger social system, and it, in turn, consists of subsystems—the marital pair, the mother and infant, etc. This makes it possible for the family to guide the process of socialization and protect the child against a social environment too complex to cope with by exposing him at first to an extremely simple social structure and only in slow stages to increasingly complex ones.

Socialization is a discontinuous process, involving four phases, each of which is introduced by a disturbance that requires reorganization of the personality as a more differentiated system. The newborn, most of whose contacts are confined to the mother, is cared for and treated permissively. Nevertheless, since needs are no longer met by automatic organic processes, as they were before birth, the infant learns to expect gratifications through the mother, and the resulting system of expectations and dependency constitutes his rudimentary personality. This can be described as mother-child identity, since

the infant has presumably not yet realized that he and the mother are two distinct persons. Realization occurs in the second phase as the result of a shift in the mother's role to that of a parent who makes demands and expects him to do things on his own. Her changed behavior disturbs him, since some of his expectations of being cared for are now frustrated. To cope with this, the child develops an autonomous self as a prerequisite for living up to parental expectations, which means that he internalizes the differentiation between ego and alter that the mother in her new role has acted out for him. Hence a single system of expectations has become differentiated into a two-unit personality—autonomous self and social object—and sheer dependence is transformed into an interpersonal relationship of mutual love.

A complex personality develops through successive "binary fissions." After differentiation along the power dimension (parent versus child) has produced a two-unit structure, the latter is split along the instrumental-expressive axis into four units during the third phase, and two more binary divisions occur subsequently. In the third phase the father, who previously played a minor role and one not fundamentally distinct from that of the mother, increasingly assumes the role of taskmaster and figure of authority, while the mother provides emotional support. Simultaneously, parental expectations become differentiated by the child's sex; a "big boy" is expected to act in terms of an instrumental orientation, and a "big girl" in terms of an expressive one. These changes in parental behavior result again in relative deprivation for the child—the disturbing experience that previously expected gratifications are not forthcoming. The strong erotic bond between parents and the fact that the father has been a parent to whom the child has become attached before he assumes a disciplinarian role prevent the child from meeting the situation by rejecting the father and finding security with the mother. Adaptation, therefore, requires restructuring of the personality by differentiating between two internalized social objects, one demanding conformity and the other supplying gratification, and two responding egos, one striving for ade-

quacy and the other seeking security. Maturity is reached in the fourth phase after experiences outside the family have given rise to two further bifurcations—that between universalism and particularism and that between achievement and ascription.

The great contribution of this book is that it presents a systematic sociological reconceptualization of Freud's interpretation of personality development. The four phases correspond to Freud's stages of psychosexual development; and Parsons argues convincingly that his sociological propositions can account for the dynamic processes that Freud described without assuming the existence of instincts. In contrast to previous social reinterpretations of Freud's theory, Parsons starts his with a systematic conception of socially structured processes of interaction and differentiation. This enables him to analyze the process of socialization not as the modification of primary drives produced by a vaguely defined cultural environment or by idiosyncratic interpersonal relationships but as the internalization and differentiation of changing patterns of social expectations.

Cross-cultural comparison reveals that in 46 of 56 societies examined, instrumental and expressive roles are differentiated in the nuclear family. Although this empirical finding, if problems of reliability and sampling are disregarded, would support the thesis that there is a strong tendency toward such differentiation, it requires the rejection of the specific hypothesis tested, which states that such differentiation is a necessary condition of the family's existence. This raises the fundamental question of whether the authors' concern with conditions assumed to be universal constitutes the most fruitful approach to social theory today or whether greater contributions to scientific advancement could be made by first attacking theoretical problems of the variations between social structures. Indeed, the authors themselves in their discussion of learning stress that discriminating between differences is a prerequisite for generalizing about similarities, but they fail to apply this insight to their own work and generalize about universal conditions in the absence of sufficient information about differential ones.

In "The Social System" Parsons states that "a theory of the processes of change of social systems . . . presupposes a theory of social structure" (p. 480). In contrast, the discussion in "The Family" shows that an understanding of personality structure presupposes knowledge of

the processes of its development. Should we conclude that Parsons considers a dynamic conception of discontinuous developments necessary for the study of personality systems but not for that of social systems? His emphasis on the close relation between personality and social systems makes this doubtful, and so does another factor. Although change of social systems is not analyzed in this book and the family is treated as a stable structure, there is a special reason for doing so. In its role as socializing agent, the nuclear family is held to constitute "an 'artificially' stabilized and simplified social object world" (p. 137), which implies that such stability is not "natural" for social systems. We may look forward to the time when the authors will make explicit what has been left implicit here and develop a theory of discontinuous change of social systems.

PETER M. BLAU

University of Chicago

The Tree of Culture. By RALPH LINTON. New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1955. Pp. xiv+692+xvi. \$5.75.

This posthumously published book is an outgrowth of a course of classroom lectures delivered by Professor Linton to students in Yale University. The first section of the volume comprises chapters on the origins and racial history of mankind; culture, personality, and the individual; the processes of cultural change and evolution. A second unit deals with the basic inventions, including fire- and tool-making; the domestication of plants and animals; metallurgy, writing, and the invention of machines; and the emergence of cities and states. The last unit, which comprises the bulk of the volume, may best be described as an anthropologist's history of mankind from the earliest times to the collapse of the ancient civilizations in the Old and New worlds. What is most distinctive about this kind of history writing is the emphasis placed upon what may be called, for want of a better phrase, the "ecology of culture."

The conceptual framework employed in organizing the vast mass of concrete material contained in the book is epitomized in the title. The tree referred to is not the conventional evolutionary tree but the banyan tree of the East Indies, which sends down aerial roots from a branching crown, which, in turn, become addi-

tional supporting trunks. The common central trunk refers to the basic inventions. The branching at the crown of the trunk and the development of secondary trunks are compared to the growth of different civilizations and their observed fixation in a local habitat. Analogies are, at best, only devices for the elucidation of the unfamiliar by means of the familiar. In this respect the banyan-tree analogy leaves something to be desired. First, there apparently never was a central trunk from which historical cultures diverged. Second, the basic inventions which comprise the trunk are far from being universals.

The maker of cultures, *Homo sapiens*, has from earliest times shown the same diversities of genetic constitution and habitat as have his later descendants. The diversities of physical form appear even when skeletal remains from neighboring areas are compared. Whatever may be said about hereditary differences in culture-building capacities among the races of mankind, past and present, multiple cultural origins would seem to be implied. Linton remarks that there is no evidence of a time when all humans shared a single culture and that even the earliest implements demonstrate that different traditions of stone-working were followed in different parts of the world.

The intimation that the basic inventions are universals is a more difficult matter to deal with. Linton was not a naïve evolutionist but was fully aware of the perplexing problems involved in any attempt to detect similarities in cultural development among different population aggregates. Nevertheless, he believed that historic cultures followed a somewhat similar development. What this belief implies can be seen in the historical sequence in which the basic inventions are treated. On the other hand, the full gamut of the basic inventions has not been traversed by all population aggregates. The obvious conclusion is that either contemporary primitives live in a culturally arrested state—which is denied in the statement that all peoples have had an equally long history—or that the developmental pattern is similar only for certain groups, namely, those aggregates called "civilizations."

It must be observed that the logic of evolutionism is not worked out by the author in detail. Hardly more than a single page is used to delineate and test, if it may be called that, the thesis of parallel evolutionary development. The instance selected is a comparison of Old and

New World civilizations. It is observed, after discounting any diffusionist explanation to account for similarities, that the steps in the development of writing and the sequences of metals used in the development of metallurgy, the rise of theocratic systems of social order and formal schemes of judicial administration, were alike.

In so far, then, as the cultural parallels cited in the Old and New worlds are not spurious, it must be assumed that these have their origins in a common genetic tendency—possibly the sort of thing the nineteenth-century evolutionist dubbed "psychic unity." But if this is so, then we are indeed confronted with a dilemma. The absence of the more recent basic inventions in primitive cultures must be due to a slowness of these cultures to change. Again, if we say with Linton that all peoples have had an equally long history, then it is not true to say that the existence of a definite direction in cultural development is fairly well established.

The conclusion to which this reviewer is brought is that neo-evolutionary thinking contains all the methodological assumptions of the classical variety and none of its convincing and charming simplicity.

JOSEPH SCHNEIDER

Indiana University

The Dynamics of Bureaucracy: A Study of Interpersonal Relations in Two Government Agencies. By PETER M. BLAU. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xi+269. \$5.00.

The main title of this book may suggest that its scope is wider than it really is. It is not a study of bureaucracy in general but of two small government departments: a state employment agency and a federal law-enforcement body. But the book is none the worse for being sharply focused, and many of the things it is concerned with are indeed important in all bureaucracies, governmental or corporate, clerical or industrial. Unlike many books that call themselves "dynamics," this one genuinely deals with dynamics—with changes in interrelated variables over time.

The author lived with these departments for months at a time. He watched their members at work. He interviewed them formally and informally. He got their output records, such as number of placements made, when these were avail-

able. He secured a few simple measurements of actual social behavior, such as the number of times one person lunched with another. He administered a few simple questionnaires and kept a record of what he had seen.

Above all, he did not let his methods get in the way of his view of the groups. No doubt he did not come to his work with his mind a blank, for he had studied bureaucracy under Robert Merton. But neither did he come to it with a set of prefabricated hypotheses that he was determined to test at all costs. He waited until he knew enough of the groups to know what hypotheses were worth testing. And in testing them he did not insist on applying an exquisite technique, beginning with the construction of a Guttman scale. Nevertheless, the evidence was systematic and quantitative enough to give strong support to the hypotheses he did test. His methods were adequate to his purpose—no more and no less. The result is an almost unique combination of the virtues of anthropological field work and those of simple quantitative procedures in the study of “real-life” groups.

The author is concerned with the relations between the following: the effectiveness of the departments in achieving their official ends, the productivity of individuals and subgroups, informal social organization (status, popularity, social contacts), the formation of group norms and their enforcement, the type of control and supervision adopted by persons in authority. He is also concerned with the relations between these things over time—the way in which the adoption of a particular procedure to meet a particular problem necessarily created further changes and further problems in the development of a group. At times the nature of his departments allowed him to make systematic comparisons—for instance, between one group in which some individuals were highly productive but the group as a whole was rather unproductive and another group in which there was much less individual variation but group production was high. All these things are at the heart of the problem of formal organization.

I do not propose to review the hypotheses about these relations that the author puts forward and tests but only to mention one main point. In the second of his two departments, some of the agents went to other, more competent agents to get advice on the best way to deal with their official business, even though asking for help in this way was officially disapproved. These more competent agents were also highly

esteemed by the others. This fact is hardly unusual; what is unusual in a sociologist is to look on the process as an exchange. In effect, the competent agents were exchanging help for status. It is becoming more and more clear that some of the fundamental propositions of sociology itself will be of an economic nature—propositions about the terms of exchange of goods, both material and non-material. Sociology may be a corollary of a general economics, which may also be called “eudaemonics,” or the science of non-zero-sum games.

At any rate, Peter Blau has produced an admirable book: a model of method, rich in observation, simple yet adequate in demonstration, with a variety of hypotheses, supported, but not overwhelmed, by quantitative data, which bear on the most important problems not only of bureaucracy but of small-group organization in general.

GEORGE CASPAR HOMANS

Harvard University

The Direction of Human Development: Biological and Social Bases. By M. F. ASHLEY MONTAGU. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. ix+404. \$5.00.

This book is an appeal for the organization of all human relationships on the model of mother love for the infant. Montagu's basic thesis is that there is scientific demonstration of a biologically natural human nature which consists of drives directed toward co-operative, loving interaction with others and that, in the absence of an environment permitting this natural direction of development, the human organism will not develop as an adequately functioning personality.

The thesis unfolds in three stages: (1) an attempt to show, Kropotkin-style, that co-operation, not competition, is the fundamental law of organic nature and hence that man is continuous with a biological descent in which co-operativeness is the basic mechanism of survival; (2) a variety of data to show that, in the absence of the mothering type of love, both human and subhuman infant organisms undergo severe and often irreparable physiological degeneration; and (3) evidence that a lack of supportive mothering in the early years produces a malfunctioning personality.

The evidence is presented within the frame-

work of what Montagu calls "sociobiology," which turns out to be a combination of biology and psychoanalysis, with a shot of behaviorist learning theory and a dash of Malinowski's theory of basic and derived needs, to give the impression of comprehensiveness. Sociologists will find Montagu's biology much more palatable than his conceptions of the social. The invariably interactive character of the heredity-environment relation is handled with unusual consistency. However, his conception of the "social," which includes such things as purely symbiotic relations and the intrauterine period, is so broad as to be meaningless to sociologists. Anyone who takes Mead and Cooley seriously will feel that Montagu has erred most grievously in failing to place any emphasis upon the profound influence of language on the direction of human experience and behavior.

Obviously, Montagu's thesis is an old story. For sociologists the book's only value lies in the massive compilation of evidence. However, even here one must be skeptical, for his use of materials shows clearly the dangers of a particularistic fallacy. The data are one-sidedly selected, sometimes obviously unfounded, and uncontrasted with widely known contradicting data. Psychoanalytic materials are not drawn predominantly from post-Freudians who have become more aware of the sociocultural influences on human development but rather from those who have turned from the Oedipus complex toward the womb. Rank's theory of the birth trauma is dwelt upon repetitiously. Montagu even reports with apparent credulity a report that a patient under hypnoanalysis had regressed clear back to the period of her conception!—"dark, yet filled with heavenly music; it was still, yet everything was quivering" (pp. 98-99). There is a flavor of Rousseau in Montagu's persistent idealization of the childbearing of the apes, the primitives, the lower classes, and the antiquated—the Australian aborigines and Eskimos being offered as the nearest thing to ideal societies.

This sort of book raises the question of whether consideration of the infant stage alone can account for the unique direction of human development. Aside from last-chapter rhapsodies, there is nothing in Montagu's prescription that would be varied for raising a troop of apes, no real recognition that the direction of man's social development is to transcend the biological by becoming a minded creature capable of molding, collectively, his own world and motivations

through language and its ramifications. For all the abuses it is heir to, neither scientist nor social actor is long likely to turn his back on the image of himself as a creatively free, minded creature, in order to accept an image of himself as a biogenically directed creature of drives and emotions.

CHARLES D. BOLTON

Colorado College

Conservative Judaism: An American Religious Movement. By MARSHALL SKLARE. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1955. Pp. 298. \$4.50.

This book is unnecessarily repetitive and tends to overuse sociological language. Interesting points are made in the copious footnotes at the back. There are minor omissions of available descriptive statistics and missed opportunities to use a more comparative framework. Nevertheless, Mr. Sklare has written a very welcome, interesting, and, on the whole, quite valuable description and analysis of conservative Judaism, at present one of the dynamic elements of Jewish American life. He demonstrates a familiarity with the Jewish community and an unerring facility in seizing upon its most minute activities to illuminate his analysis.

For Sklare, conservative Judaism is a movement which springs from the familiar problem of an immigrant subculture adjusting to native American culture. Eastern European Jews, steeped in rabbinism, coming from a community which was orthodox, Eastern, highly sacred, and legalistic and part of a "closed medieval system," emigrated in large numbers to America between 1880 and 1920 to find themselves part of a Western, Protestant, secular, and "open society." In this setting they quickly achieved a middle-class economic position and were acculturated with exceptional speed. Withal, they stopped short of total assimilation, and, as Sklare tells the story, the conservative synagogue was important to their continuing ethnic identification.

More interested in the question of how than why the Jewish community retained its identity in melting-pot America, Sklare, in a short but provocative discussion, seeks to correct the overemphasis placed by some scholars on the larger community's social rejection of the Jew (cf. Wirth, *The Ghetto*) by offering such notions as "ethnic survivalist," adaptive culture, Jewish superiority feelings, and protection from

anomie—an idea with which he is particularly intrigued.

In order to demonstrate the survival function of the conservative synagogue, Sklare presents a meticulous analysis of synagogue life in the three areas of Chicago Jewry. After a brief stay in Chicago slums, the eastern European Jews moved to Lawndale, where their preponderance in the population provided the conditions for a voluntary ghetto. The orthodox synagogue continued to monopolize Jewish religious life, but with the very important qualification that orthodox religious life lost its hold on many members of this transplanted community; secular institutions, recreational and welfare, along with close primary associations within the "ghetto," became the mainstay of Jewish ethnicity. With movement up the class-ladder, however, many of the non-religious Jews sought homes in the areas of third settlement. Here they initially experienced local minority status, for they made up only 10-15 per cent of the neighborhood population. And it was here, according to Sklare, they unwittingly discovered a principle of immigrant ethnic persistence in American society: a minority is acceptable if exhibited through organized religious worship. Unwilling or unable to maintain the organizations of ethnicity of the second settlement but desirous of retaining ethnic affiliation, the third-settlement Jew organized the conservative synagogue as a symbol of his Jewish identification. To a large extent, then, the conservative movement for Sklare was not the product of what is generally considered genuine religious spirit. It was, rather, ethnic accommodation.

Preceded historically by reform and orthodox groupings in the United States, conservatism was also a reaction to their religious and social patterns. Here Sklare correctly bears down heavily upon the status dimension of Jewish community life; however, granting the absence of a consciously articulated theology, he fails to give sufficient emphasis to a genuine ideological feeling which underlay the opposition of conservatism to both the unyielding attitude toward any change in Jewish life by orthodoxy and the almost complete abandonment of Jewish tradition and religious principles by the radical revisions of reform.

Sklare's analysis of conservative "patterns," including all changes introduced into synagogue practices, follows a simple functional scheme based on the synagogue's three major services:

worship, education, and social association. There has been no change in the content of worship, despite innovations in time and form of prayer. His skilful use of age, sex, and interest structures in his functional analysis produces an incredibly complete report. This should be a reminder that the bread-and-butter job of sociology has a meaningful vitality and ought not to be overlooked in the search for more grandiose theoretical models.

Sklare's chapter on the conservative rabbi, including the history of the Jewish Theological Seminary, is well done and documents carefully the problems of the student and graduate rabbi of the seminary. He notes the radical transformation of the rabbinical role from *scholar-saint* to one more akin to the liberal Protestant minister, but he fails to indicate sufficiently that the conservative rabbi assumed new functions—preaching, pastoral work, priestly duties, etc.—because of pressure to compete as a "modern rabbi," an equivalent of the reform rabbi, who had enjoyed this role for over a century. His analysis of the ideological muddle in conservatism is a classic illustration of a middle-of-the-road social movement which has moved pragmatically in its organizational phase.

Students of religious movements will be interested in conservative Judaism as an instance of origin and development without benefit of a charismatic figure or central leadership. Despite the unreliability of the data on membership in Jewish denominations, there are some data Sklare could have assembled which would have permitted a time-series presentation of congregation and rabbinical affiliation with the respective denominational central agencies and similar data on number, size, and types of schools. These would have completed the description of the development of the conservative movement, for it not only would have shown the comparative strength of the denominations through time but might have led to a fuller discussion of the question to what extent conservatism has attracted its rabbis and members from the other denominations as well as from the large mass of unaffiliated Jews. Even more important, it might have led the author to grapple with the very significant question: What middle-class Jews did not join the conservative movement? But this, of course, is another study.

SAUL MENDLOVITZ

University of Chicago

Hamtramck—Then and Now: A Sociological Study of a Polish-American Community. By ARTHUR EVANS WOOD. New York: Bookman Associates, 1955. Pp. 253. \$4.00.

Dr. Wood's tenure as professor of sociology at the University of Michigan (1917-51) corresponds roughly with the period during which Hamtramck arose as a center of Polish immigrant settlement. Subsequently, its community life underwent tortuous transformations. Over the years, Dr. Wood and his students have been accumulating a file of data on the community, and this book, although more of a social history than a social survey, combines elements of both to present a sympathetic portrayal of the efforts of an uprooted group to develop a stable community life.

With the construction of the Dodge auto factory in the second decade of the present century, Hamtramck swelled within a few years from a town of less than 3,000 to a city of almost 50,000, the result mainly of the in-migration of Poles from other areas of first settlement. Completely surrounded by the metropolis of Detroit, this "culture island" has retained its status as a politically independent municipality.

Although a town of fairly high ethnic homogeneity, preserving many Old World cultural traits, Hamtramck is an area of social disorganization, the symptoms of which are its long history of political factionalism, instability, and corruption; its perennially high rates of delinquency and crime; and its many dislocations in familial and other institutional forms. The community frequently becomes the target of censure and ridicule by its neighbors, but this seems mainly to engender a defensiveness which subvert efforts at self-reappraisal and stifles constructive self-criticism. The community's reconstructive endeavor is further thwarted by the periodic exploitation of its instabilities by county and state politicians.

In spite of such obstacles, however, the town has been gradually achieving stability, unity, and respectability. More pronounced achievements along this line depend largely on the development of indigenous leadership, especially from among the ranks of the community's youth.

After a brief characterization of the ecology and demography of the town, the author presents a few pages on the Old World cultural background of the Polish immigrant drawn from Reymont and Thomas and Znaniecki. The lengthiest and most interesting section of the

book is presented in the next two chapters, which sketch the political life of the community from 1900 to the present time. Brief sections on the educational system, delinquency and crime, culture organizations and leisure, and patterns of family life follow.

The author does not quite succeed in striking an effective balance between documentation and generalization. The book, accordingly, appears sketchy and spotty in description and rather shallow in interpretation. Such obviously important institutions as the church, the Dodge plant, and the labor unions are given only cursory attention.

Although Wood does not explicitly say so, his book is apparently addressed primarily to the enlightened citizenry of Hamtramck and environs rather than to his sociological confrères. His intent throughout seems to be not so much to add to our understanding of the important theoretical problems which are open to study in a town like Hamtramck as to help the community achieve a better understanding of itself and its problems. This, of course, is the author's prerogative, but we regret that he has not also shared with us some of the more intimate theoretical insights which his long acquaintance with this fascinating community must surely have yielded.

JOSEPH F. ZYGMUNT

Harvard University

The Doukhobors of British Columbia. Edited by HARRY B. HAWTHORN. Vancouver, B.C.: University of British Columbia; Toronto: J. M. Dent & Sons, Ltd., 1955. Pp. xii+288. \$5.50.

The Doukhobors are a religious minority group, of Russian origin, now living in western Canada. They are best known because of their use of nudism as a protest against governmental regulation. In British Columbia, where there are 8,000, they have been a major problem, the provincial government annually spending thousands of dollars to guard schools and other property from destruction by them, and as recently as 1950 four hundred Doukhobors were serving jail sentences. At the request of the attorney-general of British Columbia, a research committee was formed, consisting of workers in anthropology, sociology, psychology, psychiatry, social work, economics, law, agriculture, and religion. This book, edited by the chairman of the com-

mittee, Harry B. Hawthorn, professor of anthropology, University of British Columbia, is based on their 1952 report. Already a number of the committee's recommendations have been implemented: Doukhobor marriages are now legally recognized, and the right to vote has been granted them. Legislative work continues on revising the penal code and establishing a special commission to deal with Doukhobor affairs.

The social scientist will not find here a systematic study with organized interviewing, testing, etc. The members of the team apparently worked with considerable independence, and the book reflects this, each chapter being the main responsibility of one author: a difficult chapter on religion is admittedly unintegrated with the other data. As Hawthorn indicates, there are some important differences of opinion among the workers. With regard to the future of the Doukhobors, there is a striking contrast between the pessimistic "prognosis" of the psychiatrist and the rosier expectations of the others. The psychiatrist concludes that no real improvement can occur until there are basic personality changes among the Doukhobors. The other authors stress that it is the sociocultural situation, with its particular strains and frustrations, that leads to resistive behavior, such as arson, dynamiting, and nudism by a Doukhobor subgroup, the Sons of Freedom.

With the publication of this book, much new information about the Doukhobors becomes available. The assembling of the different disciplines resulted in this interesting and many-faceted report which has already been helpful to the government. Unfortunate, however, is the omission, or relatively brief treatment, of sociological issues, such as patterns of interaction and social organization.

THOMAS F. A. PLAUT

Harvard University

The Voter Decides. By ANGUS CAMPBELL, GERALD GURIN, and WARREN E. MILLER. New York: Row, Peterson & Co., 1954. Pp. xiii+242.

This account of a nation-wide survey by the University of Michigan Survey Research Center sets forth the state of public opinion during the presidential election of 1952. The early chapters report the political interests and behavior of the public, the popular views about parties and can-

didates, and the distribution of the party vote by age, sex, and income. Further chapters describe the construction of three indexes, *party identification*, *issue orientation*, and *candidate orientation*, in each of which are three possible values—Republican, neutral, and Democratic. Concluding chapters make two applications of these indexes.

Concerning one application, the indexes are used in combination to predict turnout and direction of vote. So as to explain why the combination is less successful where the indexes have opposing or neutral values, each index is interpreted as a force which can oppose or add to the others. And to explain why the combination predicts direction of vote better than it predicts turnout, the possibility of other relevant conditions is considered. Hence the Appendix includes two further indexes, *sense of political efficacy* and *sense of citizen duty*, which show a real relationship with turnout.

Concerning the second application of the three indexes, each was distributed as an "intervening variable" in the following groups: (1) persons who voted Democratic both in 1948 and 1952 and persons who voted Republican in both elections; (2) persons who did not vote in 1948 but did vote in 1952; (3) persons who voted Democratic in 1948 but Republican in 1952; and (4) persons who might or might not have voted in 1948 but did not vote in 1952.

All in all, the report provides valuable historical information, suggestive methods for analyzing the decision-making process, and an important contribution to our knowledge of conditions connecting two elections remote in time. On the other hand, to find a respondent's score on any index, unit weights for each response do not seem adequate to reflect the dynamic push and pull of the forces involved in a decision about parties, candidates, issues, and, particularly, turning out to vote. Thus the prediction of turnout based on the three indexes in combination is very poor; moreover, the additional indexes, *sense of political efficacy* and *sense of citizen duty*, are not so tabulated as to permit direct comparison. This lack of a comparable method of analysis also appears in the intervening variable analysis, where the distribution of the indexes in combination or interaction was not given, although this seems but a logical extension of what was done in the preceding predictive analysis. Strictly from the viewpoint of prediction, neither the method nor the indexes have resolved the problem of sepa-

rating voters from non-voters and of properly allocating the persons who are undecided about candidates.

J. RICHARD WAHL

*State of California
Department of Public Health*

which human ecology must become if it is not to remain merely a methodological predilection of certain sociologists.

OTIS DUDLEY DUNCAN

University of Chicago

The Economics of Location. By AUGUST LÖSCH. Translated by WILLIAM H. WOGLOM, with the assistance of WOLFGANG F. STOLPER. New Haven: Yale University Press, 1954. Pp. xxviii+520. \$7.50.

This translation of *Die räumliche Ordnung der Wirtschaft* (1st ed., 1939; 2d ed., 1943) makes generally available a work highly regarded by the few fortunate enough to have access to the original and able to penetrate the linguistic and technical barriers to its comprehension. Many parts of the book are still too difficult for the non-economist; but the basic ideas, the insight, and the empirical detail should excite the interest of a variety of specialists, including urban and regional sociologists. The author gives evidence at several points of acquaintance with the work of American human ecologists and sympathy with their approach.

Lösch works on three levels: the problem of the location of the individual unit, other conditions being fixed; the general conditions of equilibrium for a system of mutually interdependent and interacting locations; and, intermediate between these and of greatest interest to the human ecologist, the theory of economic regions. The latter involves some major simplifications of reality but leads to a model of spatial structure which can be tested against reality in favorable cases and which has heuristic value even when its assumptions are seriously violated. The level of abstraction is thus comparable to that of the Burgess scheme of urban zones. Substantively, it amounts to an amplification, generalization, and rationalization of the central place-system of Christaller, somewhat familiar to English-speaking students through the expositions of Ullman and Dickinson. Several empirical examples, though not thoroughly worked out, demonstrate the fruitfulness of the model for research.

This work lends substance to the hope that the several disciplines dealing with what some of them call "ecological" problems will learn to co-operate in developing the basic social science

Labor Mobility and Economic Opportunity: Related Essays. By E. WIGHT BAKKE, PHILIP M. HAUSER, GLADYS L. PALMER, CHARLES A. MYERS, DALE YODER, and CLARK KERR. Cambridge: Technology Press; New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1954. Pp. vii+118. \$3.50.

Of the seven essays comprising this volume, three review the findings of local labor market studies, one analyzes the movement of workers into and out of the labor force, one deals with some institutional influences in labor markets, and the Introduction and "Epilogue" are thoughtful appraisals of the economic and cultural significance of labor mobility. The authors are all members of the Committee on Labor Market Research of the Social Science Research Council. As a group, they have co-operated for a number of years in planning and encouraging labor-market research; individually, they have been responsible for many of the most fruitful investigations in this area. The present volume is a capsule summary of their thought and research.

One of the recurrent themes in the essays is that labor mobility is indispensable to some of the most cherished values of a free society. The movement of workers among jobs, occupations, industries, and localities not only contributes to economic flexibility and efficiency but tends to reduce social stratification. Moreover, free movement among jobs is the process by which workers pursue and satisfy their goals and aspirations. Despite the emphasis on these latter aspects of mobility, however, none of the essays explores the extent of vertical occupational movement, an omission which is perhaps especially unfortunate from the standpoint of sociologists.

In view of the potential values inherent in mobility, it becomes significant to inquire whether workers make rational job choices based on adequate information about alternative opportunities. Two of the essays consider this question but arrive at conflicting conclusions. Miss Palmer's study of selected groups of

Philadelphia workers during the decade 1926-35 produced the "impression . . . that the workers . . . had a considerable knowledge of labor market conditions and pursued their occupational careers in a purposeful fashion" (p. 62). On the other hand, Mr. Myers' study of unemployed New England textile workers led him to conclude that workers generally have limited knowledge of alternative job opportunities (p. 76).

These differences may result, as Miss Palmer suggests, from the fact that Myers studied single job transactions, whereas the Philadelphia studies involved 10-year work histories, in which career patterns would be more likely to be discernible. Nevertheless, the question deserves additional research. As Miss Palmer cogently observes, "our vocational training and guidance and personnel and placement programs are off to a bad start if most labor market transactions are the result of 'accidental' forces and 'career framework' considerations are of minor importance in labor market behavior" (pp. 66-67).

The essays by Mr. Hauser and Mr. Kerr are particularly noteworthy contributions. The former presents a conceptual framework for the analysis of labor-force mobility—i.e., movement into and out of the labor force—and a careful evaluation of the current state of knowledge about secular, cyclical, seasonal, and war-time changes in labor-force participation rates. Concluding that available data do not permit confident generalizations about the influence of the business cycle on labor-force participation rates, Hauser pleads for the accumulation of data that will support a valid conclusion, rather than "continued polemics on this vital and important question" (p. 25).

Kerr's essay on "The Balkanization of Labor Markets" analyzes the various structures imparted to labor markets by the institutional rules imposed by employers and unions (chiefly the latter) and the impact of these institutional influences on labor mobility and wage determination. One of the useful ideas he develops concerns the differential impact of craft versus industrial unionism on labor mobility. He hypothesizes, for example, that the craft system of "communal ownership" (of jobs) tends to reduce occupational mobility but greatly to increase interfirm mobility, while the "private property system" of industrial unions has precisely the reverse effects (p. 104). Kerr admits that differences between the mobility patterns of craft and industrial workers would exist with

or without unions, but he argues that unionism accentuates them (pp. 95-96). This hypothesis is worthy of research and represents a distinct improvement over previous formulations.

As a whole, the volume is a valuable introduction to some of the problems with which labor-market research has been concerned and to some of the significant research findings.

HERBERT S. PARNES

Princeton University

The Coloured Quarter: Negro Immigrants in an English City. By MICHAEL BANTON. London: Jonathan Cape, 1955. Pp. 254. 21s.

England has experienced a sizable influx of Negroes from West Africa and the West Indian colonies in the past several years. The older Negro colonies in the English shipping towns have grown, overt conflict has become more prominent, and the question of what to do with these colored immigrants has become an important issue. For the first time, British sociologists and anthropologists are beginning to share their American colleagues' concern with "race relations."

Michael Banton's study of the colored community of Stepney, in London's East End, is one of a rapidly increasing number of such studies. It reports a hodgepodge of facts about the race situation in Stepney which will be of some comparative use to American scholars, describing as it does a situation in which a racial minority is also culturally alien, as opposed to the American case.

It is unfortunate that Banton exhibits the same sociological naïveté that characterized Kenneth Little's earlier and similar study of race relations in Cardiff. These studies are in the old "survey" tradition, long on moralizing and short on theoretical perspective. In consequence, the findings are presented helter-skelter, and many things one would like to know about are not dealt with. What order there is results from Banton's preoccupation with showing how badly off are the people and how much to blame are white Englishmen. He is led regularly into the kind of guilty faultfinding that has characterized a lot of American writing on race relations, so that there is almost no analysis of the actual situations of contact and the social forms arising in them. There is, rather, a continual preaching at the wrongdoers who disapprove of

the activities of these Negroes, mixed with apologetic explanations of why the Negroes do sometimes do bad things.

When the English get a little more accustomed to having a race problem at home, we will perhaps get more solid and less "ethical" reports on what is going on. In the meantime, Banton's book gives us a tantalizing peek at one of the new frontiers of racial contact.

HOWARD S. BECKER

Community Studies, Inc.
University of Chicago

The City: Urbanism and Urbanization in Major World Regions. By ROSE HUM LEE. New York: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955. Pp. viii+568.

This book is a text for courses in urban sociology, even though the subtitle, *Urbanism and Urbanization in Major World Regions*, might suggest otherwise. Actually, most of the text is devoted to Western urbanism, primarily American, and therefore is basically of the same pattern as several other texts now available.

Since the author chose to accent world urbanism in the title of her book, as well as in the Introduction, her effort to produce a text which is different should be appraised.

Basically she has substituted five chapters (Part II) on the growth of cities in major world regions for the chapters on the history of urbanism found in most urban texts. Each chapter is devoted to a world region and gives a brief history of the growth of its cities and a panoramic view also of the number, size, etc., of cities in the region at the present time. These chapters probably contain more information regarding the history and present status of cities throughout the world than is to be found in any other text.

As an analysis of either the history or the present status of urbanism in various parts of the world, however, these chapters leave much to be desired. For example, the text gives no real understanding of the nature of the city-states of ancient Greece or of the cities of ancient China. Particularly unfortunate is the tendency of the author to adopt the lingo of historians by referring to certain early cities as iron-manufacturing centers or commercial centers with streets crowded with traffic. The student is likely to imagine the city as being com-

parable to a modern Pittsburgh or Chicago, which is very far from the truth.

This more elaborate treatment of the history of cities throughout the world may be something of an antidote to the tendency of sociologists and anthropologists to consider cities a product of modern Western industrialism. However, it may be equally unrealistic to assume that a city is a city wherever it exists in time and space and that there are "elements common to all cities: heterogeneity of population; limited land area and high density of population; a complex system of social differentiation; the pervasiveness of fads and fashions; the emergence of new values and social types; and the manifestation of various social problems" (Preface, p. v). The last 350 pages of the book consist of an analysis of cities and urbanism almost exclusively in the United States, and, though perhaps not intended, the student may get the impression that the conclusions arrived at here apply to all the cities, past and present, in all the other world regions. If true, it remains to be proved.

The rest of the book deals in the main with American cities and is relatively well done. It consists of four parts, "The Physical and Population Structure," "Urban Social Institutions," "Urban Ways of Life," and "Urban Planning and Social Trends." In general, these review the same literature and present the same theories as those found in other texts in this field.

Even in these sections some of the best and some of the poorest parts are in chapters which, to some extent, are innovations. In Part III, there is a chapter on "The World of Artifacts," an excellent idea but inadequately treated. The idea that buildings are tools used by groups for the performance of functions, for example, is not clearly stated. Nor does she give any attention to the problems which are created when functions change but buildings cannot be changed. Most of the basic ideas which might have been developed in this chapter are omitted, and much of what is said is mere platitude. However, the following chapter on "Urban Ghettos," which is not exactly standard in texts of this type, is exceedingly well done. It not only constitutes a good treatment of the subject but also includes a great deal of pertinent material on ghettos in cities in other parts of the world. If the author had followed this model in all her chapters, she would truly have had a book on world urbanism.

HARLAN W. WILMORE

Tulane University

Growing Up in the City: A Study of Juvenile Delinquency in an Urban Neighbourhood. By JOHN BARRON MAYES. Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1954. Pp. ix+216. 17s. 6d.

A more apt title for this book would be "Growing Up in a Slum." The author is director of a settlement house in an impoverished district in central Liverpool, characterized by the familiar slum phenomena of tenement living, inadequate educational and recreational facilities, and racial and cultural confusion. Delinquency is one aspect of growing up in this area and conforming to its social traditions: "Such behaviour is for the majority of these boys not so much a manifestation of individual maladjustment but is part of the total process of adjustment to a sub-culture in conflict with the culture of society as a whole."

Interviews with eighty boys indicate that at least three-fourths had committed acts which could have brought them before the juvenile authorities. Less than half who admitted delinquency had ever been convicted. They also had committed acts other than those for which they were charged. The sample, drawn from members of a city youth club that demands high standards of conduct from its participants, probably does not exaggerate the incidence for the district as a whole. In view of the widespread interest in the question of unofficial delinquency, it is unfortunate that the author does not present his statistics.

The author intends his work as a comparative, rather than an innovative, effort. Little theoretical use is made of the mass of descriptive material presented on the working-class pattern of life; yet there are sections which point to the beginnings of a developmental approach to delinquency. A delinquency period roughly between the ages of eleven and fifteen is seen as one stage in a career through which the youth moves from boyhood to adult status. Suggestive paragraphs describe the changes in his conception of who is a legitimate target for theft and the emergence of awareness that such acts have consequences for himself and others. Analysis is handicapped by impoverished conceptual equipment and by the assumption that the boy who persists in delinquency after his age-mates have abandoned it is a product of emotional disorder. Such a view dismisses a priori the possibility of describing differential career paths through which boys are diverted from, or graduated into, adult crime.

The criminologist and student of urbanism might well confine their reading to chapter ii-v, which give the author's orientation and describe the neighborhood and the patterns of social life and delinquency. Chapter i, a survey of relevant literature, is valuable chiefly for its reference to British sources. The practitioner will find throughout the book, and particularly in the last two chapters, carefully considered comments on the organization of delinquency prevention programs in a slum neighborhood aiming at remedial treatment of the community as well as of the individual child.

DONNELL M. PAPPENFORD

University of Chicago

Introduction to Social Research. Edited by JOHN T. DOBY. Harrisburg, Pa.: Stackpole Co., 1954. Pp. 275. \$3.75.

This volume was prepared to meet the methodological needs of undergraduate students in social science, to provide an understanding of science, and to indicate how to do social research. In line with these two broad objectives, the contents are divided into two parts, one dealing with the logic of science, the other with selected techniques. The book is purposely restricted to "core material," so that the individual teacher will have an opportunity to supplement according to his special needs and interests.

Part I consist of three chapters. In the first, Francis reviews the general nature of science; it is similar in scope to those discussions of science included in most introductory books on principles. The next two chapters, by Doby, deal with concepts in science and scientific prediction, respectively. These topics are discussed on an abstract level, with few references to the concrete data of sociology.

The remaining chapters, seven in number, are devoted to the following techniques: statistics, experimentation, scaling, ideal-typing, surveying, interviewing, and observing while participating. Although the chapters on technology outnumber those on methodology as seven is to three, this ratio does not fit the substance of the book, as many of the ideas elaborated in Part I are repeated in Part II. Repetitiousness is, of course, unavoidable in a collective effort.

Part II opens with a sketch of selected statistical topics and a chapter on experimentation,

both by Francis, which is oriented to the analysis of variance. Some teachers will question the utility of a hurried survey of statistics in a methods course, particularly one which slights elementary matters and concentrates on sampling distributions.

One might have expected a clash between the discussion of scaling (chap. vi) and the discussion of ideal types (chap. vii) as they refer to different, if not opposing, traditions in sociological research. However, conflict is avoided, since Francis and Suchman stress the importance of adequate concepts prior to measurement, while McKinney emphasizes the need to measure how well the ideal type fits the empirical situation. Chapter viii, by Dean and Eichhorn, on the social survey and chapter ix, by Dean, on interviewing and the participant observer are more technological in character than most of the others, in that they emphasize how to do it rather than what to do. It is difficult to reduce the technique of interviewing and the technique of the participant observer to formal routines; nevertheless, Dean has succeeded in formulating a number of sensible rules.

The book concludes with a short commentary by Suchman on the over-all research project, which is a kind of supplement, if not antidote, to Part I. It expresses the view that good research depends not only on valid logic and reliable techniques but on good sense and artistry, too.

This book, by virtue of its abstract nature, raises the pedagogical issue of whether methods should be taught largely by word or by deed. Should the student spend his time discussing and learning precepts or doing field exercises? To be sure, these alternatives are not mutually exclusive. However, as time and energy are limited, a course will lean in one direction or the other. While this volume is not incompatible with a field approach, it would foster, because of its composition, the discussion of methods at the expense of an application of them. This choice may be debatable, not only because experience in training sociology majors is relatively limited, but also because no evaluation of these tactics has been made. It will be more nearly resolved when cumulative experience, properly assessed, has provided a demonstration of the most effective way to train undergraduates in research methods. This volume, through its use in the classroom, will not only contribute to that knowledge but also help to clarify how much

research proficiency we may reasonably expect of the average undergraduate.

KARL SCHUESSLER

Indiana University

Organization of a Bank. By CHRIS ARGYRIS. ("Studies in Organizational Behavior," No. 1.) New Haven: Labor and Management Center, Yale University, 1954. Pp. vii+282. \$2.50.

Twice in the three-page Introduction to this paper-bound volume, E. Wight Bakke assures the reader that the basic purpose of the Yale Labor and Management Center is to contribute to the building of a theoretical framework for "the study, understanding, prediction, and regulation of organizational behavior." On page 6 of the monograph, Argyris defines the same goal in almost exactly the same words. Sociologists would expect, then, to find this analysis of the structure of a bank cast in a theoretical mold which has been built of the stuff contributed to the field by Blumer, Dalton, Davis, Dubin, Gardner, Homans, Levy, MacIver, Merton, Miller and Form, Moore, Parsons, Roethlisberger and Dickson, Stouffer, Weber, and Whyte, to name a few. Not so—none of the writings of any of these scholars is deemed worthy of a footnote. Despite the fact that the author refers to himself as "interdisciplinary oriented" and as "a 'one-man' research team," no indebtedness is expressed, in a study of social organization, to a sociologist. Two articles by sociologists, both of them critiques of stratification literature, are cited in Appendix B. As one reads on, he is led to the notion that perhaps no indebtedness to sociology is acknowledged because none exists. This point might be documented by a number of usages, among them the definition of "role" on page 12.

The writing is often awkward, sometimes incorrect, and the book has not been carefully proofread. This results in annoying errors: "responsibility" (p. 63), "researchers such as those of the Warner and Center group" (p. 273), "Pfantz and Duncan" (p. 273), and so on. True, these can occasionally be delightful, as when new concepts "are presented with the hope of illiciting comment" (p. 250). Frequently, however, these mistakes throw serious blocks in the reader's path, making it difficult to ascertain the author's meaning: a column in a table is headed

"Overall Ratio" when it means "Over-all Score" (p. 24); the word "not" has apparently been omitted in both a hypothesis (p. 234) and a summary paragraph (p. 250).

The methodological contribution of the volume, a quantification of the "fusion process" (a morale score which is a function of the individual's personal satisfactions at work plus his commitment to organizational goals), has already been reported in the *American Sociological Review*, XIX, No. 3 (June, 1954), 267-72. The classification of "Personality Factors" upon which the fusion scores are based leaves much to be desired for internal consistency; it includes at the same level of abstraction, for example, "Passive" and "Short Hour Minded." The "General Hypotheses" regarding fusion on pages 19-20 are not hypotheses; they are methodological assumptions.

Chapter iii, which deals with research method, is a model of reporting on the construction and administration of open-ended interview schedules. The best-written sections are Parts II and III, which deal with "The Steady State of the Overall Processes of Organization" (which can be freely translated as "The Structure of the Bank") and with a department-by-department description of roles. These chapters constitute a good descriptive case study; they should furnish valuable insights to business administrators and important hypotheses to researchers. The analysis is organized around the assumption that organization is possible only when certain processes are operative. The same concepts which were posited in Argyris' *Executive Leadership* are used: workflow, authority, reward and penalty, perpetuation, identification, and communication. Argyris disagrees with Bakke that the evaluation (stratification) process is basic to organization.

Disappointing to a sociologist is the author's failure to discuss factors that have consequences for the individual's work role other than plant structure and in-plant interaction. The emphasis upon the conflict between personality and organization leaves the reader with the impression that a situation peculiar to industrial bureaucracies is being studied; the opportunity to generalize to social interaction might have been seized.

Argyris contributes to the field of social organization some fascinating data which have apparently been gathered with care and skill. It is lamentable that no attempt is made to re-

late these data to previous research and thinking in the field and that they are not analyzed and presented with the care which they merit.

RAYMOND W. MACK

Northwestern University

Sex and Morality. By ABRAM KARDINER. Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Co., 1954. Pp. 266. \$3.00.

Kardiner begins by asserting that Kinsey is right when he notes that there has been a shift in sexual morality, but Kardiner goes on to say that we do not have to read Kinsey to find this out. "What was erotica one hundred years ago is commonplace and open to public gaze today." There have been major shifts in American social organization and culture which, he argues, create a theoretical basis for expecting a shift in sexual morality.

Kardiner does not explicitly note that Kinsey did not find much evidence of changing morality in his volume on males. Kardiner implicitly meets this point by pointing out (a) that maternity is certain in contrast with paternity, which is inferential; (b) that irresponsible sex relations may result in irresponsible parenthood; (c) that, for these reasons, "sex morality is weighted almost everywhere to the advantage of the male and the disadvantage of the female" (p. 122); and (d) hence "the whole question of sex morality pivots about the behavior of the female, not the male" (pp. 76-77).

Although Kardiner regards Kinsey's research on males as valuable because "the unit of study was better standardized," he views the report on females as "wholly misleading." Unlike some other critics, Kardiner is not so concerned that Kinsey's sampling of women may have been less representative but rather that the unit of reporting—the orgasm—is not standardized with women as is the case with men. Pointing out that the difference between a clitoral and a vaginal orgasm may be as the distinction between a tickle and a convulsion, Kardiner observes that "Kinsey is obliged to settle for clitoral orgasm as the basic unit." Accordingly, Kardiner rejects as false Kinsey's conclusion that 90 per cent of women are potent within the first year of marriage but does accept Kinsey's finding of a steady increase in premarital coitus by women.

Kardiner begins his analysis of the presumed change in morality by assuming that the theologian and the moralist do not lay down tenets of morality but argue after the fact. Sex morality is "what man found expedient in his long evolutionary march." Kardiner is convinced, moreover, that the patriarchal-monogamous family pattern "is most favorable for the development of good parental care, and creates an economy and concreteness of unit for the growing child that other patterns do not have" (p. 201). (Margaret Mead has taken the contrary view, that limiting a child to only two parents serves to increase his sense of insecurity.) The pragmatically defined good of sex morality, then, is that it preserves the form of family which is best suited for creating "the most effective type of individual" (p. 203).

Kardiner states that liberalism, feminism, and Freudian psychology have contributed to the great cultural change of which the shift in sex morality appears to be an epiphenomenon. Liberalism set up the goal of equality; feminism was a protest movement against the "oppression" of women. Freudian psychology suggested to women a "new specification for happiness—orgastic potency, the ability to reach a climax in sexual intercourse. . . . Perfect mating became another specification and was identified with *normality* in oneself, and especially in one's spouse" (p. 51).

Out of these circumstances Kardiner sees two important developments in the socialization of women. First, the "terrorization" of girls with respect to sexual expression has been reduced. By itself, this should result in greater orgastic capacity. On the other hand, woman has come to accept "the goal of self-validation through economic success or prestige," and thus she has "blocked the opportunities to utilize to their fullest advantage the liberties she gained in the sexual domain" (p. 229).

The rise in the emotional expectations of women have made the obligations of marriage more onerous to men, thinks Kardiner, and he believes that there has been an increase in male homosexuality in America and Western Europe and interprets this "trend" as "a wholesale flight from the [increasingly demanding] female" (p. 162).

Kardiner does not feel that the solution to the "woman's dilemma" is the simultaneous combining of career with the role of wife-mother. The maternal role, he says, cannot be

delegated. The absentee mother who seeks self-fulfilment from a career derives guilt rather than relaxation and joy from her children. He sees the solution in sequential rather than simultaneous self-fulfilment: "Marry young, have your children between eighteen and twenty-four, spend the next fourteen years giving them effective care, and then enter on a career" (p. 225).

As a psychoanalyst having familiarity with ethnographic literature, Kardiner demonstrates the vices and the virtues of this background. He is ever ready with a generalization, which, because of the lack of systematic evidence and qualified expression, sounds like dogmatism. On the other hand, his writing is rich in insight, interpretation, and hypothesis. The reader who keeps these caveats in mind will have a rewarding experience with Kardiner's essay.

ROBERT F. WINCH

Northwestern University

Educating Women for a Changing World. By KATE HEVNER MUELLER. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1954. Pp. 302. \$4.75.

This book by a former dean of women and currently a professor in the School of Education at Indiana University is a thoughtful addition to the literature on the problems and dilemmas of women's education. The book opens with chapters on sex differences and on social change and sex conflict. Then follow chapters dealing with education for earning, dating and mating, homemaking, citizenship, politics, and leisure. "Planning Curriculums for Women" and "Choosing a College and a Curriculum" are the concluding chapters.

A major theme and perhaps the unique contribution of the book is the insistence upon the great diversity of the women students' cultural and class backgrounds, abilities and interests, emotional traits, and so on. Thus the author asks "What do we mean when we use the phrase the *education of women*? What women are we talking about?" And while she does formulate some *general* principles, a cardinal one is the need to develop a great variety of educational programs to satisfy varying needs. Educational needs differ more within each sex than between the sexes. "It may be argued that a . . . more appropriate curriculum for woman could be built around her development as a *person*, not as

a woman, even as the liberal arts curriculum for man would be dictated by his human, not his masculine, characteristics and needs."

The book is admirably realistic in its treatment of women students, the campus, and the changing society. It could have been, however, much less repetitious and discursive.

MIRRA KOMAROVSKY

Columbia University

Crime and the Services. By JOHN C. SPENCER. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1954; New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. xii+306. \$6.00.

This is a shortened and revised version of the author's Ph.D. thesis at the University of London. While the focus is on a study of the personal and social characteristics of samples of ex-service men in three English prisons, about half the space is given to more general discussion of servicemen's and veterans' problems and their relation to criminality, in which the American literature, such as *The American Soldier*, is well covered.

Chapters ii and iii, "Adjustment to Service Life in World War II" and "Crime and the Criminal within the Services," constitute an excellent analysis of both the conditions of service life which precipitate criminal conduct and the characteristics which retard it. This analysis, like the analyses of veterans' readjustment problems and problems involving effectiveness of treatment policies, probably is of greater sociological interest and, perhaps, of more importance than the empirical study of ex-service convicts. The latter is largely devoted to statistical description of such factors as age, type of offense, length of sentence, recidivism, psychiatric types, and intelligence.

One general conclusion is that we must reject the common-sense hypothesis that service life in itself conduces to crime. Further, "service life as such is not a means of rehabilitating the delinquent. Least of all it is a panacea, as is suggested from time to time in certain quarters, for delinquent behavior, or a rubbish-bin for the criminal. He remains a criminal whether inside or outside the services."

DONALD R. CRESSEY

University of California, Los Angeles

Making the Most of Marriage. By PAUL D. LANDIS. New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts, Inc., 1955. Pp. xii+542. \$5.50.

Landis' latest book is obviously intended as a text for college undergraduates. It is no better and no worse than most books of its kind. Marriage is "viewed, not as a state . . . but rather as a multitude of situations and relationships requiring more or less continuous adjustment." The book "is written in complete faith that a knowledge of the facts, coupled with a will to succeed, can bring to most marriages . . . happiness and success. . . . Providing these facts . . . represents the goal of this book" (Preface).

While the author does present considerable factual material in running accounts, statistical tables, and graphs, in many passages he fails to provide evidence in support of propositions and answers to questions of fact. For example, under the heading "How and Where Persons Become Engaged" he refers to two small studies but otherwise offers only a rather vague discussion. Under the caption "Are Engagements Necessary?" we are told that "a study of 738 elopements shows . . . a high rate of unhappy marriages." On the question "How Much To Tell" the author comments, "It all depends." On the other hand, many relevant data are drawn quite properly from studies by Baber, Bossard, Burgess and Wallin, Christensen, Duvall, Kinsey, Kirkendall, Kirkpatrick, Judson Landis, Popenoe, Terman, and others.

In his Preface the author promises to avoid sermonizing, but his book is full of advice and value-judgments, explicit or implicit.

All this raises a very important question not only for writers and teachers dealing with the family but for sociologists in general: What the results are, respectively, of presenting (1) generalizations of the pattern "if x , then y ," supported by relevant empirical evidence; (2) generalizations of the pattern "the proper or the right thing is . . ."; (3) factual material, whether narrative or statistical, leaving students and readers to draw their own conclusions; (4) questions such as "What do you advise?" Many of us know much less than we wish we knew about these matters. Meanwhile, this reviewer cannot refrain from expressing a preference for 1 and a willingness to experiment with 3 and 4. The authoritarian character of 2 seems out of place in sociological textbooks and classrooms.

STUART A. QUEEN

Washington University

Marriage and Society. By E. O. JAMES. New York: John de Graff, Inc., 1952. Pp. xiv+215. \$3.75.

The opening sentence of this little book speaks of it as "a scientific investigation of the place and function of marriage in society" (p. 15). However, the reviewer is inclined to view it not as a scientific monograph but as a scholarly treatise on marriage in the historical-philosophical tradition. It is what one would expect from the author, who is professor of the history and philosophy of religion at the University of London and whose ten or more earlier books deal with anthropology, history, and especially religion. The approach is logical but speculative and value-oriented. There is no presentation of quantitative data or testing of hypotheses by empirical means. Historical facts are used in connection with the arguments, to be sure, but one frequently gets the impression that some of these have been selected with a purpose in mind—that the search has been for proof rather than for truth.

Eight of the eleven chapters describe the development of marriage customs from the early primitive states of culture through Judaism, Islam, Greece, Rome, Christianity, and up to modern secular society, with special emphasis on England. To the reviewer, the discussions dealing with early Christian teachings, later canonical regulations, and still later developments during the Reformation and Counter-Reformation are the most informative and valuable.

The last three chapters focus largely upon ethical problems and philosophical implications in the practices of modern marriage. It is here that the author's value position becomes clear. He assumes the existence of ultimate purposes centering around spiritual love and the practice of permanent monogamy. Everything is judged according to absolute standards, which means the rejection of many modern trends. Practices are spoken of as being "natural" or "unnatural" and as conforming or not conforming to the "intended purposes" or the "true ends" of marriage. Surely, the near-balanced sex ratio is a more plausible explanation than the "essential nature of man" for the preponderance of monogamy over other marriage forms. To be noted, also, is the fact (apparently not known to the author) that there have been monogamous societies that were unstable and non-monogamous societies that were relatively stable.

This tendency to overgeneralize in support of

a priori positions has sometimes resulted in factual errors, such as the reference to "dissolution in excess of marriages in the United States of America" (p. 183). Such a distortion very probably could not have occurred, had the writer been more familiar with American literature on the subject. Only four of the forty-four listings in the Bibliography were published in the United States, and none of these was later than 1928. It is difficult to understand how anyone writing a book on the interrelationships of marriage and society could be unfamiliar with such works as Carle C. Zimmerman's *Family and Civilization* and George P. Murdock's *Social Structure*.

HAROLD T. CHRISTENSEN

Purdue University

Five Hundred Borstal Boys. By A. G. ROSE. Oxford: Basil Blackwell, 1954. Pp. vi+199. 21s.

Five Hundred Borstal Boys is a follow-up study of 472 boys who were discharged from the various institutions included in the Borstal system in Britain between 1941 and 1944. The study follows the tradition of Healy, Burgess, the Gluecks, and other American students and does not attempt new forms of analysis. Within this framework Mr. Rose's search for relationships between subsequent criminal careers and preinstitutional, institutional, and postinstitutional experience is comprehensive and thorough.

Because of the favorable publicity given to the Borstal program in the United States, the rather high rate of failure (53.2 per cent) is something of a surprise. The failure rate is calculated from reconvictions and does not include military offenses of a minor and specifically service nature and certain other minor non-military offenses. Their inclusion would, of course, have raised the rate further. About one-third of the offenders were classified as occasional offenders and two-thirds as habitual. The rate of failure was found to vary rather widely among Borstal institutions, which differ from one another in policy and program. The possibility of appraising the validity of different programs is eliminated, however, by the fact that the cases were selected at the time of sentence.

The analysis of the factors in the pre-Borstal, institutional, and postinstitutional careers of the boys brought to the fore the close relationship

between work experience and conduct. Designating this relationship the "work-conduct matrix," Rose points out that pre-Borstal work habits, institutional work habits, and after-care work habits are significantly related to the number of previous convictions and general conduct in the institution, as well as postinstitutional conduct. The number of convictions prior to the Borstal sentence was found also to be closely related to failure after release.

Rose's chapter on "An Experiment in Personality Typing" is especially interesting because it does not furnish support for widely held beliefs on the relationship between personality and criminal conduct. He found, for example, that 27.8 per cent of the apparently abnormal Borstal boys were nonoffenders in the post-Borstal period, a rate approximately the same as the rate for the mature and the aggressive in the apparently normal category. Likewise, it was revealed that in the apparently normal category the success rates for the weak and the immature were about the same as the success rates for the strong and the well-adjusted. The lowest success rate was for those classified as apparently subnormal.

Rose patterns his analysis closely after that of the Gluecks and faithfully compares his findings with theirs. This has its advantages, but it would have been interesting also to see what areas he would have uncovered if he had followed his own hunches.

A good chronological Bibliography of follow-up studies is included in the Appendix.

HENRY D. MCKAY

Institute for Juvenile Research
Chicago, Illinois

America's Resources of Specialized Talent: A Current Appraisal and a Look Ahead: Report of the Commission on Human Resources and Advanced Training. Prepared by DAEL WOLFLE, director. New York: Harper & Bros., 1954. Pp. xviii+332. \$4.00.

The information documented in this book is the product of an extensive research effort supported by four research councils (American Council of Learned Societies, American Council on Education, National Research Council, and Social Science Research Council) and financed by the Rockefeller Foundation. It brings together an impressive body of informa-

tion which deserves the attention of top leaders in the many occupational fields requiring college-trained specialized talent. Its contents also deserve the attention of those social scientists who profess an interest in selection, recruitment, and characteristic careers of different segments of the population of the United States.

The book centers principally on three problems: (a) the intellectual, social, and economic characteristics of college graduates, with emphasis on the changing patterns of college composition and later occupational distribution; (b) supply, demand, and potential employment in the specialized fields, with an analysis of the intellectual, social, and economic characteristics of students entering them (the specialized fields include the following: chemistry, physical science, earth science, biological science, psychology, social science, humanities and arts, engineering, agriculture, home economics, health fields, business and commerce, general education, physical education, law, and other professions); (c) some suggestions for a more effective utilization of the educated specialists and of the potential supply of them, noting for the latter both short-range and long-range suggestions.

In the accumulation of such a wealth of material, the commission received co-operation from officers of over 200 professional and scholarly societies, who furnished information concerning their members. Hundreds of alumni from several leading state universities participated, and officers and employees of well over a thousand colleges and high schools furnished information concerning some of their former students.

While the information presented is detailed and extensive, an excerpt from the book seems worth while:

In 1900 1 youth out of every 60 graduated from college; now 1 in 8 does. In 1900 over two-thirds of college graduates were men; since then the number of women students has been increasing more rapidly than has the number of men students, and the ratio is now about 6 men to 4 women. In 1900 nearly half of the college graduates had trained for law, medicine, dentistry, or the ministry; now only 8 per cent of the new graduates have prepared for careers in these traditional professions. In 1900 professional schools of education and of business were practically unknown; now more students graduate with specialized training in these fields than in any others.

The book, of course, presents a refined analysis of these trends in higher education.

Among the interesting topics which are re-

ported on in the various independent studies are the following: (a) the extent of occupational mobility or flexibility (shifting from one field to another), particularly among the liberal arts graduates; (b) the differential selectivity by intelligence-test scores of students in some fields as compared to other fields; (c) the optimistic short-run and probable long-run employment prospects for graduates in most of the specialized fields; and (d) the vast unused potential of American youth. "Practically all potentially good college students enter, and most of them finish high school, but after high school the loss is large. Fewer than half of the upper 25 per cent of all high school graduates ever earn college degrees; only 6 out of 10 of the top 5 per cent do."

Suggestions for the improved utilization of the current and potential supply of specialized talent are not new to most readers. These suggestions deal with the more effective placing of college graduates, the employing of more assistants per expert, the careful examining of the situation of older workers, and the capitalizing on the abilities of trained women where possible. For increasing the potential supply, the following suggestions are made: broadening the philosophy of scholarship programs, extending student loan funds, and developing student counseling services for cultivating motivation to go to college. Not all these suggestions seem to be drawn from the findings of this report.

The book is well written. The findings and conclusions are clearly stated. The commission notes that original figures are not always presented from which the reader may draw his own conclusions. Because of this, perhaps, the reader occasionally has difficulty in following the rationale where several sets of figures have been combined. Such a practice is understandable when the commission is attempting to present in lucid style for a wide class of readers an appraisal of the characteristics and potential of several important segments of the labor force. This report adds materially to the current body of information which has enabled social scientists in recent years to broaden the study of American society.

L. WESLEY WAGER

University of Washington

Människan i Industrisamhället. Vol. I: Arbetslivet; Vol. II: Fritidsliv-Samhällsliv. ("Men in

Industrial Society." Vol. I: "Work Life"; Vol. II: "Leisure and Social Life.") By TORGNV T. SÆGERSTEDT and AGNE LUNDQUIST. Stockholm: Studieförbundet Näringsliv och Samhälle, 1952, 1955. Pp. 439; 488+lxix. Kr. 25 for each volume.

This study, taken as a whole, is one of our broadest studies in industrial sociology. Each of its three major sections, by itself, genuinely extends our knowledge about a major segment of society. In this short review, emphasis is better given to the major features than to criticism.

In order to trace adjustment to industrialized living, two communities were contrasted: one old industrial center that is virtually a "company town" and one newly industrialized and more loosely knit city. From five factories a representative sample of 1,800 employees plus 800 wives were interviewed at length. Disproportionate reliance upon interview material is one deficiency of the study, though the wide range of topics is a generous compensation. Certain basic categories of personnel were distinguished in tabulations: city of residence, employing firm, employees versus wives, white-collar versus manual workers, sex, age, marital status, schooling, migrants versus old residents. The authors build their analysis on a theory of social norms and a theory of adjustment as a function of the correspondence between aspirations and objective situations.

The first phase of the study explored the implant situation by means of objective data or expert ratings on physical character of workplace, levels of skill, quality of work, mechanization, wages, individual versus teamwork jobs, freedom from immediate supervision, absences, and length of employment. Attitudes were elicited regarding each of these aspects of employment, as well as interest in unions, employee groupings, appreciation by superiors, promotion opportunities, and class attitudes.

In the second section integration of workers into the community was estimated in terms of social participation (formal, informal, spectator), casual associations (with relatives, friends, and workmates), cultural interests, housing standards, housing desires, and attitudes toward community facilities. (The latter analysis was inadequate.)

The third phase of the study dealt with social class. Objective status was related to self-assignment, and the discrepancies between these two placements were explored in terms of family background, schooling, and judgments about

the power one's own class enjoys. There was also a superficial survey of opinions about assorted issues of public policy. Of special interest is the analysis of the judgments that each stratum of workers had of their own status.

As a community study, this report has the great value of following its subjects into various phases of their work relationships. As a study of stratification, it relates the class system to work relationships and to participation in community life. As a study of industrial relations, it has the advantage of following workers into their community and class relationships. In each instance objective situation and subjective assessment of that situation are compared.

Within each phase of the project numerous factors are related to one another meticulously. In turn, key indexes from each phase are related to the main features of the other two phases. The total picture is astonishingly complete. There is a pervasive positive correlation among these various aspects of living. But the correlations are, for the most part, distinctly moderate—which may well be the major significance of the study.

An English abstract is forthcoming from the publishers. A few days with a dictionary would make the several hundred tables available to American readers.

C. ARNOLD ANDERSON

University of Kentucky

American Society: An Introductory Analysis. By LUKE EBERSOLE. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. x+510. \$5.50.

This is a new college text for courses in general social science and introductory sociology, dealing with four major elements: people, communities, classes, and institutions. The theme of the book is that American society is continuing and changing. The author has included social history in the belief that the present cannot be understood without an adequate picture of the past. In dealing with people, for example, 50 pages are devoted to tracing the various national groups which colonized America and came as immigrants during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

As a book for general social science, *American Society* offers very little that has not appeared in similar texts during the last fifteen years. Today, thoughtful instructors in general

courses in social science move away from a text which is mainly a smattering of "facts" about a multitude of topics. Instead, they are seeking to develop the student's critical ability in viewing important segments of modern society. This means that a selection must be made from among the many areas and problems of modern society and that analysis is emphasized. Ebersole's book is largely descriptive, as it must be in covering so much ground.

In a general course, serious attention should be given to the nature and kinds of social science and the work of social scientists. A student should come to grips with the differences between just plain "common sense" and social science sense. And the nature of citizenship in action in American society should be a major concern. Above all, it would seem that our social values—freedom, equality, and order—should be central and pervasive in a course in general social science. These dimensions are conspicuously absent or subordinated in Ebersole's book, as is the very important matter of the United States in the world order. Such important topics as changing capitalism, roles of government, community power, bureaucracy, the industrial worker, and the role of unions are mentioned in *American Society*, but the treatment is very sketchy and superficial.

A deterrent to the possible use of the book in an introductory sociology course is that it provides very little analysis of group life. In an otherwise adequate section on social class, for example, Ebersole makes a social class a group. If a group consists, among other things, of individuals who *act*, it is difficult to show how social classes are *acting groups*.

The part which deals with communities is well done; and its value could have been enhanced by playing up the theme of acting groups: crowd behavior, mass behavior, publics, voluntary associations, followers of fashion. Social interaction does not receive the emphasis or central place it deserves. Ebersole deals with the concept of assimilation early in his book, but its meaning is vague: only in the last chapter is there any clear discussion of it. If any characterization of modern American society deserves discussion, it is the way of seeing it as a set of interest groups—of all varieties—in conflict with one another, each seeking to achieve its goals and engaging in compromises. This very important process of social interaction is neglected on the whole. The topic of personality, which receives increasing attention in introduc-

tory sociology texts, is similarly slighted. It is unfortunate, too, that Ebersole does not take full advantage of his social history.

The last chapter of the book, "American Society in Process," consists of a brief discussion of ten processes—such as assimilation, invention, industrialization, mobility, etc. Though these turn out to be the basic concepts of the book, they are not dealt with per se because of the author's desire to present a direct application of sociological concepts rather than merely treat the concepts in the abstract. The last chapter might well have been the introductory one; where it now stands, it appears to be an afterthought.

American Society is well written. The chapters are short; the summaries at the ends of chapters are excellent. It should receive its best reception in those courses in general social science where the main interest is encyclopedic rather than analytic.

OSCAR E. SHABAT

Wright Junior College
Chicago, Illinois

✓ *Principles of Criminology.* By EDWIN H. SUTHERLAND; revised by DONALD R. CRESSEY. 5th ed. Chicago, Ill.: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1955. Pp. viii+646. \$6.00.

Principles of Criminology, here in its fifth edition, has been revised and prepared for publication by Donald Cressey, who studied extensively with Sutherland at Indiana University. Professor Cressey has maintained the high standards of thoroughness and scholarship which from the first edition to the present one have marked this volume as something more than just another textbook in criminology.

Cressey has reorganized somewhat the order in which the materials are presented, integrated into the text new research data, and brought the statistical materials up to date. It is natural that the most extensive revisions have been made in Part II, now set apart under the heading "The Control of Crime," because this is the area with which Sutherland felt he had dealt least adequately and the one in which he had planned to concentrate his study. In extending the discussion of both the theoretical and the practical problems of delinquency and crime-prevention programs, as well as in many other sections, Cressey has made distinct contributions.

For many years Sutherland's attention was focused largely on the question of the adequacy of the evidence which supported the widely held notion that the criminal is basically different from the non-criminal. His appraisals of research contributions, which reflect so clearly both Sutherland's competence and intellectual honesty, include, at the same time, some of his best writing and his most significant contributions. Unfortunately, the conflict over the alleged differences between criminals and non-criminals which Sutherland refereed for so long has not been settled. The evidence for a decision seems to be adequate, but non-rational elements have entered into the controversy to such an extent that there is little prospect of its being settled in terms of evidence. The non-rational element is the need served by the belief that the offender is inferior. It has become increasingly apparent that this belief is functional not only for certain disciplines but also for the public as well. It is probably fortunate, therefore, that in his later years Sutherland turned somewhat from the study of the criminal to the study of crime as a social phenomenon.

A series of chapters, concluding with one entitled "Behavior Systems and Crime," sets forth an analysis of processes through which crime develops and a framework for the study of certain types of crime as integrated systems of social behavior. Sutherland believed, it would appear, that the notion of differential association was the core of his explanatory system. It seems quite possible, however, that the concept of "Behavior Systems" will come to represent his most basic contribution.

Sutherland's textbook has had an important place in American criminology. Now Professor Cressey has performed a real service by bringing the volume up to date so that it will be available, in revised form, to additional generations of students.

HENRY D. MCKAY

Chicago, Illinois

_____ *The Dynamics of Social Interaction.* By ANITA YOURGLICH. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1954. Pp. 128. \$2.50.

This short, systematic treatment of sociological concepts is neatly organized into three main chapters—"Society, Culture, Personality," "Human Interaction in the Group," and "Social Processes"—each of which contains appropriate

assignments, case histories, and bibliographies. While the exposition pertaining to the meaning, kinds, and processes of social interaction comprises a little more than half of the 128 pages; the author refers to most of the topics customarily found in introductory texts. (Notable omissions are sections on language and culture, urban and rural communities, and population.) Unfortunately, many discussions are not only brief but also superficial—e.g., that on stratification.

Theoretically, the author adheres to a formalistic conception of sociology, conceiving of it as a constructed system of logically interrelated concepts. The basic proposition is the notion of human social interaction, which may be either associative or dissociative and which, consequently, is potentially quantifiable. The sociologist's main task in his analysis of society and social behavior is the utilization of this system in order to classify and understand the concrete social world.

Analyzed statically, social interaction is associative or dissociative, and a predominance of positive attraction characterizes social organization, while a preponderance of negative repulsion indicates social disorganization. More specifically, social organization exists in a social system in which the majority of the population conforms to a common set of conduct norms. Although non-conformity is present in all societies and manifests statistical regularities, it creates social disorganization only when a significant number of people deviate from the accepted norms because of "incorrect thinking" or "misinterpreting human needs."

The three components of social interaction are the person, society, and culture. By utilizing his inherent and acquired capacities, the person participates in social interaction, learning to play roles and to define situations. Defining a situation attributes meaning to it, and, since meanings may imply either positive or negative attitudes, they involve values and norms or rules, which, in turn, are components of culture, the specific patterns of thinking and acting of a people. When a plurality of individuals interacts in terms of common interests through shared attitudes or motives to act, they comprise a social group. Their interaction can be analyzed in terms of bonds and social distance, emotional attraction or feeling of belonging, and participation through physical association or goal identification. Each of these kinds of interaction corresponds to a pair of groups: primary and sec-

ondary, in- and out-groups, and membership and reference groups.

Dynamically considered, social interaction is society, a network of many social processes which function to maintain or change the social equilibrium. The ten "most apparent" social processes are communication, co-operation, competition, conflict, accommodation, assimilation, amalgamation, stratification, social control, and socialization. Since each process ultimately resolves itself into association or dissociation, it can be related to social interaction and quantified.

While the book is too brief for convenient use as an introductory text, it is also inadequate from a theoretical standpoint. Concepts are often imprecisely defined, superficially or not at all related to each other, and excessively or insufficiently illustrated. Moreover, extraneous assumptions are introduced whenever convenient to justify preconceived conclusions: e.g., in- and out-groups exist because all human beings are insecure and seek to associate with others like themselves, since "insecurity shared with others yields security," and, conversely, associating with persons unlike one's self develops fear and breeds prejudice (p. 63).

Finally, the author's Catholic bias obtrudes throughout much of the book. In examining four current, American value conflicts, for instance, she polemicizes against non-Catholic positions, labeling them as erroneous and mistaken. Thus she uses the conflict of "relativism versus objectivity" to justify a universal, absolute morality and to discredit Sumner's folkways and mores as relativistic morality (p. 25); "individualism versus sociality" to attack birth control; "materialism versus dualism" to defend the reality of God, truth, right, evil, nature, essence, reality, soul, and salvation; and "hedonism versus Christianity" to prove spiritual happiness rather than purely physical pleasure as the ultimate goal of man. This is obviously a flouting of standard of objectivity accepted by scientific sociologists.

GISELA J. HINKLE

Columbus, Ohio

Social Problems. By T. LYNN SMITH *et al.* New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1955. Pp. vi+517. \$4.75.

Despite the plethora of texts on social problems, few, including this one, attempt to use

any consistent theoretical framework for study and analysis. We are told that social problems exist when most people in a society face situations which violate or appear to threaten existing values and norms so that some corrective action must be taken. This definition and the discussion which follows in the first chapter on the origin, range, and changing panorama of social problems are all the conceptual framework I can find for the descriptive array of materials which follows.

It may be asking too much of writers or editors of texts on social problems to develop more precise definitions and systematic approaches to the study and perhaps the solution of problems or to make more use of empirical research. Until this is done, only a gross and, in some instances, misleading interpretation of the nature and extent of a social problem can be given. While we have had during the last decade an increase in the quantity and quality of research and tested theory, few writers make effective use of these materials. (This is perhaps a criticism more of the field than of the particular book under review.) Problems such as broken families, crime, the aged population, and many others are given superficial treatment, from which broad generalizations are derived. Convenient use is made of general statistics, such as crime and divorce rates and the population figures of our growing aged population. But if these problems were studied in terms of sociocultural variables, a more realistic and accurate appraisal of the problem would result. Perhaps writers in this field should concentrate on the intensive analysis of three or four problems and not run the gamut from "aged" to "urban."

Sixteen problems, each presented by a specialist in his field, comprise the subject matter of this text. Areas covered are population; manpower and the labor force; aging and the aged; the handicapped, the incapacitated, and the afflicted; crime and juvenile delinquency; industry and labor; education; government and politics; health; minority and racial groups; culture contact; and international relations. Rural, urban, family, and economic problems are additional rubrics.

Presumably each specialist has a more complete knowledge of his field than a "generalist," and this should be apparent in superior organization and presentation of material. While many chapters in this volume are well written, their outstanding qualities are somewhat dimmed by the lesser distinction of others.

Chapters are uneven in style; some stress empirical verification of materials, while others rely more on the writer's value-judgments and speculation. Levels of abstraction vary, and some problems are more concerned with the American scene than are others. The interesting and well-written chapter on "Problems from Cultural Contacts," perhaps the most theoretical of the collection, appears isolated from the rest of the material and would be more pertinent in an anthropology text. How culture contact is related to international, racial, minority, urban, or other problems is not considered. These differences are due to author individualities. T. Lynn Smith, the editor, has done a masterful job of editing, and duplications, ambiguities, and contradictions are at a minimum.

Instructors of the Freshman and Sophomore courses in social problems will find this text useful. Certain chapters could also be assigned as collateral reading in such courses as population, urban sociology, gerontology, industrial sociology, race, and minorities. Like others in this field, it seeks coverage of a variety of topics instead of intensive analyses of a few. This is more a reflection of the market demand than of the ability of the authors. With this qualification, the text will rate high among its competitors.

MARVIN B. SUSSMAN

Western Reserve University

Analytical Sociology: Social Situations and Social Problems. By LOWELL J. CARR. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. xii+795. \$6.00.

In 1948, Lowell J. Carr presented *Situational Analysis*, seeing it as breaking tradition by emphasizing learning through "looking at" rather than "reading about." It does this by providing fourteen observational assignments, e.g., answering questions about a play, recording the student's own social experience, "observing" census data and the products of mass communication media. *Analytical Sociology* is an outgrowth, not a revision, of this work, stemming from Carr's feeling that his break with tradition was incomplete.

The volume is divided into two books. Book I, "The Social World in Being," contains fourteen chapters roughly comparable in content (though not in terminology) to other introductory texts. To each chapter is appended an ob-

servational project intended to supply to the student his own "proof" of some aspect of the discussion; e.g., one project aims "to demonstrate the observability of situations"; another, "to demonstrate the tangible existence of culture." In addition, the student is expected to maintain files of clippings dealing with United States-Soviet relations and with economic data for some United States region or industry.

Where Book I is seen as scientific—"objective, descriptive and analytical"—Book II, "The Social World in Trouble," is problem-centered and so (necessarily, according to Carr) "opinionated, evaluative, and controversial." There is a problem chapter corresponding in topic to each analytical chapter of Book I, but no projects, for Book II is not scientific.

Whether *Analytic Sociology* really extends the "looking-at" theme of Carr's earlier work is a question. Apparently, the author deemed it necessary to expand "reading about" considerably, to prepare the student more adequately to examine intelligently. Further, the suggested readings, Bibliography, and footnotes indicate the author's recognition that reading about and looking at are not unrelated. Certainly, to make observation fruitful presupposes efficient (though perhaps temporary) conceptual tools. In short, *Analytic Sociology* represents a regression, but one likely to make the volume more genuinely useful.

Most of the shortcomings of the book relate to Carr's overly facile separation of science and values. Book I is almost totally concerned with descriptive taxonomy; questions of the relationships between variables (are these not scientific problems?) as well as social problems proper are almost completely relegated to Book II. Students are asked to "draw conclusions" from their observations without a theoretical setting to make the conclusions meaningful. Certain subject matter is stigmatized unwarrantedly as "unscientific": "We are not going to try to observe race relations. Race relations are functions of values and as such are proper subjects for discussion in Book II" (p. 151). Much of Book II is, in fact, soundly scientific, and Carr does himself and his materials an injustice. On the other hand, after dichotomizing the world of science (seeing) and the world of values (feeling), Carr attempts to establish a *scientific* ethic on a "purely rational-empirical basis," categorically denying alternative possibilities. "Whosoever denies the ultimate value of personality, the individual person, demonstrates by his denial the

ultimacy of what he denies" (p. 327).

Such comment notwithstanding, Carr is an able sociologist, and the book reflects his ability. Particular sections are outstanding, the chapters on work especially deserving praise. Book II would make an excellent text for the typical social-problems course. The volume is clearly written and attractively presented. *Analytic Sociology* is a better book than its author would have it be.

SHELDON STRYKER

Indiana University

Sociology: A Text with Adapted Readings. By LEONARD BROOM and PHILIP SELZNICK. Evanston, Ill., and White Plains, N.Y.: Row, Peterson & Co., 1955. Pp. xvii+660. \$6.50.

The plan of this book is new and refreshing in introductory texts. The work is divided into two sections. Part 1 deals with "the elements of sociological analysis" and reflects the sociologists' concern with the more general and universal aspects of human society. There are chapters on social organization, culture, socialization, primary groups, social stratification, associations, collective behavior, and a combined chapter on population and ecology. Part 2 focuses upon the "analysis of special areas," with chapters on the family, the city, minorities, industrial sociology, political sociology, and criminal behavior. Throughout, the authors use "adaptations" or condensations of research and other studies to provide a broad selection of substantive data in the field.

An ingenious treatment of the "special areas" applies the chapters of Part 1 as an analytical framework for the discussions in Part 2. This method of presentation organizes the data in a systematic fashion and emphasizes the interrelation of sociological specialties. Reinforced by the "adaptations," the text attempts to integrate theory and empirical findings. The result is an excellent presentation of the scope of sociology, the nature of its problems, and the place of theory and research in scientific procedure.

The reader is sometimes confronted with assertions which are not acceptable. An example from the chapter on criminal behavior reads: "If they [an American's primary group associations] are exclusively 'anticriminal' he will not become criminal; if they are exclusively 'pro-criminal,' on the other hand, he cannot escape

becoming criminal." Elsewhere, what is highly controversial in the literature is accepted as valid.

Other limitations arise from the book's plan and objectives. Occasionally, a more adequate treatment of materials is sacrificed to conformity to the plan. The desire to integrate and summarize too many theoretical positions at times results in superficial analysis. A chapter on research methods would have been helpful to the student in evaluating research findings in the "adaptations." Nevertheless, the authors' primary concern has been to organize and integrate the founded knowledge of sociology in a meaningful way. The book is a notable contribution toward that end.

MAURICE LEZNOFF

Chicago, Illinois

The Dock Worker: An Analysis of Conditions of Employment and Industrial Relations in the Port of Manchester. Edited by T. S. SIMEY, Department of Social Science, University of Liverpool. Liverpool: University Press of Liverpool, 1954. Pp. 277. 17s. 6d.

The recurrence of wildcat strikes on the shorefronts of America and Britain constitutes one of the most baffling and complex problems of modern industrial society. Here is a serious attempt on the part of British social scientists from the University of Liverpool to face the issues and probe the causes.

While nothing new is contributed to methodology, this study of 305 dock workers in Manchester is a reservoir of information of interest to student and teacher of social structure, social conflict, and the role of the individual in a hierarchy of organizations beginning with the family and the primary work group.

The dock worker's life is dominated by the central fact of casual employment. In 1947 the National Dock Labour Scheme was instituted, which provided for a measure of economic security through a guaranteed weekly wage. The assumption was made that economic security would virtually eliminate the source of industrial conflict. The evidence presented by the authors shows quite clearly that such an assumption is much too superficial. Indeed, it becomes patently clear that superimposing a plan by government fiat without full understanding of its sociological implications can create more problems than it solves.

In this study we see how patterns of relationships of worker to worker, to family, to the union, to the company, are profoundly altered, while, at the same time, many traditional ideologies persist. Dock workers no longer work for the "company." The Local Dock Labour Board, established under the scheme, becomes the employment exchange, pay office, court of justice, and welfare and training agency. The union, once free to take grievances directly to the employer, has in itself assumed managerial responsibilities, and its representatives serve on the same board with management. To the dock worker there is much confusion as to his true "boss." Even the structure of the primary work group has been altered. Three distinct groups emerge—the permanent group, the "floaters," and the "drifters." The interests and loyalties of each group are different and often incompatible.

The foreman's role is unlike that of any found in industry. His power of leadership is not derived from any authority vested in him by management, for, at best, he can resort to writing recommendations for better discipline: ultimate action rests with the Dock Labour Board. The association between foreman and worker is one of voluntary choice.

The total impact of this excellent little study will not be felt immediately, but those responsible for establishing national labor policies would gain much from its contents. It shows that the permanent solutions of industrial conflict, focused solely on economic remedies and administered by agencies far removed from the primary work group, are bound to fail.

ROBERT H. GUEST

Yale University

Harvest of Hate: The Nazi Program for the Destruction of the Jews of Europe. By LEON POLIAKOV. Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1954. Pp. xiii+338.

This book, most of whose data come from captured Nazi documents or from statements of the defendants at the Nuremberg war crimes trial, is sociologically valuable as a case study. It details, step by step, the events and circumstances leading to the extermination by the Nazis of six million European Jews. It traces the historical development of the idea of genocide from its earliest unintended origin in the passing

of discriminatory laws against German Jews in 1933 to its actual fulfilment in the gas chambers in the years 1942-44.

The author is particularly effective in placing events within a larger historical setting. This appears in the discussion of sociocultural factors in the generally passive Jewish resistance and of the relationship between a tradition of anti-Semitism and the various reactions of the Nazi-occupied countries and allies to the Jews. Also of considerable interest is a description of the course of everyday life in the ghettos and of how mass extermination was run on an assembly line and bureaucratized.

The book will be of most interest and value to students of collective behavior and inter-group relations. However, scholars interested in the operations of bureaucracies could learn much from it. As the book notes, "German technical genius made it possible to set up an efficient and rationalized industry of death within a few months. Like other industries, it had its departments of research, improvement, administrative services, a business office, and archives" (p. 182). The book presents a wealth of details on these, as well as on other such matters as policy clashes over genocide, German public opinion, the Nazi euthanasia program, the behavior of the churches, and so on.

All in all this is a worthwhile historical record. The lack of a theoretical framework, sociological or otherwise, is largely compensated for by fullness of detail.

E. L. QUARANTELLI

Indiana University (South Bend Center)

Readings in Latin American Social Organization and Institutions. Edited by OLEN E. LEONARD and CHARLES P. LOOMIS. East Lansing: Michigan State College Press, 1953. Pp. viii+320. \$5.00.

This is a compilation of thirty-seven articles by nearly as many authors. The papers, reprinted from various journals, are grouped into sections, topically arranged. The editors attempt to cover the chief aspects of society under the following rubrics: "Marriage and the Family," "Religion and the Church," "Education," "Government and Politics," "Urbanization and

Ecology," "Status and Stratification," "Race Relations," "Locality Groupings," and "Social Change."

Given the editors' goal—a set of readings for an introductory course in the sociology of Latin America—the selection of articles is wisely made. Included in the readings are many of the most substantial short papers on Latin America; together, they provide some sample data on the various countries and regions of that part of the world.

What is lacking—perhaps the editors intend the instructor to supply it—is a unifying theme or an ordered notion for subsuming the social and cultural diversity of Latin America. Since, for example, all the readings under "Religion and the Church" are from Guatemala, it may be difficult to convince students of the range of church-state relations in Latin America. Also, some of the articles, from section to section, are at theoretical or factual variance from one another. The editors do not point out these differences, nor do they attempt to reconcile them. But it must be said that the heterogeneity apparent in the selection of articles and the absence of a considered interpretation of Latin-American unity and diversity inheres in the state of Latin-American sociology rather than in the authors per se.

The readings are a fairly accurate reflection of the unresolved theoretical positions on Latin America, the differences in approach between anthropologists and sociologists, the great lack of meaningful empirical data for much of the region south of the Rio Grande, and the general immaturity of area studies. Not all this is the compilers' doings, but one wishes that, in view of their own experience and long-range interests in Latin America, they had expressed themselves on some of these points.

Used as a text, the readings will have the virtue of introducing the student to some of the best sociological and anthropological literature on Latin America while at the same time conveying both to instructor and to student the crying need for integration and the possibility of a comparative sociology.

MANNING NASH

*University of California
Los Angeles, California*

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THE COMPULSIVE PRESSURES OF DEMOCRACY IN UNIONISM

JOHN R. COLEMAN

ABSTRACT

Union leaders, in the face of a general decline in democratic decision-making and participation in unionism, are confronted with continuing pressures from members, management, and the public to retain the appearances of democracy in their organizations. But, because substantial possibilities exist for a divergence between the form and the substance of democracy and because the pressures are not always consistent or all-embracing, the leaders find a number of aids to make their positions tenable even where bureaucratic decision-making has most completely supplanted democratic decision-making.

The government of trade unions is a subject of increasing interest to social scientists and citizens alike. On the whole, the social scientists are interested in decision-making processes in organizations; the citizens at large are concerned with the ways in which union power is accumulated and employed. In both groups one finds growing agreement that democracy is frequently an unstable attribute of union government and that the drift, be it slow or fast, is toward more bureaucratic practices in both decision-making and decision-implementing.¹ This conclusion is scarcely startling to anyone who is convinced of the universal validity of Robert Michel's "iron law of oligarchy"² for all

originally democratic organizations; yet the strength of the democratic ideology at the unions' birth and the relevance of union policies to the members' everyday lives may have persuaded many men that labor organizations would long be an exception. There is, it must be added, much truth in the vehement denials by some unions of sweeping generalizations that power in labor organizations is gradually centralizing in the hands of a self-perpetuating hierarchy or that member opinion has been growing less important in policy formulation.³ And the broad conclusion is left to stand that bureaucracy is settling into even the relatively young industrial unions.

Rather than re-examining the evidence for the decline of mass democracy in aging unions, this paper focuses attention on the continuing pressures in unionism to maintain the appearance of democratic decision-making, even when—or perhaps especially when—bureaucratically made decisions have become most prevalent.

Democratic decision-making has both a

¹ For examples see Seymour M. Lipset, "The Political Process in Trade Unions: A Theoretical Statement," in Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (eds.), *Freedom and Control in Modern Society* (New York: D. Van Nostrand & Co., 1954); Joel Seidman, "Democracy in Labor Unions," *Journal of Political Economy*, LXI (June, 1953), 221-31; Sylvia Kopald, *Rebellion in Labor Unions* (New York: Boni & Liveright, 1924); Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York: Random House, 1949); Will Herberg, "Bureaucracy and Democracy in Labor Unions," *Antioch Review*, Fall, 1943; and J. B. S. Hardman, "The State of the Movement," in J. B. S. Hardman and Maurice F. Neufeld (eds.), *The House of Labor* (New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1951).

² *Political Parties* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1949).

³ Lipset has argued, for example, that the International Typographical Union can enter such a denial in good faith (Seymour M. Lipset, "Democracy in Private Government: A Case Study of the International Typographical Union," *British Journal of Sociology*, III [March, 1952], 47-65).

formal and an informal aspect. On the formal side, it embraces adherence to constitutionally safeguarded procedures for open access to office, freedom to criticize officers and for criticisms to be heard, and due regard for the rights of the minority without thereby paralyzing the majority's ability to act. On the informal side, it embraces a notion of "responsive leadership" in which the leaders (1) make diligent efforts to sound out majority opinion on key issues; (2) clarify their own positions on crystallized issues by a full presentation of their arguments; (3) avoid any action to obstruct the presentation of opposing views; and (4) abide by and fight for the resultant majority opinion.

Bureaucratic decision-making, on the other hand, may, and occasionally does, involve disregard for the constitutional rights of formal democracy; but more often it involves a "non-responsive leadership" that assumes a considerable degree of omniscience as to what is best and attainable for the members, that restricts access of its opponents to the members, and that perpetuates a particular system of superordination and subordination through the development of a relatively closed status system.

In a rough way, then, democratic and bureaucratic decision-making are distinguishable by the extent to which each affords meaningful opportunities for members' participation in the formulation, ratification, and implementation of union policy. No judgment is made here about how well the members' interests are served by the type of decision-making employed. If those interests are better served by a democratic process, it will probably be because that process did indeed succeed in drawing from the members a clear expression of majority opinion on key issues; if, on the other hand, these interests are better served by a bureaucratic process, it will be due to the leaders' success in identifying those interests through non-participating channels.

SOURCES OF DEMOCRATIC PRESSURES

The union leader can identify at least three sources of pressure to make him conform to democratic practices in the execution of his duties. In ascending order of the

urgency of their claims upon his attention, these sources are management, certain sectors of the public at large, and the membership. The first two will be dealt with rather briefly,⁴ with major attention reserved for the third source of pressure.

Managerial pressures appear to present some unusual paradoxes on both the employer's and the union's side. The major paradox within management's own circles arises from the marked ambivalence of many industrial leaders on the question of the optimum structure for trade-union government. That management has both frequently and eloquently pleaded for democratic control in unions is common knowledge. If this plea is sometimes based upon a genuine concern for the protection of civil rights, it is also on occasion based on an unexamined assumption that decentralization of power will produce policy decisions more conciliatory toward company interests. Where management believes that a particular local union policy arose in response to dictation from a central body such as the international union, the theme of democracy is likely to be employed to suggest that local members' wishes are being throttled to satisfy distant "labor bosses." Yet it is not uncommon to hear the same employers, later, argue that international unions need to exercise more restraint over unruly locals in the interests of responsible unionism. The truth is apparently that, just as responsibility and democracy conflict at various points in society at large, so, too, they clash in the industrial leader's mind, and he picks and chooses between the two as dictated by his

⁴ The author's research on these two sources of pressure consisted in the main of interviews with a broad cross-section of labor leaders, mostly at the local level, in the greater Boston area. These men, representing industrial and craft unions both new and old, were asked to discuss their perception of what a democratic union looked like, what problems it presented, how people other than leaders viewed these problems, and how they themselves behaved as leaders. This research and that which is described later were supported by grants from the Sloan Research Fund made through the School of Industrial Management, Massachusetts Institute of Technology. This aid and the continuing support and interest of faculty members in the Industrial Relations Section, M.I.T., is warmly acknowledged.

interests of the moment. To attempt to force the union into democratic practices is upon occasion to give vent to little more than the employer's own feeling that current union decisions are going against him. Thus, employer interest in democratic decision-making may often be expected to ebb and flow with changing assessments of the ways in which greater member participation in the formulation of union policy would affect the result.

From this conclusion, the paradox on the union side follows. Even though union leaders reflect a sophisticated awareness of the point just stated, they seem to maintain a high degree of sensitivity toward employer criticisms of labor's conduct of its affairs. An example is the acute embarrassment which some leaders feel when an employer alleges that the unpopularity and weakness of the union are evidenced by the poor turnout at its regular meetings. At one level, the leaders will deny vigorously that there is any correlation here; they will point out that the members support their union whenever open support is necessary, as in a strike situation, and that many members give the union a vote of confidence by leaving its administration in the hands of the few who attend meetings. Yet, whatever merit there may be in such counterarguments, these leaders in private conversations frequently express the wish that attendance at meetings would increase and management would thereby be shown how wrong it was. The validity of management's charge is thus denied at the same time that the leaders act as if there were some real reasons to believe it.

There is yet another aspect of the relative weakness of employer pressure toward democracy. This is the tendency for this pressure to be most obvious on two occasions when the union leaders feel that it is least effective—in the earliest days of collective bargaining and in strikes. In the early bargaining period the union may be so recently out of the mass-democracy experience accompanying its birth that the members are fully prepared to maintain a check on the leaders, without the advice of management. And in times of strikes management's concern for democracy is easily painted as an

attempt to separate leader from follower in wartime. At the other end of the scale, management's interest in union democracy may hit a low point in just those situations where the union's violations of democratic procedures are most pronounced.⁵

The concern which non-management groups express for the maintenance of democratic decision-making in unions is generally more heeded by labor leaders because it avoids the pitfalls mentioned above. In its vigorous forms, this concern is felt to be rather more consistent, persistent, and insistent than its managerial counterpart. Such groups as the American Civil Liberties Union,⁶ sections of the press not otherwise noted for antilabor sentiments, public officials, and teachers are increasingly interesting themselves in union democracy and, on occasion, are stirring up action even in unions not usually considered sensitive to public opinion.⁷ Because some of this criticism and concern comes from men or groups whom the unions regard as generally friendly to them in a hostile world, there is more incentive to heed them than to listen to other charges from outside. Until recently, political liberals in the United States have tended to look upon unions as a sort of sacred institution, so effective as rescuers of labor from second-class industrial citizenship that one ought not ask embarrassing questions about what is going on within labor's house. Isolation from criticisms by labor's friends may no longer be so certain.⁸

⁵ A case in point is the East Coast longshoring industry (Malcolm Johnson, *Crime on the Labor Front* [New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., 1950]).

⁶ *Democracy in Labor Unions: A Report and Statement of Policy* (New York: American Civil Liberties Union, 1952).

⁷ When, for example, the International Hod Carriers' Union resumed the practice of holding conventions after a twenty-year lapse, the leaders alleged that the convention was being held in part to show the press and any other critics that the union was in fact as democratic as rival organizations.

⁸ A common experience for the beginning researcher in internal union operations is to be greeted with the standard opinion that "everything in this union is democratic by definition. We have no real problems on that score." But continuing contact establishes the point that many of the same men who express this opinion are in fact beset by a

But the union leaders perceive most of the public pressure toward democratic decision-making as involving interest only in the formalities of constitutional procedures to protect the dissenter within the union. Few public spokesmen appear to interest themselves in responsive leadership as that term has been defined above; they look instead at admissions procedures, conduct of elections, retaliation against losing candidates, and accountability for union funds. In some well-publicized cases these are embarrassing corners for the union housekeeper to show to visitors. But, in the vast majority of unions, the leader who is sensitive to public pressures may find it relatively easier to satisfy the "do-gooder" from outside on these scores than to satisfy the insiders that the union is still their union.

The members, as the third and most important source of pressure toward democracy, possess the advantages of power associated with face-to-face contacts with the leaders, at least at the local level, and the ultimate sanction of being able to retaliate against abusers of office. This latter sanction may, of course, be virtually never used, being checked by the political aura and know-how acquired in time by the leaders in office. Yet, however difficult the task of challenging today's leaders may appear to an aspiring office-holder, the incumbents profess to believe that they hold office only at the pleasure of their constituents. The impression one gains is that this oft-reiterated statement is both culturally demanded within unionism and significant as a sincere reflection of an ultimate dependence upon mass approval.

To a further examination of these membership pressures the remainder of this paper is devoted.⁹

PRESSURE FROM THE MEMBERS

The members' interest in union democracy must be assumed to stem from a multi-

multitude of worries over the changing balance of power between members and leaders. However successful the researcher is in probing with the co-operation of the union officials, one subject normally continues to be closed to him: the wildcat strike against the union.

tude of circumstances. First and most important, the union normally arose as an expression of opposition to autocratic practices in management and as an instrument to protect and advance the dignity of the free worker. Autocracy within the union thus is seen to have a rather obvious irony, particularly where the union's challenge to managerial suppression of industrial civil rights is a matter of recent record. In effect, the union itself has put the member in a critical frame of mind toward all autocracy. Second, this interest is a reflection of the national approval of democratic processes wherever applicable. The union is here seen by its members as a microcosm of the political community. Third, the specific sorts of issues with which unions deal tend to be bread-and-butter matters. The stakes are identifiable, and a man need not be in a union very long before he sees that particular decisions within that organization can help or hurt him. One might expect this to stimulate his interest in maintaining control over the decision-making instruments. Fourth, members, too, are aware of outside judgments of the state of democracy in unions. Maintaining democracy within one's own organization may then be a matter of pride. And, finally, there may possibly be a real ambivalence in the members' attitudes toward their leaders. Perhaps they want both to bestow sufficient status and power on their leaders to accomplish the union's tasks and yet to provide the leaders with constant reminders that they are servants of the workers themselves. The officers are at once "better than us" and "the same as us."

This picture needs balancing. Alongside members' attitudes favoring union democ-

⁹ The resources mentioned earlier were supplemented in this study by studies of members' attitudes toward their union in several locals of CIO industrial unions. The most intensive involved repeated interviews with all members in two leadership power centers in one local, home interviews with 32 rank-and-file members, and a take-home questionnaire distributed to 128 members chosen at random and returned at the plant gates by 112 members. In total, this involved contacts with roughly 14 per cent of the local's membership. The focal point of the inquiry was workers' perceptions of and participation in decision-making on collective bargaining issues.

racy must be set some important countervailing attitudes. While we allege that it is generally true that American union members have a sincere interest in union democracy, it is impossible to deny that there is considerable validity, too, in the following statement:

Pragmatic acquiescence is a native American mode of behavior in workshops and union halls as it is in political assemblies and in halls of learning. Where leaders can prove to members that, because of the leader's "policies," the boys get the bacon delivered in as sizable chunks as anybody gets, and maybe even bigger and fatter chunks, there is a disposition to overlook the absence of democratic procedure attending delivery.¹⁰

The apparent irreconcilability of the two positions perhaps disappears when allowance is made for these additional considerations: flagrant and sustained abuse of democratic rights in unionism is rare enough to support the thesis that comparatively few workers have been tested in their acquiescence to a complete mockery of democracy; even in the cases of most serious abuse, the leaders apparently feel compelled to make certain significant gestures toward democracy in their use of its symbols; apathy where disregard for democratic procedures is concerned does not tell the full story of the members' attitudes toward those procedures; and there is, as Hardman stresses, an important limiting condition to the state of pragmatic acquiescence, that is, the acquiescence may disappear when the bacon disappears.

Yet the members' interest in democracy is tempered with both a certain amount of apathy toward means, of which Hardman has spoken, and an admiration of efficiency in decision-making. The point, then, is not that members ordinarily are interested in democratic union practices either exclusively or even principally; it is rather that they have sufficient continuing interest to persuade their leaders of the advisability of legitimizing bureaucratic decision-making by dressing it in democratic garb. Moreover, union members throughout a large number of organizations, particularly those which

are local, have demonstrated again and again their capacity to arise and act in righteous indignation where power has been most abused.

Research in one local industrial union suggests the following conclusions, applicable, at least, to its own situation:

1. The members' definitions of union democracy include both formalistic concepts of constitutional rights and decision-making by the majority for the majority. The sovereignty of majority rule and the freedom of every man to speak his opinion were the most popular definitions offered in an open-ended question.

2. Members set high standards for their judgments as to whether or not their local union may be termed "democratic." In a local which the researcher felt to be one of the most democratic he had seen by the criteria used here, only 9 per cent of the members responded that their local was more democratic than others of which they had heard.

3. Definitions and judgments of union democracy showed no statistically significant differences as between different skill levels, different parental contacts with unionism, or different levels of participation in union affairs; but significant differences on judgments of union democracy did show up as between supporters of the rival candidates for union office, with supporters of the "out group" less willing to call their local a democratic one.

If these conclusions have applicability elsewhere, a number of implications may follow from them. One is that the leaders cannot satisfy existing pressures by the members for democracy by simply operating within the formal constitutional limits imposed upon their power. They must also be able to link major policy decision to majority sentiments. A second is that a clean slate on the democracy issue is not easily come by; a vague feeling by the members that things could be better is a rather normal state of affairs. And a third is that political opposition to the leaders, being distinguishable by its judgments on the official conduct of the incumbents, is a built-in pressure to-

¹⁰ Hardman, *op. cit.*, pp. 69-70.

ward more adherence to democratic standards.

Much of the leaders' expectation that there will be democracy in unions is of their own making. Their own past conduct, whether it was as part of the early organizing group or as more recent challengers to established office-holders, is likely to have reinforced the stereotype of the union as a basically democratic organization. Thus, even if the majority of leaders wanted to ignore the whole democracy issue, they would not be allowed to forget their own complicity in creating the issue. But, in fact, a sizable majority of leaders, far from consciously wanting to move away from the unions' democratic heritage, probably want to find ways to strengthen it. Their dilemma comes from their growing awareness that democracy is, in the normal case, as unstable as the literature suggests. They may see perfectly good reasons why bureaucracy is on the increase, but they feel from within themselves and from their followers a necessity to keep the spark of democracy alive.

Fortunately for them, the history of contemporary unionism offers abundant evidence that the symbols of democratic control can be so employed as to drain off most of the pressures for democracy without seriously interfering with the normal flow of work through the bureaucracy. One example exists in the union convention. Perhaps no union feels that it can (or wants to) avoid holding conventions at regular intervals. But examination of the proceedings in the majority of cases will convince the outsider that the convention is in no important sense a decision-making body, however valuable its ritualistic significance and social interchange. It can be and is presented to the participants as the supreme example of union democracy at work, but this is more because it complies with the constitution than because of any conviction that it will materially change the shape of things to come. A similar point can be made with reference to many union elections in which a rival's chances of unseating the incumbent are reduced to a minimum by advantages naturally accruing to the latter and with reference, too, to many wage-policy com-

mittees of rank-and-file members and even to many elections to authorize strikes. Or the point can be made by examining some aspects of the general problem of participation in the local union.

MEMBERS, LEADERS, AND PARTICIPATION

Probably the most compelling form which pressure for democracy takes in unionism arises out of the common belief that greater membership participation in the work of the local union is desirable as a means toward an end and, occasionally as an apparent end in itself. To be against participation by the members in the conduct of the union's affairs is, for the leaders, akin to being against the members themselves.

Moreover, many union members express the feeling that they want, or ought to want, to participate more fully in their organization's business. For example, of thirty-two workers from the local mentioned earlier who were interviewed in their homes, sixteen gave strong "Yes" answers and three gave "Yes—but" answers to the query, "Are you willing to become more active in the union?" Yet ten of these members had not attended a single meeting of the union in the past year, even though there were three critical strike meetings. Indeed, the attendance of the "Yes" and "Yes—but" respondents was slightly poorer than that of the "No" respondents. Equally suggestive of a sense that one ought to say he is in favor of participating more fully was the fact that a majority of those unwilling to become active in the union (eight out of thirteen) gave as their reason inadequate education or experience, not a lack of interest or time or a willingness to let others do the work.

Leaders may respond to the stimulus to participation in a number of ways. The most typical reaction at the local level is to devote energy and ingenuity to building up attendance at union meetings, attendance being equated with participation. Motives for wanting larger numbers of people at the routine meetings vary. For some leaders a large attendance is an answer to management's allegations about the unpopularity of the union; for others it is a way of getting a sounding-board for programs where the

political risk is deemed to be great; for still others it is appreciated purely and simply as a leader-to-member communication channel. Moreover, it gratifies the leader's ego to have larger audiences interested in his work. Few leaders seem to be under any illusions about the efficacy of critical decision-making in so unwieldy a body as the monthly meeting affords. The more common ideal is rather that the meeting will produce an attentive audience, receptive to reports from the leadership and active only when activity can be directed elsewhere than against the leadership.

Participation may make for difficulties in the conduct of negotiations with management. Participation in the first formulation of contract demands is common in some unions; but it always involves the delicate problem of dealing with the member who submits an impossible demand to the negotiating committee. The collective-bargaining tactician feels strongly that in much of the negotiating mass participation is inappropriate. Yet he also recognizes times when it would be beneficial to bring the members up to date on the status of negotiations as a way of bolstering union power at the bargaining table. If he could safely count on the membership's greeting with scorn a wage offer from management which the leader wants rejected, the "participation" of the rank and file would be useful at this juncture. If, on the other hand, the leaders are not sure how the members will react even in a structured situation, they will be more likely to try to keep the members out of the affair until the very last moment when a contract or a strike needs ratification. What this implies in turn is that the negotiators feel compelled to act over a considerable period of time as if they knew what was best for the members. The situation is ordinarily tenable enough but somewhat embarrassing if much ado has been made in the union recently on the subject of broadening the basis of participation in decision-making.

But there is still another way in which leaders may respond to the call for greater activity on the part of the members. Where participation is a compelling catchword in a union and where attendance at meetings has

not proved satisfactory and participation in collective bargaining is not considered appropriate, the leaders may resort to new educational and community activities. These involve monetary costs but do relatively little to disturb the real power centers within the union and may conceivably involve a substantial part of the would-be active members of the union. Indeed, many leaders seem to find in these activities the major frontier for future participation by the members in the business of their unions.

In the case of participation as here discussed, as in the case of the other democratic symbols dealt with above, the employment of the symbols is occasionally purely Machiavellian. Much more often it is done in good faith and no one believes that he is a hypocrite or being duped himself. As seen by the leaders, the organization demands a bureaucratic mechanism for making and implementing choices of policy and, equally, it demands faithful adherence to certain ritualistic face-to-face contacts between leaders and supporters.

LIFE IN THE BUREAUCRATIC UNIONS

The problem of wrestling with continuing pressures toward democratic decision-making in the face of a drift toward an entrenched bureaucracy is one which particularly plagues those unions in transition from youth to relative maturity. Most of the large industrial unions in this country fit into this category, and a great deal of what has been said above refers most specifically to them.

There remains for final consideration here another segment of unionism where the problem may perhaps have been wrestled with at some past date but where today there is less open evidence to the observer of uneasiness over the struggle between democracy and bureaucracy. These unions, primarily but not exclusively craft organizations, have lived for years by producing their share of gains for the members, by operating the union as strictly an affair of the leaders, by perpetuating a closed group in the leadership, and by professing all the while that theirs is a democratic organization. Certainly these unions are as adept as others at

manipulating democracy's symbols; but this explains only part of their success in preserving bureaucratic, even dictatorial, organizations safe from the attacks of those who would either increase member participation in decision-making or strive to give to political opposition free access to the membership and the ballot. This segment of unionism provides at least three examples of ways in which democratic pressures may be dealt with in the thoroughly bureaucratic organization:

1. *The "all-out-for-welfare" strategy.*—Here the union is heavily committed to a program of "extracurricular" activities of the sort that makes membership participation possible without appreciable impact on the main work of collective bargaining. A feeling of participation is engendered by involvement in the myriad decisions accompanying any sort of welfare activity from a health plan to a union picnic.¹¹ It is assumed that one type of activity is as good as another in enabling the members to feel that they have done their part for the union and have kept the control of it in their own hands.

2. *The "you-never-had-it-so-good" strategy.*—This strategy is employable only where the leadership is able to identify itself with a tangible and impressive list of gains for members through the union. The more the past experience of workers involved serious abuse of their civil rights by employers, the more effective will be the union leader's contention that he defended their dignity. It is the case of the benevolent dictator who may be frank to admit that his practices do not conform to democratic ideals but who claims that democracy, thoroughly laudable in the abstract, has been a luxury which the union could not afford in its pursuit of victories against powerful, ruthless employers. Pressures toward democratic decision-making are apt to be minimal if the leaders and members view the character of the employer

in the same light. And, if the pressures do in fact arise, they can often be stemmed by the leader's threat to resign if the members do not like the way he is behaving. The established identity between this particular leader and continuing contract gains may be counted upon to make this threat effective.

3. *The "here-come-the-saboteurs" strategy.*—More widely applicable is the attempt to forge a link between political opposition and the devil's (i.e., the company's) work. To see how effective this approach may be, one must appreciate the extreme antipathy in union circles toward any man who is an undercover agent for the employer. The leader who can skilfully draw on labor history to remind today's members of specific cases of such infiltration in the name of political opposition can make all-out political contests less popular in the members' eyes. The company is, of course, not the only available foil here; one subdivision in this school of strategists effectively substitutes "pro-Communist" for "pro-company" as the epithet descriptive of its political opponents.

CONCLUSION

Because the democratic ethos is deeply rooted in the labor unions, continuing pressures are felt by their leaders to maintain the form if not the substance of democratic decision-making. In those unions that have long since operated bureaucratically, explanations or diversions are well established to fend off any new pressures toward democracy. In those unions which are most noticeably in the transition stage from young democracy to older bureaucracy, the pressures for maintaining the forms of democracy are compulsive and troublesome to the leader. His position is made tenable by two realities of union life: (1) bureaucratic decision-making can apparently be carried on within the framework of a formally democratic organization and (2) the pressures for democratic control of the union are so counterbalanced by members' apathy and members' interest in efficiency in decision-making that a minimal degree of democracy will ordinarily satisfy the members.

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¹¹ The analogy to many of the wartime labor-management committees is striking. Where those committees devoted their energies to the allocation of space on the company parking lots, they may be said to have provided a "feeling of participation."

CONTROL BY THE MEMBERSHIP IN BUILDING TRADES UNIONS

GEORGE STRAUSS

ABSTRACT

The behavior of the business agent, because he controls jobs, signals the extent of democratic control in the building trades locals in a city of 400,000. The power of the rank and file in the locals, demonstrated in matters like attendance at meetings and turnover of officers, increases at the expense of the agent in times of conflict with employers. Further limits of the agent's power come from the international and the public. Moreover, the smallness of the locals studied made for a "shop society" which protected members' rights.

A common stereotype among industrial relations students is that building trades local unions are undemocratic and their business agents highhanded and often corrupt. In part this impression is based on lurid cases which have reached the courts and investigating committees. Unfortunately, to date there has been little research on the internal dynamics of these unions.¹ Yet the problems they face and their means of solving them obviously differ from those in the industrial unions, which have recently received the bulk of academic attention.

This article reports on a thirty-month study of thirteen building trades unions in a community of approximately 400,000.² How typical these unions are of building trades unions elsewhere is matter for further research.³ By ordinary definitions the locals here were democratic. Business agents faced opposition at election time; re-election was

never automatic. Members had considerable opportunity to express their points of view and, in so far as has been observed, were not subject to retaliation. Meetings were well attended when matters of general concern were considered, and officers' decisions frequently were reversed. Business agents were interested in and responsive to members' demands. At the time there was no evidence or serious charge of corruption in any of the locals, although this had not always been true. There were important differences between the locals, but, at the same time, there was a great contrast between all these unions and industrial unions—enough to make generalization possible.

THE KEY POSITION OF THE BUSINESS AGENT

Any analysis of local unionism in the building trades must center on the business agent. Normally he exercises far more power than any single officer in an industrial union. The reasons are many. First, he is a full-time

¹ For careful studies of building trades unionism see Royal E. Montgomery, *Industrial Relations in the Chicago Building Trades* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1927); Milton Derber, "Case Study 5: Building Construction," *Labor-Management Relations in Illini City* (Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois, Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations, 1953); William Haber, *Industrial Relations in the Building Industry* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1930).

These emphasize subjects other than the internal life of the union. A relevant and important article is Richard R. Meyers, "Interpersonal Relations in the Building Industry," *Applied Anthropology*, V, No. 2 (1946), 1-13. Members' attitudes are discussed in a forthcoming volume by Seidman, London, Karsh, Lilienthal, and Hammett. For an analysis of industrial locals similar to those given here for building trades unions see Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953).

² For a general discussion of research technique see Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, pp. 259-63. Much of the data for this study was gathered by riding with business agents on their daily rounds. The research was supervised by William F. Whyte, of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations, and sponsored by the Grant Foundation, Inc.

³ The majority of the locals had between 400 and 1,000 members, the largest having about 2,700. The community is characterized by stable employment and a high degree of homeownership and civic pride. Manufacturing is only partly organized. The building trades unions control large-scale construction but have only a foothold in housebuilding. Employment has been generally high since the war. Management has been fairly aggressive in resisting union demands.

official. Second, in contrast to industrial locals whose unpaid officers can usually get together on the job, at lunch, or immediately after work, it is difficult for members of construction locals to keep in touch with one another. They work on widely scattered projects. Third, in many instances building tradesmen are dependent on their business agents for jobs. Fourth, collective bargaining in the building trades is highly informal, and special adjustments are often required. This makes it more difficult for the rank and file to check on the business agent's actions. Finally, the short duration of building projects makes quick action necessary; the business agent cannot wait until he has received the executive board's approval for everything he does. Further, it should be noted that collective bargaining in the building trades is normally on the local level and that the international exercises only limited controls.

However, in spite of their great authority, business agents in the community studied were not dictators. Instead, as we shall see, the internal politics of building trades unions can be likened to a system in equilibrium. The arbitrary discretion of the business agents is checked by pressures from other union officers, the international, employers, the general public, and, above all, the rank and file.

The locals in this community were probably more democratic than most. In the absence of similar studies in other communities, one can only guess why this should be so, and the hypothesis is advanced that it is in part due to the small size of the local. This makes it possible for the members to keep in communication with one another and thus check up on the activities of the business agent and organize a political life independent of his control.

In this article we will look first for external evidences of democracy in elections and meetings and then examine some of the internal pressures which keep the business agent responsive.

ELECTIONS

The elections observed were conducted with democratic safeguards, including secret ballots or voting machines. Participation ranged from 7 to 60 per cent, with the higher interest naturally being shown in the smaller locals and when the contest was close.

In the most recent elections seven out of fourteen full-time business agents faced opposition, and one was defeated. Over the last six years six had been either defeated or forced to retire in face of membership pressure. At the time this study was made, business agents had been in office for an average of 7.5 years—yet none felt completely secure. Elections were never taken lightly, and for some the prospect of being defeated was a source of constant and often neurotic worry. For executive board positions opposition and turnover was even more common.

Election issues varied. At times the business agent was charged with being insufficiently militant in protecting the members' legitimate rights or so militant as to jeopardize their chances of employment (and sometimes of both faults at the same time by different factions). Often personal ambition or Irish-Italian-Negro rivalry was the primary motivation. But the agent's power was most seriously challenged when the opposition could charge him with inefficiency. One agent told how he won an election:

Old Jim had been business agent for fifteen years. When he started out, he was bright, aggressive, and able. But gradually he took to the bottle. . . . In meetings he would yell at the people to sit down and shout abuse at them. . . . There were times when you just couldn't find him when you had a problem. . . . His books were in miserable shape.

Three years ago he was elected by a thirteen-vote majority. A lot of the men voted for him just out of loyalty. They didn't like the old man to lose his job. . . . Well, in the last election I knew that someone was going to beat him. I just had to run.

Almost identical stories could be told in two other locals. Even where alcohol was not a problem, elections were often close.

MEETINGS

Attendance at meetings was higher than in industrial locals of the same size. A turnout of from 5 to 10 per cent was typical of meetings without special business. Perhaps 20-25 per cent showed up to vote on dues increases or contract demands or to authorize a strike. Over half might attend when the contract was finally presented for ratification. Since many of the members lived from twenty to fifty miles from town, this high attendance requires explanation. To some extent members reasoned that if they attended meetings the business agent would see them and thus be more likely to give them jobs. More important, the meeting was a social event which gave old friends who were working on different projects a chance to see one another.

Discussion was often vigorous. Name-calling and displays of temper were common. Local presidents were largely selected on their ability to keep order during the meeting.

More commonly than in industrial locals, discussion on the meeting floor was centered on policy questions (with the business agent often refusing to make recommendations); details and implementation of policy, on the whole, were left to the business agent and the executive board. Parliamentary rules were largely ignored, and the parliamentary maneuvering which often paralyzes the meetings of industrial unions was almost entirely absent. Since every member did the same kind of work, most problems were of interest to all, and discussion was much more fruitful.

Although a majority of meetings were dull and uninteresting, on many occasions they got out of hand, at least from the business agent's point of view. Among the questions giving rise to most controversy were: What should be done to limit the number of members in face of possibly declining job opportunities? How militant should the union be in coming wage negotiations? Should the union fight for fringe benefits or settle for straight wage increase? On each of these issues meetings were observed in which the business agents' proposals were em-

phatically rejected after long discussion. In three instances contracts were rejected and strikes called, contrary to their advice.

EXECUTIVE BOARDS

Although to the general public, the employers, and even to the membership the business agent is the union's spokesman, the executive boards—which consist of the unpaid officers—played an important role behind the scenes and significantly limited his power. In most locals important decisions were made only with their approval, and in all cases members could appeal to them from business agents' decisions.

Antagonistic boards could hamstring a business agent by a number of means: refusing to punish men who had violated his instructions, disapproving items of expense, overruling his decision on important cases, and (in two incidents observed) actually calling a strike of which he disapproved.

EXAMPLES OF DEMOCRACY

It may be instructive to look at four representative locals more closely.

Local A.—The business agent had been in office for almost ten years. On two occasions his re-election met with opposition; both times he won by a landslide vote. However, political enemies have sat on his executive board. Perhaps the strongest opposition came from a lower-paid minority subcraft. (Subcrafts were in opposition in a number of trades. Their opposition was more vocal and more effective where they were of higher status.)

Attendance at ordinary meetings ranged from 5 to 10 per cent of the members. When the last contract was presented for ratification, 85 per cent of the affected members attended, the debate lasted for two hours, and, when the final vote was taken, almost 40 per cent were still in opposition. On another occasion a proposal dear to the business agent's heart—to fight for fringe benefits instead of a larger wage increase—was defeated by a close vote. (Since the research was completed the members turned down a contract recommended by the business agent and went on a lengthy strike.)

Local B.—The business agent had been re-elected annually for twenty years, but on a majority of occasions he had faced determined opposition. This local had a well-developed two-party system based largely on the question of whether men should be allowed to obtain jobs on their own or through the agent. Frequently the opposition controlled the executive board.

Attendance at meetings dropped fairly low, but even a relatively minor dispute could raise it to 20 per cent. Proceedings were turbulent, and some members went merely to "see if we can get him [the business agent] mad tonight."

Local C.—The business agent had held office for over ten years, and in recent elections he was unopposed. Although as a rule, there were contests for executive board positions, the agent normally remained neutral. In the last election he mildly opposed one man, who was elected anyway.

The business agent was careful to sound out members of the executive board before making any proposals which might be rejected. Attendance at local meetings was low; in one instance the agent was forced to use parliamentary maneuvering to prevent a vote on a motion which might have been approved by those present but was certainly not in the interest of the vast majority of the members.

Meetings of subcrafts were frequent and well attended. Here the business agent frequently revised his proposals in face of opposition.

Local D.—Politics in this local were quite turbulent. The business agent had been in office for about three years and had faced determined opposition every election. His predecessor was asked to resign by the executive board for inefficiency. The business agent and the president are rivals, and the business agent's recommendations are often upset by the executive board. When this happens, the agent appeals to the local meeting. (In an election held since this research was completed, the former president took over the business agent's job.)

Meetings are exciting, although not always well attended. This local is note-

worthy for the number of its wildcat strikes and the tendency of the membership to disregard completely the business agent's instructions.

All four of these locals were democratic. Yet they differed widely in the relationship which existed between the business agent and the membership.⁴ The agent of Local C had perhaps the firmest control over his local, but he retained it only by keeping his ear closely attuned to union public opinion. The business agents of Locals B and D were more likely to make decisions on their own—but there was a strong opposition ready to trip them up when they made mistakes.

This suggests that it may well be worthwhile to examine the techniques of control which business agents use and the pressures to which they are subject. Particular attention will be paid to the pattern of relationship between business agents and members. In this we shall see the principle of mutual dependency or exchange of favors which characterizes building trades' life.

Business agents and members meet on the job, during membership and executive board meetings, and in the union office. With this in mind we can divide union business into three main areas: (1) relations with employers; (2) internal administration of the union; and (3) distribution of jobs and admission of new members. We will consider each in turn.

ON THE JOB

One of the most important of the functions of the business agent is that of inspecting building projects under his jurisdiction to make sure that the union's contract and customary working rules are being respected. Often business agents and employers entertain contrasting interpretations of custom. Although the contract calls for arbitration, in almost every instance the prob-

⁴ Originally it was hoped to study why some locals were democratic and others not. However, it turned out to be impossible to distinguish between degrees of democracy: different locals were democratic in different ways. Further research should be done in locals which are clearly undemocratic.

lems are informally adjusted, the agent using as a club his power to shut down the job.

Business agents cannot police every job in their jurisdiction. They must rely upon the members to report violations of union conditions. Where the workers are in league with the employers, the business agents' hands are tied. For instance, individual members may agree with an employer to work overtime without premium pay, if they know that otherwise they would not get the extra work at all.

Furthermore, business agents depend to a considerable extent upon "spontaneous militancy" from their members. When this is lacking, the position of the business agent is considerably weaker. As two business agents put it:

Sometimes all you've got to do is wink an eye, and the men are out. Other times you have to put up a picket, and even then there are some people who want to work.

When the men walk off by themselves, then you're really in the driver's seat. If you have to push them out, things aren't so good.

A good part of meeting time is taken up by the business agent's "educational" campaign to get the members to take action by themselves; for example:

MEMBER: The raincoats that [employer] is giving us are so old the water goes right through them. What are you going to do about that?

BUSINESS AGENT: What are *you* going to do about it? Your business agent can't go around testing every raincoat in the county. If he gives you a bad raincoat, tell him you're not going to work until he gives you a good one. If enough of you get together, he won't fool around with you.

Many seemingly spontaneous strikes are instigated by the business agent or have his benevolent approval. However, on occasion members can be too militant. Really unauthorized wildcat strikes can be very embarrassing and are one of the most dramatic and effective ways the members have available to show their disapproval of union policies. If a business agent cannot control his

members, employers will ignore him and bargain individually with their men.

On the other hand, when the members show little spontaneous militancy, they are largely dependent on the business agent for maintaining good working conditions. Individual members are often hesitant to stand up for their rights against the employer. Since they do not have seniority protection, it is easy to lose one's job and be informally blacklisted by the other employers. Unless all the members on the project display a united front, it is much easier to get in touch with the business agent in secret and have him handle the problem than to deal directly with the employers.

Naturally this adds to the business agent's power. If a political opponent calls for help, he can always be too "busy" to visit the project (although in most cases observed business agents tried to give just as good service to their enemies as to their friends). Thus, ironically, where members are apathetic, the internal power of the business agent is considerably greater, even though he may be weaker vis-à-vis the employer. Actually there is a three-way relationship on every project, and the employer plays an important role. For instance, through paying extra-high wages, he may induce his men to work Sundays without reporting this to the agent, in violation of union rules. When this happens, the agent can do little. On the other hand, when his relations with employers are good, the agent is in a much stronger political position. He has no need to test his economic strength by calling strikes, and the employer can support him by punishing his enemies and give the better jobs to his friends. Indeed, when relations are too good, the temptation is strong to enter into a conspiracy in which both parties combine to reduce competition.

In communities where such combinations exist the employers keep the business agent's political enemies in check, and he keeps down the number of new contractors entering the field. Together they keep the men from causing "trouble." The employer gains lush profits; the business agent wins firm control of his union and perhaps a little

"protection money" on the side. The customer pays the bill.⁵

There was no evidence of this in the community studied, among other reasons perhaps because the small size of the locals made rank-and-file supervision possible, and the partially organized condition of the industry created the ever present possibility that nonunion firms might take away part of the work.

In summary, business agents rely upon the support of their members for the enforcement of union rules and the protection of the union generally. However, as relations with employers improve, they become less dependent upon the membership. On the other hand, where the members are likely to show "spontaneous militancy," the business agent's internal political power is weaker, even if the union's economic power is stronger. Therefore, a hypothesis for future research might be that there is a tendency toward an inverse relationship between democracy in building trades unions and labor-management peace.⁶

IN INTERNAL UNION POLITICS

Just as the position of the business agent is strengthened if he has a series of mutually supportive two-way relationships with employers and the rank and file, so he is also dependent upon his stewards, executive board members, and active members, and they in turn depend on him.

Take stewards, for instance. Their chief function is to deal with grievances which arise on the job. The business agent cannot cover all jobs at once, and the stewards are his "eyes and ears." Without their co-operation his job becomes much harder. In addition, as the "non-coms," so to speak, of the union, they are important in internal politics as well as in collective bargaining. When an election or important meeting approaches, the business agent makes sure

that they bring their men to the meeting hall.

Stewards are appointed by the business agent. Yet his freedom of choice is often restricted. If the steward he appoints is not popular on the job, the men will not follow him in either economic or political activity. The union will be weaker on that job in case of a strike—and "spontaneous militancy" becomes more difficult to achieve. In fact, an unpopular appointment may mean that the business agent himself will lose votes in the next election.

The relations of the business agent with his executive board provide an acid test of his political ability. Board members, of course, are elected by the entire membership. On many boards there is factionalism and backbiting. As long as the members fight each other to win the business agent's favor, he is secure. When men start attacking him, his position is obviously more difficult. Yet it is not uncommon for business agents to work with boards a majority of whose members are hostile. Even a single member of the opposition can cause trouble, since as a board member he becomes acquainted with the intricacies of union business and commands a receptive hearing from the members when he reports on alleged mismanagement.

On the other hand, the business agent has weapons of his own to hold the board members in line. Many of them are personally dependent on him for being placed on good jobs. Also he commands minor forms of patronage, such as being sent to conventions and being put on the union payroll for odd jobs. More important, he has a natural advantage at election time. He can do his campaigning on the job. He can contact the entire membership. Opposition candidates normally see only those who attend meetings or who work on their own jobs. If the business agent is re-elected, he can, in most cases, carry the rest of his slate along with him.

In most instances business agents live in harmony with their boards, although this harmony is often achieved at the cost of considerable effort. Often it is obtained

⁵ This was quite common in Chicago (see Montgomery, *op. cit.*, chap. x).

⁶ For a discussion of this thesis in relationship to industrial unions see Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, chap. xvi.

through sounding out members in advance of meetings and avoiding contests of strength. One business agent gave as the secret of his success the fact that he allowed his board plenty of freedom to decide little things; once the members had exhausted themselves arguing about trivia, he was able to win acceptance of major proposals without too much debate.

In theory, the union meeting includes the entire membership, but, in fact, normally only a minority attends. Yet this minority determines policy for the entire union. The steady attenders are often older men—men particularly dependent upon the business agent for work. They can embarrass him, and he can embarrass them.

Furthermore, the business agent cannot be sure to what extent those who speak at meetings represent the rank and file as a whole. If he follows the dictates of the vocal few, he risks losing the support of the passive majority. Yet, in the end, these vocal few may be able to swing the majority along with them. This means that he cannot ignore their wishes. Instead, he must adjust himself to pressure—and in return exert as much pressure as he can to keep the dissidents from causing trouble. Usually he is careful to see how the wind blows before he commits himself. As long as the bulk of the membership is satisfied with what the business agent does, attendance remains low. However, once he starts making mistakes, the word spreads from project to project (often through social contacts at night), and attendance increases.

All in all, the most secure business agents, politically, are those who campaign twelve months a year. Their constant contacts with members on the job and at meetings serve the dual purpose of revealing what the members want and of advertising the effectiveness of their own leadership.

One of the main purposes of the business agent's regular round of projects is, as one commented, "just to show my face—if they don't see me around, they think I am lying down on the job." Normally, he spends most of his time with the steward, maintaining his contacts there, but before leaving he is sure

to walk around the project, talking to some of the members and letting others know "I've been there." (Only a small proportion of the construction teamsters may be on a project at a given time, but the business agent of their local advertises his activities by insistently honking his horn at all construction trucks he passes.)

IN THE DISTRIBUTION OF JOBS AND ADMISSION OF NEW MEMBERS

A business agent's power and prestige are in part determined by the number of those who come to him for help. One told how the men living outside the central city were "more loyal and more militant" because they could not find jobs for themselves and had to depend upon the union office.

In some locals employers were required to hire all their men through the union hall; in others, members were free to find work themselves. Yet, even when not so required, employers often asked the business agent to provide them men. Naturally, this control over jobs gave him considerable opportunity to show favoritism. In theory men who were out of work longest received first priority on new jobs. However, the lists could be easily manipulated. If they wished, business agents could discriminate between friends and enemies both among employers and among union members.

Interestingly, political factionalism was as great in those unions in which the business agent had absolute control over placement as in those where the men could find their own jobs and sometimes even greater. Control of jobs did not make the business agents into dictators. Instead it increased the members' interest in internal politics.

Business agents were also able to exercise considerable choice in recommending candidates for membership or apprenticeship, and political considerations could well play an important part in their decisions. Yet most locals required candidates to appear before an examining board or apprenticeship committee. Of course, a business agent might fill a board with political allies—but each board was a potential check on his powers.

In distributing jobs, business agents oper-

ate under terrific pressure which substantially reduces their freedom to make arbitrary decisions. In the office, on the jobs, at home, or even during social affairs, they are constantly besieged by members who are looking for favors and who often complain that unfair advantages have been given to others. For instance, if for good reason a member is sent on the job without regard to the out-of-work list, the other members who are out of work soon hear about it and object. Several business agents said frankly that one of the chief reasons for not giving favors was that, "for every friend you make, you make several enemies." As one business agent put it:

My trouble is that the men are always watching me. For instance, I put one man on a job, and another will come to me and say, "Why didn't you give me the job?"

I'll say, "Well, your name wasn't on top of the list; his was."

He'll say, "I thought you were a friend of mine. You didn't have to tell him." And so it goes. It would save me a lot of time, bother, and worry if everyone found a job by himself.

The business agent can satisfy only a few of the demands made upon him. In self-defense against these pressures he has two alternatives. The first is to establish a set, formal system of distributing job opportunities and other advantages. (This is often called "going by the book" and corresponds to the formalized system of considering grievances utilized in some industrial unions.) The second alternative is to engage in out-and-out favoritism, to give the best plums to your friends, and to leave the crumbs for the rank and file. This is possible only when the agent has already strongly solidified his control of the union and has little fear of being kicked out. None of the business agents studied enjoyed such power.

Thus, it would seem that, in unions which are already democratic, there are strong pressures on the business agent to act impartially—and thus help keep the union democratic. In those which are undemocratic, he can employ favoritism to strengthen his position.

OTHER PRESSURES

Naturally, business agents are subject to numerous other pressures, only two of which will be mentioned here. In theory, if the business agents acts in a dictatorial way, the dissatisfied members may appeal to the international. In some instances the international may even put the local in "receivership." However, as long as the business agent does not publicly embarrass the union or weaken the economic position of other locals, the international will not care to intervene. Indeed, the international officers often depend upon the business agents of the various locals to provide them with votes for their re-election.

Union leaders are naturally concerned with public relations. In general they try to avoid unfavorable mention in the press and on radio and television. Most agree that participation in community affairs has a favorable effect upon public relations. In part, this is merely an indication of the normal human desire to be "thought well of"; in part, union leaders realize that their task will be more difficult if the general public and, in particular, government officials are antagonistic.

WHY WERE THESE UNIONS DEMOCRATIC?

Obviously, the degree of democracy in a building trades union depends largely upon the position of the business agent. Democracy in these unions can be measured not only in terms of turnover of business agents but also by the amount of adjustment which they must make to avoid turnover. If the agent is firmly in power and has no need to react to rank-and-file pressures, then the union is undemocratic.

As we have seen, relations between business agent, members, and employers are complex and interrelated. In a way the business agent's power is cumulative. If he is strong, he has no need to depend on rank-and-file support on the job. He can dominate his executive board and the members' meeting, and he can play favorites with impunity. In other words, he can run an undemocratic union.

It is probably safe to say that, compared with members of industrial unions generally, building tradesmen have a greater interest in the affairs of their union. The union usually gets them their jobs. Furthermore, their identification is greater, since typically they belong to the union all their lives, while working for many employers. Indeed, the union offers fraternal needs and prestige, which industrial unions rarely provide.

When they take little risks in doing so, members will be more likely to participate in union activities.⁷ However, where the business agent can retaliate against those who oppose him, few members are willing to take the risk. This would suggest that the range of democracy in building trades unions will be greater than in industrial unions.

We are still left with the question: Why were the business agents in this community so responsive to their membership? Only partial explanations can be given. One is that, since the construction industry there was only partially unionized, employers could show greater independence and that the business agents were more dependent on rank-and-file support. Another is that the unions were less closely connected with the local political organization than is apparently true elsewhere.

Perhaps the effect of size was even more important. Joel Seidman explains why craft unions in large metropolises are undemocratic as follows:

In a typical craft union situation the opportunity for informal upward communication is even less than in industrial unions. Here the

⁷ This conflicts with a hypothesis of Howe and Widick: "Though by no means an invariable one, a correlation can be observed between a union's commitment to large social goals and its observance of internal democratic procedure. . . . A craft union protecting the favored position of its skilled labor stratum will often become bureaucratic because its members feel no pressing need to interfere in its administration so long as it delivers the goods. The members feel no strong urge to self-rule because they often regard the union not as *their* organization but rather an external body mediating between them and their employers" (Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* [New York: Random House, 1949], pp. 244-45).

workers are typically scattered among a great many employing units, each of very small size, with jobs often of short duration. In a large local a large staff of full-time business agents is needed to police these jobs, and inevitably they are given authority over the jobs and over the members. There is no informal shop society of which the business agent is a member and to which he is responsive. . . . Entry into the union and expulsion were controlled by the business agent or union head, who might be as far removed from the worker, for purposes of political control, if not communication, as the head of a large corporation.⁸

The difference between this community and the situation described by Seidman is this: here there was a definite "shop society." To a greater extent than in industrial locals the author has studied, the members knew each other. They had all done the same sort of work for years. Most of them mingled at work; most of them had seen each other at union meetings or waiting in the union office for jobs. In addition, there were ethnic and family ties which bound them together even closer. The business agent was *not* far removed from the worker.

CONCLUSION

1. The locals in this community were democratic, to the extent that the business agents were forced to be responsive to the desires of the members—with defeat looming if they were not. The degree of membership participation and interest was higher than is common in industrial unions of the same size.

2. Hypothetically, it is proposed that the effectiveness of the membership controls was to some extent a function of the locals' small size and cohesiveness.

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⁸ "Discussion: Leadership and Communication in Companies and Trade Unions," *Proceedings of the Fifth Annual Meeting of the Industrial Relations Research Association*, 1952, p. 154. See also Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VII, No. 1 (October, 1953), 3-14. For a more general analysis of union democracy see Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, chap. xiii.

CONTROL STRUCTURE AND UNION FUNCTIONS¹

ARNOLD S. TANNENBAUM

ABSTRACT

American unions provide an especially fertile field for the exploration and testing of theoretical notions concerning control structure in organizations because of their wide variation in structure. The level of democratic control in a local appears to be related to the members' interest in broad and general goals for their union. Little ground is found for the hypothesis that militant union-management conflict is related to democracy within the local. Rather, union-management conflict affects the total amount of control exercised in the union. The amount of control exercised within a union depends on a number of interrelated causes and effects, including the power of the union, the extent of inter- as well as intra-organizational conflict, and membership loyalty, conformity, and participation.

INTRODUCTION

The importance of control in organizations has led to the development of a number of hypotheses relating it to other aspects of functioning. Relationships have been suggested, for example, between the goals of a union and the form which control will take within it. The "business union," devoted primarily to the enhancement of wages and other specific benefits from management, is predicted to develop strong leadership and an autocratic government.² A union's commitment to large social goals, on the other hand, is often considered to be associated with internal democratic procedures.³ The relationship between union-management conflict and control has also been the subject of some thought and speculation. Militant conflict with management is said to contribute to membership interest and the main-

tenance of democracy within the union.⁴ A related view suggests that unions may be led into undemocratic procedures in an effort to achieve a harmonious relationship with management. Autocratic control is seen as a correlate of "union responsibility."⁵ These hypotheses are consistent with the general notion that the form or structure of a union is related to its functions or goals. Furthermore, they imply that the relationship goes one way; the functions determine the structure.

Social psychologists have been interested in control from another point of view: as an independent variable. Interest in the effects of control is reflected in a number of studies from the early research in laboratory groups to the more recent experimental studies in large organizations. Control has been shown to have implications for group cohesiveness, morale, and productivity;⁶ it seems of importance as both a cause and an effect.

¹ The material presented here is adapted in part from a larger report written by the present author in collaboration with Robert L. Kahn and subsidized by the Rockefeller Foundation. The larger study of which this is a part is one of a continuing series on organizational functioning conducted by the staff of the Human Relations Program of the Survey Research Center. I would like to thank Erving Goffman and Joan Lohmann for their contributions to the design and execution of this study, as well as Elizabeth Douvan, Basil Georgopoulos, and Ernest Lilienstein for their helpful comments concerning this paper.

² R. F. Hoxie, *Trade Unionism in the United States* (2d ed.; New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1923), p. 46.

³ Irving Howe and B. J. Widick, *The UAW and Walter Reuther* (New York: Random House, 1949), p. 244.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 259.

⁵ Seymour Martin Lipset, "The Political Process in Trade Unions: A Theoretical Statement" in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 82-124.

⁶ See, e.g., Kurt Lewin, Ronald Lippitt, and Ralph K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (May, 1939), 5-40; James C. Worthy, "Factors Influencing Employee Morale," *Harvard Business Review*, XXVIII (January, 1950), 61-73; and Nancy Morse and Everett Reimer, "The Experimental Change of a Major Organizational Variable," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, Vol. LIII (January, 1956).

The study of control in unions is especially fruitful because of the great variety of practices encountered among the local and international unions in America. One can easily point to unions which exemplify democratic or, if one wishes, autocratic procedures. This great diversity of structural form offers a field for unlimited exploration and comparison. It also poses a serious problem, that of developing descriptive techniques which are capable of capturing some of the essential qualities of union organizations and which at the same time are amenable to standardization and replication.

We have attempted to meet this problem by developing a method of description which is both quantitative and conceptually meaningful. We have called it the "control graph." This scheme characterizes the control structure of an organization in terms of two axes.⁷ The horizontal axis is based on a universal characteristic of formal organizations: the system of hierarchically defined ranks. This axis is designed to represent the various hierarchical levels, from low to high, in the organization. In many local unions, for example, the rank and file would be placed at the low end of this axis, and the president would be placed at the high end, with other officer groups (e.g., the executive board and the bargaining committee) at intervening levels. The vertical axis of the graph represents the amount of control over the organization's policies and actions that is exercised by each of the hierarchical levels. For example, a given level, conceivably, could have very little control in determining the policies and actions of the organization. This might be true of the rank and file in some locals or of the president in others. On the other hand, certain levels might be extremely influential in controlling the affairs of the organization. Again, this might be true of the rank and file, the president, or

any combination of hierarchical levels. One can see that varying shapes of curve might be generated from these axes, depending on how much control is exercised by each of the hierarchical groups. Four simple prototypes will serve to illustrate the numerous possibilities. These are a few ideal types but by no means the most important theoretically. The graphs as a descriptive technique subsume them all while accounting at the same time for the many variations from these extremes.

1. *The democratic model.*—This is a curve which rises (i.e., control increases) as one goes down the hierarchy. Groups at lower levels in the hierarchy (such as the rank and file) have more power than groups at higher levels (such as the executive board or the president).

2. *The autocratic or oligarchic model.*—This is a curve which falls (i.e., control decreases) as one goes down the hierarchy.

3. *The laissez faire or anarchic model.*—This is a curve which remains low (i.e., control is low) for all hierarchical levels. No one exercises much control.

4. *The polyarchic model.*—This is a curve which remains high (i.e., control is high) for all hierarchical levels. All hierarchical groups have important influence in this type of organization.

The foregoing examples help illustrate the importance of two distinct aspects of control in organizations: *the distribution of control*, i.e., who or what hierarchically defined groups exercise control over the affairs of the organization, and *the total amount of control*, i.e., how much control is exercised within the organization, from all sources. The first is represented by the shape of the curve, the second by its average height. The one emphasizes the relative power of individuals and groups within the organization, while the other considers its absolute amount. Discussion of control in organizations has more often recognized the former. However, an understanding of control in unions requires an accounting not only of where control resides but of how much it all amounts to. Unions vary much more than do their indus-

⁷ A more detailed discussion of the control graph as a descriptive technique is presented in an article by Arnold S. Tannenbaum and Robert L. Kahn, "Organizational Control Structure: A General Descriptive Technique as Applied to Four Local Unions," *Human Relations* (in press).

trial counterparts as to both these dimensions. Furthermore, locals which have the same distribution of control may differ markedly in the total amount of control. Similarly, in unions with the same total amount of control, the control may be distributed in quite different ways.

Several hypotheses are discussed later relating these dimensions of control of membership participation, to the ideology of the union, and to the extent to which the union engages in militant conflict with management. An organizational syndrome is suggested which relates control in the union to a larger pattern of variables, including organizational power, inter- and intraorganizational conflict, participation, loyalty, and conformity. While the limited sample of locals does not permit a definitive test of any of the hypotheses, the data are sufficiently suggestive to justify reporting.

SAMPLE

This article is based on a study of four local unions, all of the industrial type. They are located in Michigan and include between 350 and 850 members. None of the officers is employed full time by the union. Since the study was initiated as an investigation of the factors affecting membership participation, locals were chosen which differ on this variable. Two locals, one high and one low in participation, are in each of two international. Differences in participation among the locals as judged by international officers were found to agree with our own measures, which include measures of meeting attendance (both regular and special), member activities at meetings (such as raising and seconding motions, asking questions, etc.), work on committees, and voting in union elections. The locals are assigned fictitious names and, in the order of their level of membership participation, are National, Sergeant, Ensign, and Walker. Sergeant is the largest of the locals, while Ensign is the smallest. The major findings reported here were obtained through paper-and-pencil questionnaires administered to a representative sample of about 150 members in each

local. The rate of questionnaire returns averaged over 90 per cent.

CONTROL IN THE FOUR LOCALS

What picture do the control graphs present of the four locals? Four hierarchical levels were chosen to represent the possible loci of control within each of the locals. The horizontal axis was constructed by employing these hierarchical levels in the following order: (1) the president, (2) the executive board, (3) the plant bargaining committee, and (4) the rank-and-file membership. The amount of control exercised by each of these levels was ascertained through a series of parallel questions. In determining the amount of control exercised by the president, for example, the following question was employed: "In general, how much do you think the president has to say about how things are decided in this local?" Answers were checked on a five-point scale from 1, "He has no say at all," to 5, "He has a great deal of say." This question was repeated for the executive board, the plant bargaining committee, and the rank-and-file membership.⁸

Figure 1 presents the control curves based on the mean responses to these questions in each of the locals. Three of the curves approximate the prototypes discussed previously. National resembles the democratic model most closely, while Sergeant and Walker approach the polyarchic and laissez faire models, respectively. Ensign does not conform closely to any of the previously discussed prototypes, although the general slope of this curve is positive, with the membership having a relatively high level of control.⁹

⁸ The ratings receive some support from observations of the locals as well as from statements of international officers. Further validation of the control graphs as a descriptive technique comes from their recent application in a study of industrial organizations. The curves found in these organizations differ markedly from those in the locals of the present study and, as expected, tend much more in the oligarchic direction.

⁹ Statistical tests were performed to determine the significance of the differences in control between the various levels in each local. For example, in

Walker and Sergeant, both characterized by relatively flat curves, represent locals differing sharply in their total amounts of control. As we shall see, this difference helps explain a number of other variations. On the other hand, while National and Sergeant are

National, where the curve is steep, the membership has a significantly greater amount of control than each of the other groups; in Walker, where the curve is flat, none of the differences is significant (see Tannenbaum and Kahn, *op. cit.*).

similar in total amount of control, the sources of power differ. In National the rank and file is the single most powerful group. In Sergeant the bargaining committee ranks above the membership (although this difference is not statistically significant), and the other levels follow close behind. When acting as a concerted group, the officers in Sergeant are extremely influential and can seriously challenge the members on many issues. This is unlikely in National.

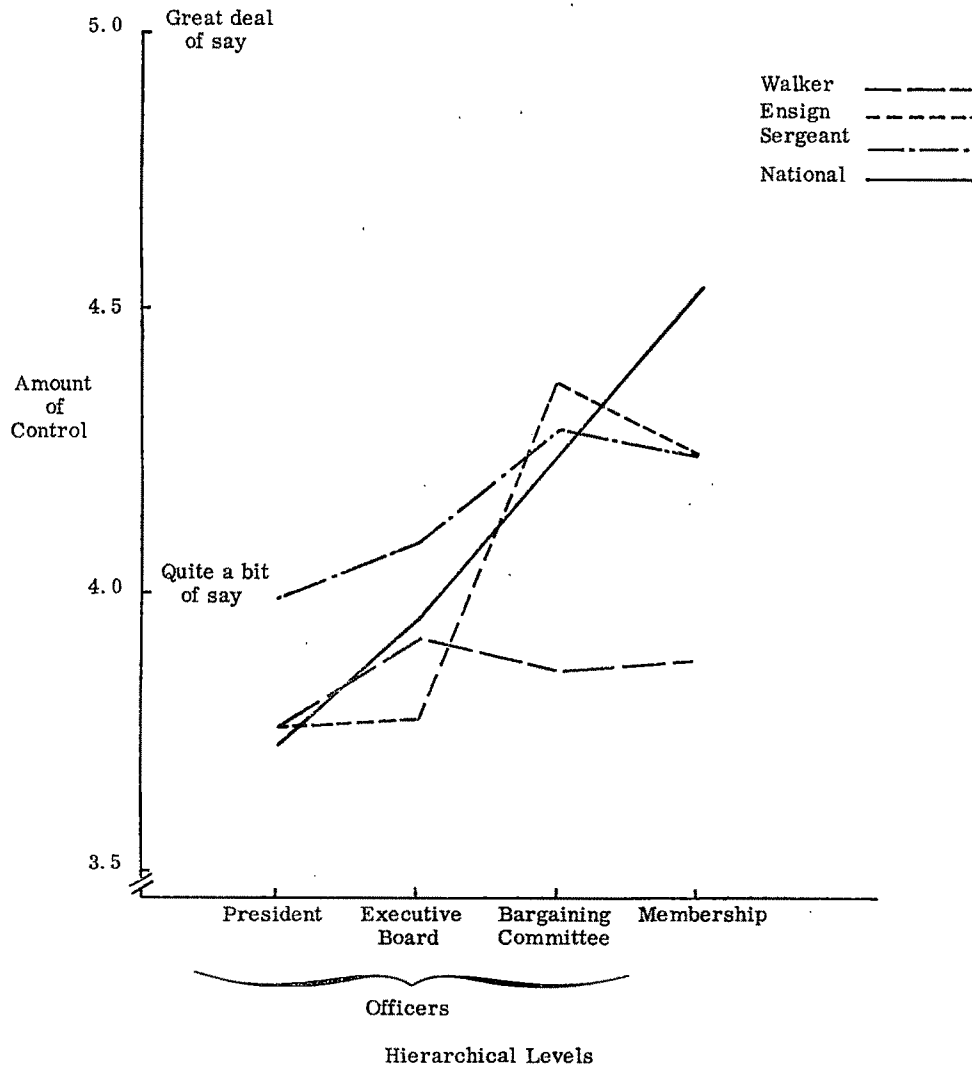


FIG. 1.—Control curves of four union locals based on mean scores of ratings on how much say various persons and groups have in how things are decided in the local. The means are based on N 's of about 150 in each local.

In discussing some of the hypotheses suggested in the literature, we shall assume that the distribution of control, as represented in the control graph, provides an index of "democratic control." National is the most democratic local of the four, having a curve with the steepest average slope. The rank and file exercises more control in it than in any of the other locals. Ensign is second, having the next most positively sloped curve. The control exercised by its membership ranks second to that in National. Sergeant follows, having a less positively sloped curve. The amount of control exercised by the membership in this local is about equal to that in Ensign, but both the president and the executive board are relatively pow-

as an "autocrat") and with a relatively strong executive board (described as part of a "tight political machine"), is significantly higher than Ensign and Walker in membership participation.

It would seem that the total amount of control as well as the distribution of control may be related in important ways to participation. Control reflects an active interest on the part of the controllers in the affairs of the local. Furthermore, control itself, if properly oriented, may be instrumental in mobilizing participation and conformity to union norms. In both National and Sergeant, the members are subject to greater pressures toward participation than are the members in either Ensign or Walker. If a

TABLE 1

RANK ORDER OF LOCALS ON PARTICIPATION AND CONTROL

	MEMBERSHIP		TOTAL CONTROL	OFFICER CONTROL		
	PARTICI- PATION	DEMOCRATIC CONTROL		President	Executive Board	Bargaining Committee
National.....	1	1	2	4	2	3
Sergeant.....	2	3	1	1	1	2
Ensign.....	3	2	3	3	4	1
Walker.....	4	4	4	2	3	4

erful there. Walker is ranked fourth, with a practically flat curve, and the members are the least powerful among the four locals. In terms of their total amount of control, the locals are ranked as follows: Sergeant, National, Ensign, and Walker. This index, reflecting the average height of curve, was obtained by simply adding the amount of control exercised by the four levels in each local.

Considering these rankings and the level of membership participation in the four locals, two facts become evident. Participation and democratic control, though not synonymous, appear to be correlated. National, the most democratic local, is characterized by the highest level of participation, while in Walker, the least democratic local, it is correspondingly low. Although this relationship seems obvious, another fact emerges which is perhaps of greater interest. Strong leadership control, per se, does not appear to be inimical to membership participation. Sergeant, with a powerful president (described by one international officer

member fails to attend a meeting, vote in a union election, or help out during a strike, he is more likely to hear about it in these relatively active locals. However, in Sergeant such pressures are more likely to originate with the leaders, while in National it is with the members themselves. In either event, whether administered by leaders or members, sanctions for failure to participate constitute a significant force in the direction of membership activity. The relationship of control to participation is illustrated by the relative rankings of the four locals in Table 1.

CONTROL AND IDEOLOGY

Two hypotheses relating control to the goals or ideology of the union were suggested previously: (1) the greater the members' interest in broad and general social goals, the more democratic the union; and (2) the greater the members' interest in narrow and specific ("bread-and-butter") goals, the less democratic the union.

A number of questions were asked to de-

termine the extent of member support for union goals of a relatively general social nature and those of a relatively narrow, bread-and-butter type. The former include a desire for the union to "work to improve the general welfare of all the people in the community," "increase its political action," and "support the international and other unions in organizing workers." The latter include a desire for the union to "try to get higher wages for the workers," "try to get better working conditions in the shop," and "work for better health, pension, and insurance benefits." In addition, two questions were asked concerning the extent to which the international union should spend time and money organizing non-union places and get-

pear in order. A general social orientation or ideology will be associated with strong internal democracy in a local union, provided that (1) the ideology itself is not undemocratic (an ideology, however broad and general, however socially or politically oriented, will not be associated with democratic procedures if it emphasizes autocratic ideals); and (2) the ideology is not held as an absolute desideratum (absolute adherence to a set of ideals may be the basis for justifying undemocratic means; these ideals may conceivably become so important as to override all other considerations—including the maintenance of democratic procedures).¹⁰

Generally, however, if the ideology expresses a broad social responsibility and a

TABLE 2
RANK ORDER OF LOCALS AS TO SUPPORT BY MEMBERS OF BROAD AND
GENERAL GOALS, AND LEVEL OF DEMOCRATIC CONTROL

	Democratic Control	Union Should Work To Improve Welfare of Community	Union Should Increase Political Action	Union Should Support International in Unioniz- ing	International Should Spend Money Union- izing Non- union Places	Summary Rank for All Broad and General Items
National.....	1	1	1	1	1	1
Ensign.....	2	2	4	3	3	3
Sergeant.....	3	3	3	2	2	2
Walker.....	4	4	2	4	4	4

ting things for people already in the union. The former is included among the items representing an interest in relatively broad issues. The latter is treated with the bread-and-butter issues. Table 2 presents the rank order of the four locals as to democratic control and as to each of the items used to measure member support for "broad and general" goals.

National ranks first on all items, and, with one exception, Walker ranks fourth. The summary rank order appears to be correlated (though imperfectly) with the level of democratic control, thus lending tentative support to the hypothesis that democratic control will be related to member interest in broad social goals. It is of further interest to note that support for broad union goals corresponds perfectly in these locals with the level of membership participation. Although these data provide some support for the hypothesis as stated, two qualifications ap-

pear in order. A general social orientation or ideology will be associated with strong internal democracy in the direction of increased membership control within the local. Such an ideological orientation may be particularly important for the officers. A philosophy or ideology may be necessary to sustain them, to enable them to sacrifice immediate goals for long-range ideals, to resist materialistic temptations, and to think in terms of altruistic purposes. Lack of social ideology on the part of persons in power may make them especially vulnerable to appeals to personal interests, to possible racketeering and corruption.

In contrast to the foregoing data, no relationship is evident between members' orientation toward immediate and specific goals

¹⁰ See Merton's discussion of aberrant behavior as a function of overemphasis upon specific goals without a corresponding emphasis on institutional means (Robert K. Merton, *Social Theory and Social Structure* [Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949], chap. iv).

for the union and democratic (or autocratic) control. Sergeant ranks first on a summary measure of these specific issues, while both Walker and National rank next. Ensign is last. These data suggest that while members of more democratic locals may tend to have a somewhat greater interest in broad and general union goals, they need not be less interested in bread-and-butter issues.

UNION-MANAGEMENT CONFLICT AND CONTROL

In addition to the ideology of the union, the extent of aggressive, union-management conflict is often considered a correlate of democratic control within the union. While we do not have a measure in the questionnaire of the unions' actual militancy toward management, personal observations of the four locals have been sufficiently intensive to permit a clear ranking of them in the following order: Sergeant, National, Ensign, and Walker. This ordering, however, does not correspond with the index of democratic control and does not support the original hypothesis. There is little indication in these data that militancy on the part of the union is related to the practice in that union of democratic control. However, another hypothesis is suggested: that connecting union-management conflict to the *total amount of control* exercised within the local. This relationship appears explicable in terms of two contrasting and perhaps contravening implications of union-management conflict. On the one hand, we have the suggestion that "continued . . . antagonism between corporations and unions prevents the latter from sinking into bureaucratic sloth. Merely to survive, the union must remain vital, democratic and militant."¹¹ Conflict will often activate an otherwise apathetic membership. On the other hand, conflict between social groups frequently leads to the restriction and not the expansion of internal freedom. In some instances the fact of external conflict is more rationalization than cause, and the abandonment of democratic proce-

dures within an organization undergoing conflict may be justified "as a desperate measure to unify the union in time of economic distress and organizational disorder."¹² Nor is it completely unlikely that conflict may be manufactured by leaders as a means of consolidating power within an organization. Democratic control is sometimes seen as "inefficient" and as impeding the effectiveness of an organization in crisis, while control by the leaders is often explained as an expedient necessary to pull the union through periods of conflict and difficulty:

It is a question of whether you desire your organization to be the most effective instrumentality . . . or whether you prefer to sacrifice the efficiency of your organization in some respect for a little more academic freedom in the selection of some local representative. . . . What do you want? Do you want an efficient organization or do you want merely a political instrumentality?¹³

Conformity within the union is considered a requirement of success in its struggle with management. The truth of this assertion might be questioned, but it is nevertheless believed by many; an international president observed: "... democracy does not come cheap: the price is a certain amount of confusion and disunity."¹⁴ But "confusion and disunity" cannot always be tolerated during times of strife, and conflict with an outside enemy often has the effect of banishing them. Lines are drawn, a common purpose is accepted, and control is very likely to be increased. An organization under these conditions must be more highly regulated in order to survive. Common acceptance of this notion increases the amenability of members to the regulations of the organization.

However, viewing the issue in terms of the control graphs suggests that increased

¹² James A. Wechsler, *Labor Baron: A Portrait of John L. Lewis* (New York: William Morrow & Co., 1944), p. 80.

¹³ John L. Lewis, quoted *ibid.*, p. 79.

¹⁴ Paul L. Phillips, "Unions and Politics, Anglo American Contrasts," *Nation*, CLXXIX (October 30, 1954), 382-84.

¹¹ Howe and Widick, *op. cit.*, p. 259.

control need not be autocratic any more than it need be democratic. Interorganizational conflict may serve as an incentive for concentrating control in the hands of a few or for increasing the total amount of control in the organization in other ways. The important thing is that the organization be more tightly controlled. We are therefore led to the hypothesis that interorganizational strife will create an increase in total control—but not necessarily exerted at the top or at the bottom of the organization. The increased control may come primarily from the rank and file, it may come relatively more from the officers, or it may come from *both*. The distribution of this increased control is determined by other factors, among

led, however, to the further view that control in a union is part of a larger syndrome. A high level of control within the local and militant conflict with management is part of an organizational pattern characteristic of many strong and vital labor unions. Among the correlates of this syndrome we would expect the following variables: organizational power, total control, inter- and intra-organizational conflict, participation, loyalty, and conformity (see Table 3). The connections among these variables, of course, are not rigid and inexorable, but we would predict their association as a pattern. Furthermore, the effects of these variables may be reciprocal in some cases. This becomes evident when we consider further the

TABLE 3
RANK ORDER OF LOCALS ON VARIABLES IN ORGANIZATIONAL POWER SYNDROME

	Union Power	Total Control	Union- Management Conflict	Intra- local Conflict	Loyalty	Conformity	Partic- ipation
Sergeant.....	1	1	1	1	1	1	2
National.....	2	2	2	2	2	2	1
Ensign.....	3	3	3	4	3	3	3
Walker.....	4	4	4	3	4	4	4

them, perhaps, the ideological orientation of the participants. We are suggesting, therefore, that while conflict may have a bearing on the shape of the control curve, its most predictable effect will be on the average height of this curve: conflict may be associated with a high degree of control either by members or by leaders, but it will almost invariably be associated with an increase in total control. The data of the present study, which reveal a direct correspondence between the extent of aggressiveness toward management and total control, provide support for this notion.

THE ORGANIZATIONAL POWER SYNDROME

The data discussed here have given tentative support to the hypotheses that the level of democratic control in a local is related to the members' interest in broad and general goals for the union and that the total amount of control is related to the extent of union-management conflict. We are

union in conflict with its management. The union's success in achieving its goals is often contingent on its power—its ability to impose, or threaten the imposition of, sanctions. This power in turn depends partly on concerted member action and member readiness to "stand behind" their organization in the face of adversity, on conformity to union norms and loyalty to its goals. The increased control created by conflict is an adjustment, instrumental to mobilization. It becomes directed partly toward co-ordinating member action and partly toward the internal administration of sanctions for breaches in union policy. It is an internal mechanism designed in part to bolster external power.

This increased control serves other functions for unions engaging in conflict with management: in a very real sense, there is *more to be controlled* during such periods. The repertory of union actions increases, committees become activated, decisions must be

made concerning the dispensation of benefits anticipated or achieved from management. All this stimulates the interest and participation of the members—and they, too, may have to be controlled. Union policy becomes a day-to-day affair, changing with the tide of battle. New issues arise which require regulation; and, although the leaders are not likely to relinquish power during such periods, the members may increase theirs. They now want a say on issues which are of vital importance to them.

The loyalty of members is associated with this syndrome in a number of ways. Conflict creates, or at least arouses, the members' loyalty.¹⁵ During times of conflict, danger to the union is more imminent and awareness of the union's importance to the members more apparent. Furthermore, a union "carrying on aggressive struggles" may be demonstrating its value to the members: it is attempting to derive benefits for them, and its success in this endeavor is likely to be a cause for satisfaction and loyalty. Thus the results of organizational power return ultimately to enhance this power. The adage that "nothing succeeds like success" is especially apparent in unions. To this extent, power can become its own mainstay.

Intra-organizational conflict is also expected as part of this syndrome.¹⁶ The fact that there is greater involvement and activity and a correspondingly greater interest in control of the organization is likely to lead to some element of conflict within the local through which different interests and points of view are reconciled. In the extreme case of the "power centers," for example, "internal political rivalries between factional machines are likely to be intense because

the stakes in the struggle over power are so large."¹⁷ Furthermore, this internal conflict may contribute to the intensity of the conflict between the union and its management. Under these circumstances "each side may be committed before the bargaining starts to programs which stem from protracted discussions and expedient compromises of conflicting viewpoints within its own group. There is usually an absence of flexibility, therefore, in the joint union-management decision making process. This fact makes agreement much more difficult."¹⁸

Finally, we might consider the relation of member conformity to some of the other elements of the syndrome. The existence of conformity is contingent upon the (formal and informal) definitions of rules and policies around which uniformity is to take place. Control implies the formulation of such rules (legislative control) and the regulation of behavior in accord with these rules (administrative and sanctions control).¹⁹ The possible receipt of criticism or punishment for failure to adhere to the rules of an organization is an effective force toward uniformity. A high level of total control, therefore, leads to a greater degree of order and uniformity in an organization. Control creates conformity. Second, external conflict develops an ostensible need for unity. Members are willing to sacrifice and conform in a crisis who otherwise might be less subject to the influence of the union. Conflict justifies uniformity. Third, loyalty motivates the member to support the rules, standards, and policies of the organization. The loyal member *wants* to adhere to organizational norms. He wants to do what is "right" for the organization. Loyalty fortifies uniformity. Finally, participation has a bearing on conformity. It is through participation that the

¹⁵ See, e.g., William Becker, "Conflict as a Source of Solidarity," *Journal of Social Issues*, IX, No. 1 (1953), 25-27.

¹⁶ Although factionalization or intra-organizational conflict may imply special subgroup loyalties within the union, these need not contravene the loyalty of the members to the union itself. On the contrary, such intra-union affiliations may serve to arouse greater loyalty among the participants to the larger organization. Lipset has observed this phenomenon in the ITU (personal communication).

¹⁷ F. H. Harbison and R. Dubin, *Patterns of Union Management Relations* (New York: Science Research Associates, 1947), pp. 185-86.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 186.

¹⁹ Nancy C. Morse, Everett Reimer, and Arnold S. Tannenbaum, "Regulation and Control in Hierarchical Organizations," *Journal of Social Issues*, VII, No. 3 (1951), 41-48.

member comes into contact with organizational norms, sees what is "right" and what is "wrong," and learns what is required of him. He himself may also help set the norms. Participation thus expedites uniformity.

In the preceding material are outlined briefly some of the interconnections among the variables in the organizational power syndrome. The dimension of total control is one aspect of this larger pattern. Table 3 presents the rank order of the four locals on each of the items discussed. Measures are available in the questionnaire for each, exclusive of union-management conflict and organizational power.²⁰ For measures of these, reliance is placed on personal observations of the locals, in addition to general

²⁰ Intra-organizational conflict was measured through an index of three questions: "Do these [groups within the local] disagree on most matters or only a few?" "Do these groups have leaders who speak up for them?" "When these groups disagree, how much do you find yourself taking sides?"

Loyalty, similarly, was measured by three items: "Suppose the union went through a strike which so weakened it that it was in real danger of folding up. How much would you be willing to do about it?" "Suppose that there was so much disagreement within the local that it was in real danger of folding up. How much would you be willing to do about it?" "If the local went out on strike, how willing would you be to do picket duty?"

Uniformity of behavior within the local was measured as the inverse of variance on a number of items chosen a priori to reflect union norms. These items include perceived norms about voting, attending meetings, and helping out on strikes; the likelihood of sanctions against members for failure to perform these functions; the intensity of member involvement in the union; and the alacrity with which members utilize union channels for the expression of grievances.

A more detailed discussion of these measures is to appear in a forthcoming book by A. S. Tannenbaum and R. L. Kahn.

comments of international and company officials as well as comments of members. For example, Sergeant, which is ranked first in power, is widely recognized as "carrying a hell of a lot of weight," as one regional director of another international described it. The personnel manager at the Sergeant plant also recognized its power and militancy when he pointed out, philosophically, that the union "keeps management on its toes."

In contrast, the weakness of Walker, the least powerful among the four locals, is evident to all who know it; a field representative commented: "If the company wanted to take advantage, they could make the people live hard here." An old-timer expressed his disillusionment with the effectiveness of this local: "We feel that it's not what it used to be. . . . Nothing happens to grievances. You can't find out what happens to them—they get lost. . . . The [bargaining] committee doesn't fight any more."

SUMMARY

The control graph illustrates the importance of two distinct aspects of control in organizations: the distribution of control and the total amount of control. Variations on these dimensions are hypothesized to relate to other aspects of union functioning, including membership participation, the expressed ideology of the members, and conflict with management. A broader syndrome of variables is suggested, including a number of determinants and implications of control. These include union power, intra- as well as interorganizational conflict, membership loyalty, participation, and conformity.

UNIVERSITY OF MICHIGAN

A TYPOLOGY OF RANK-AND-FILE UNION MEMBERS¹

DAISY L. TAGLIACOZZO AND JOEL SEIDMAN

ABSTRACT

From interviews with samples of members in three local unions, seven types of rank-and-file members appear, ranging from the ideological to the unwilling. Many circumstances, including family background, experiences within the union, type of bargaining relationship, and friendship patterns, influence the worker's view of unionism. The tendency for union leaders to be chosen from among one or the other of two types, comprising a very small proportion of the membership, results in differences in the orientation of leaders and members.

What attitudes toward unionism and toward their union in particular are characteristic of rank-and-file union members in this country? A study based on three local unions,² out of the more than seventy-five thousand that exist in the United States, can obviously be suggestive only. Yet an adequate understanding of union internal life in general and of the problem of union democracy in particular cannot be achieved unless there is sound knowledge of the rank and file and of their attitudes toward their union.

A wide variety of factors may influence a worker's view of unionism. His family background, including his father's occupation

and any experience that his parents or other close relatives have had with unionism, may affect the attitude that, as a young worker, he brings with him. His employment experiences—his pay and working conditions, his treatment by supervisors, the degree of security he enjoys, his advancement or failure to advance—in turn may profoundly influence his view of his employer and his reaction to his union. Moreover, his experiences within the union—the union leadership, the economic and social functions performed by the union, its success in solving members' problems, and the way union officers may have handled any grievances in which he was involved—are likewise important, as is the bargaining relationship between the union and the company.

The age of the union and the strength of union tradition in the industry may likewise exert a strong influence, as the entering worker is exposed to the attitudes of the older members of the work force. It may make a substantial difference whether the particular worker experienced at first hand the conditions that preceded the development of the union and participated in the initial struggles or whether he was merely told of earlier conditions and of organizing strikes by older members. It may matter, similarly, whether the new worker learns about the union from union leaders or strongly prounion rank-and-file members or whether his information comes from the lukewarm or the indifferent. Economic factors affecting the industry and the particular enterprise may likewise be important: whether the industry is expanding or declining, whether the company is prosperous or marginal, whether the company is a pat-

¹ This article grew out of a research project on "The American Worker as a Union Member," under the auspices of the Industrial Relations Center at the University of Chicago. The authors wish to acknowledge their indebtedness to Jack London, Bernard Karsh, and Richard M. Hammett, who participated in the project and conducted many of the interviews. Mr. Hammett began the typology of union members, based upon an analysis of steel workers.

² The three locals included a local of farm-equipment workers in the Chicago metropolitan area organized by the UAW-CIO, an AF of L plumbers' local in a large midwestern city, and one of coal miners in central Illinois, organized in the United Mine Workers. Interviews covering a wide range of questions dealing with the union, its methods and its goals, the job, and the employer were analyzed in an effort to isolate characteristic views on the union. There were 108 interviews of rank-and-file members of these three locals, selected in each case by random sampling. In addition, the authors drew upon interviews with 42 leaders in the three locals plus 24 stewards in the farm-equipment local. The authors were also influenced by their general experience in two other local unions, in the steel and telephone industries, though the interviews in these cases were not analyzed in the same way.

tern setter or a pattern follower in the industry. The size of the plant, its location in a small town or a metropolitan area, the steadiness of its operations, and the general attitude of the community toward unionism may all play a part. Finally, aspects of the worker as an individual—age, sex, education, degree of skill, racial or ethnic background, and level of aspiration—may all play a part in determining the worker's attitude toward the union.

Many of these factors will also influence the worker's participation in union affairs.³ While meetings are attended, for the most part, by those very favorably inclined toward the union, there will be many absentees who likewise hold the union in high regard. Yet there may be a two-way relationship between the worker's part in union affairs and his attitude toward the union. The more favorable his attitude, other things being equal, the more likely he is to attend meetings, serve on committees, read the union press, and be friendly with like-minded members. The more he engages in such activities, in turn, the more he is exposed to union influence and the more likely to be attached and appreciative. Anything that affects participation, such as what shift he works on, home duties that interfere with his attendance at union functions, or the time and place of union meetings, may therefore have an indirect influence on his attitude toward unionism.

SEVEN TYPES OF UNION MEMBERS

The authors have tentatively distinguished seven types of rank-and-file union members: (1) the ideological unionist;

³ Among recent studies of union membership participation and attitudes see George Strauss and Leonard R. Sayles, "Patterns of Participation in Local Unions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VI (1952), 31-43; Herbert A. Shepard, "Democratic Control in a Local Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV (1949), 311-16; Lois R. Dean, "Social Integration, Attitudes, and Union Activity," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VIII (1954), 48-58; Will Herberg, "The Old-Timers and the Newcomers," *Journal of Social Issues*, IX (1953), 12-19; and Glenn W. Miller and James E. Young, "Member Participation in the Trade Union Local," *American Journal of Economics and Sociology*, XV (1955), 31-47.

(2) the "good" union man; (3) the loyal but critical member; (4) the crisis activist; (5) the dually oriented member; (6) the card-carrier or indifferent member; and (7) the unwilling unionist. In some cases the types tended to merge, making the count somewhat arbitrary; but, on the whole, the cases were grouped into types separated by major differences, relatively minor differences being permitted within each.

1. THE IDEOLOGICAL UNIONIST

The ideological unionist⁴ is the extreme case of enthusiasm and devotion. Usually sympathetic to one or another of the leftist philosophies, he sees management as an oppressor and union-management relations as an aspect of a class struggle, with both contenders in the grip of larger social forces. While most union activities necessarily center about the employer-employee relationship, the broader goal of a different social order appears to the ideological unionist as one toward which workers should ultimately strive. The strengthening of the union is an important objective, and any heightening of class consciousness is welcomed.

The ideological member supports all traditional union goals and activities and is anxious to extend their scope as widely as possible to include political and community life as well as the employment relationship. He is anxious to gain support and prestige for the union as a collective bargaining agency, as an instrument of the working class, and as a possible basis for a political labor movement. He may argue that a strike is not lost, whatever its immediate result in collective bargaining, if, through it, workers have shown unity and strength, won greater confidence in themselves, and gained increased respect from management. He is more willing than most other members to consider personal sacrifices in order to strengthen the union. Nevertheless, he may

⁴ This type of union member is distinguished from the others by an articulate political and social philosophy, intensely held, oriented toward social change. The ideological unionist sees the union primarily as an instrument for furthering his doctrine.

be critical of union leaders who do not conform to his standards of union activity; he may object to their lack of militancy, to tendencies toward business unionism, to political activities such as the CIO's Political Action Committee or the AF of L's Labor's League for Political Education, which he may consider inadequate or even a distortion of the union's proper political goals. Even his criticism of the union, however, is likely to be tempered with an explanation of its shortcomings or praise for its achievements.

The ideological unionist is far more likely than any other type to know something about the history of the labor movement and to be informed about actions taken by the international union with which his local is affiliated. He is likely to reject sharply any suggestion that he might accept a foreman's position, stressing his devotion to the union, his distrust of management, and his unwillingness to accept management ideology. Particularly if he is a member of a group of union leaders, he views his job in the plant as of secondary importance compared to his job in the union and his concern with the labor movement. Very few such workers are found except in metropolitan centers, where radical groups have strength; but where they exist, they tend to participate actively in union affairs and frequently become candidates for office.⁵

2. THE "GOOD" UNION MAN

The "good" union man⁶ is devoted to his union, accepts its goals fully, and supports all its objectives. Often strongly emotional, he supports his union's strikes without qualification and pickets willingly and enthusiastically. Typically, he gives strong support

⁵ Where the union leadership group is ideologically oriented, the member of this type who achieves leadership is likely to retain his point of view. In other cases the pressures and responsibilities to which he is subject as a union leader may tend to change him, in time, into the "good" union man that is next described. Where the union environment is hostile to his point of view, the ideological unionist may become part of a minority faction, and eventually turn into a critical or disillusioned member. One such case appeared in our plumbers' sample.

to the union shop, seeks to sign up new workers in the union, and plays an active part in union meetings. Except under very rare circumstances, he respects the picket line of any bona fide union. Whereas other workers may picket because they feel it their duty, the good union man, in addition, supports picketing as necessary to demonstrate and protect the power of the union and win the wages or working conditions for which the strike was called. He understands and supports union rules and regulations beyond mere obedience.

Like union leaders and ideological unionists, but unlike other types of the rank and file, the good union man seeks to protect and advance the union's prestige and power. Again like them, he gives the union full credit for achievements and criticizes it with reluctance and sympathetic understanding, disparaging those who adopt a self-centered attitude toward it. But, on the other hand, he has no desire to change the existing order. While he opposes management during collective bargaining negotiations or strikes, he does not see employers as class enemies, though he may be more hostile to his own employer than are most of his fellows or have mixed feelings.

However, the good union men among the plumbers were noticeably different from their counterparts in the other unions, in that they were not markedly aggressive toward employers. Instead, as is characteristic of the plumbers, they took pride in the harmonious relationships prevailing between the masters and the journeymen. Plumbers, aware of their union's economic strength, are not afraid of their employers, most of whom are small contractors with relatively little economic power. The ideological unionist has reacted unfavorably to the established social order and views unionism as an agency of social change, but the good union man looks to his union to do no more than improve working conditions.

⁶ This term is used by many union leaders and active unionists to describe this type. The authors have used quotation marks here to make it clear that they are using the term purely descriptively, without value orientation.

Though the good union man can accept a position in management more readily than can the ideological unionist, he has doubts about it. He may say that management would not consider him because of his known prounion stand; or he may think he would be suspect in the eyes of his fellows.

Most active unionists, those who serve as stewards and put pressure on their fellow-workers to join the union, are good union men, as is a proportion of the inactive rank and file. Good union men, with a sprinkling of ideological unionists, make up the leaders and the active groups.⁷

Though the circumstances that produced the good union man cannot be specified from our limited data, a strong prounion family was responsible in some cases, and in others it was close contacts with union leaders. Sometimes members of minorities—in our sample Negroes and Mexicans—turn to the union as an agency to get jobs and fair working conditions for their people.⁸ Still others seem to have been motivated in large part by frustrated ambitions. The good union man was found among skilled and semi-skilled, young and old, whites and Negroes.

3. THE LOYAL BUT CRITICAL MEMBER

The loyal but critical member resembles the two types already discussed in his devotion to unionism but differs sharply in his appraisal of his local. He may criticize the leaders for inefficiency or incompetence, for dishonesty or corruption, for conservatism,

⁷ Good union men are the type usually preferred by leaders when an office is to be filled. Where ideological unionists comprise the leaders, however, they typically give their support to rank-and-file unionists who share their political and social orientation. The loyal but critical member, next discussed, is most likely to achieve leadership if and when an opposing faction wins control of the union.

⁸ Unions such as the United Automobile Workers or the United Steelworkers, that favor greater economic opportunities for members of minority groups and their integration into both the work force and the union membership, have won the allegiance of minorities. Some other unions have earned their suspicion or enmity by their willingness to tolerate discrimination. Where the minority group is substantial enough to become a political factor in the local, its prominent members are likely to be among the leaders.

for dictatorial tendencies, for constituting a clique, for separation from the rank and file, for lack of militancy in dealing with employers, for siding with the employers against the rank-and-file union members. He may be equally critical of the members' apathy, lack of militancy, ignorance, or self-centeredness. He is likely to support strikes and picketing and to assert that he would never work in a nonunion shop. He urges extending union activity beyond collective bargaining to include political and community action.

Loyal but critical members ranged from the relatively active or potentially active who objected to certain policies to those who, hostile to or disillusioned with the leaders, had withdrawn from union activities, while still believing in unionism on principle. To this class belong those former members of the Progressive Miners of America who returned to the United Mine Workers in defeat, and who cannot forgive John L. Lewis for his autocratic control. Others of the type were identified with a minority faction or were antagonized by the leaders' handling of a specific issue. With a change in leaders or in the relationship with management, the loyal but critical member may again become an active and enthusiastic unionist.

4. THE CRISIS ACTIVIST

If the union membership is conceived of as a ring of concentric circles surrounding the leaders and the active group, the layer of normally inactive members closest to the center is made up of "crisis unionists." Here belongs the member who supports the union but without being involved emotionally as are the ideological unionist and the good union man. Though interested in the benefits that the union confers, he is hardly concerned with its internal life or its prestige.⁹ He views the union primarily as an

⁹ In the miners' union, which is dominated by the national union officers, the good union members supported centralized decision-making, even where undemocratic practices were involved, as assuring returns in wages and working conditions. Most of the crisis activists, on the other hand, were completely detached, being not even aware, for example,

agency of collective bargaining and sees little reason for political activity unless it contributes to collective bargaining success. He conceives of the day-to-day operations of the union, the routine business between crises, as the business of the leaders. "Let the officers run the union," he is likely to say, "that's what we elected them for."

Workers of this type are passive supporters most of the time, but they attend meetings in critical periods, and they willingly serve their turns on picket duty. They typically observe union rules without protest but are less emotionally involved and understand less than ideological unionists or good union men. The union is something external to them with which, at least during times of industrial peace, they have little feeling of identification.¹⁰ They see the union as an agency to which one regularly makes payments and from which, in turn, one obtains from time to time substantial benefits. They rarely discuss their duties to the union spontaneously, as good union men do, but rather the potential benefits and rights that they think should flow almost automatically in return for the payment of dues. When questioned, crisis activists usually admit that they *should* attend meetings and see to it that the union is run properly; they readily confess, however, that they often permit other commitments, such as those to family or friends, to come first unless there is a crisis in the union or in union-management relations.

Whereas the good union man and the ideological unionist, active in the internal

that their key district officials were appointed instead of being elected. Yet they supported the union wholeheartedly because of its contribution to their welfare.

¹⁰ Crisis activists and also the various types of less active members discussed later speak of the union as "they," as contrasted with the use of "we" by the leaders and active members. Good union men may use either term, depending upon their degree of activity in the union. The use of "we" or "they" is a function of the worker's role or activity in the union rather than his attitude toward it—though there is an obvious relationship between attitude and activity, as this typology should make clear.

life of the union, tend to support factionalism as necessary to democracy, crisis unionists and also other types of inactive members typically oppose it as selfish and as harmful to the interests of the members. They do not usually consider joining a union as an aggressive step directed against management but rather as a defensive reaction against management abuses, actual or potential. Viewing the strike as a last resort against management's unfairness or unreasonableness, they tend to react unfavorably to overly aggressive union leaders.

Though this type was apparent among the plumbers and among the other union members studied, there were some noticeable differences in behavior or attitudes. Most striking was the fact that among the plumbers the type under discussion, elsewhere relatively inactive, went regularly to meetings. The explanation is that, whereas among miners or factory workers there were inevitable contacts with fellow-workers on the job or on the way to or from work, the plumbers worked for the most part in widely scattered shops, with several men in each. The meeting therefore served a social function¹¹ and also as a channel of communication whereby one learned about developments in the trade, including employment opportunities.

Moreover, the union played a far more vital role among plumbers than among factory workers in affecting the volume of employment, since it helped determine the volume of work through its working rules and its influence on the building code and likewise, by its apprenticeship and admissions policies, it decided how many men were eligible to perform that work on union-controlled jobs. As a result, the plumbers saw

¹¹ In his forthcoming book on unionism in the printing trades, S. Martin Lipset points out that printers, highly skilled workers enjoying middle-class incomes, find their friends primarily within their occupation. Printers tend not to associate with workers of lower skill and income but, in turn, are not likely to be socially acceptable to more securely middle-class groups of comparable income. This appears true of the plumbers. [See review of Lipset's book in the book-review section of this issue.—Eds.]

more clearly than did factory workers the bearing of union rules and regulations on their work and their trade problems; and so discussion at union meetings, in consequence, seemed to the plumbers to be more immediately and more vitally related to their own interests. Having enjoyed years of effective union leadership and of collective bargaining peace, the plumbers value their union more highly than any of the other groups studied. At the same time, the plumbers showed a decided tendency to prefer peaceful negotiations to strikes.¹²

Crisis activists, who go to meetings "when something important comes up," may mean, by "important," collective bargaining negotiations, union elections, and other local matters; others, using the same phrase, may mean only issues of immediate personal relevance. Some may see the union as winning positive gains, whereas others may think of it merely as serving the restraining function of keeping the employer fair and preventing inequities and injustices. Some may pay union dues in the same spirit that one pays taxes: in order to have a policeman on the beat, in the hope that his mere presence may make his services unnecessary. Some think the dues are as high as is necessary to insure union strength and finance union services, whereas others may believe them far too high. Many crisis unionists proved critical of the leaders' political efforts, though differing substantially as to what is legitimate, some insisting on avoidance of policies and others arguing that unions should indorse candidates and give them financial or other support. Crisis unionists differed also in their general attitude to union leaders, from complete confidence to considerable distrust.

5. THE Dually Oriented Member

Among both the farm-equipment workers and the plumbers there were members who, while giving support to the union in all es-

sential respects, viewed production and efficiency from the point of view of management.¹³ The farm-equipment workers so minded were skilled workers in responsible positions, such as layout inspectors, maintenance workers, utility men, or former supervisors. Many of them could reasonably hope to achieve supervisory positions. Among the plumbers, who permitted supervisory personnel to retain union membership, such members were likely to be supervisors, present or former owners of small shops, or sons of master-plumbers. These men held the union in high regard and gave its policies and programs generally strong support—yet they felt that its activity should be confined to collective bargaining and were most reluctant to strike. In their attitudes toward the union some resembled the good union man or the crisis activist; others—the plumbers in particular—were more like the loyal but critical member.

The point of view toward the company and productive efficiency typical of the dually oriented factory worker is far more positive than that found among many ideological unionists and good union men, who may value the employer for providing such benefits as steady work, good pay, security of employment, and fair treatment. Indeed, long-term employees who have had a choice of alternative sources of employment have usually found some such advantages in their place of employment or they would probably have left it.

¹³ Our use of the term "dually oriented" involves a meaning quite different from that intended by the term "dual allegiance" in Theodore V. Purcell, *The Worker Speaks His Mind on Company and Union* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1953). Using as his test acceptance of both company and union as institutions and allegiance to their objectives, Purcell found that 73 per cent of his sample of employees gave dual allegiance (pp. 263-64). It seems quite likely that most of our good union men, loyal but critical members, and crisis unionists would show dual loyalty in his sense. A Cornell University research project, using a definition on the whole similar to Purcell's, found dual loyalty to union and management prevailing under conditions of conflict as well as co-operation (see Lois R. Dean, "Union Activity and Dual Loyalty," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VII [1954], 526-36).

¹² A strong union, relatively weak employers, and the possibility of passing on the cost of union gains to the purchasers of buildings or of plumbing services had brought almost a generation of unbroken union-management peace to the trade. Soon after the interviews, however, a strike did occur.

The dually oriented factory worker typically questions the seniority principle as harmful to efficiency. He may accuse the union of undermining discipline. Plumbers of this type understood the impact of union rules upon the plumbing business as a whole and were prone to criticize the restrictive, "make-work" aspects. Inevitably, there was some ambivalence toward the union and its policies, particularly on the part of the owners of small shops. Yet even these respondents, in the typical manner of the dually oriented member, viewed the union as essential within its traditional scope. Dually oriented plumbers, like all plumbers, came to union meetings fairly regularly, if only because the union remained the best center for information about conditions in the trade, whereas dually oriented farm-equipment workers were usually inactive. No member of this type was found among the miners, perhaps because of their limited opportunities for rising into supervisory ranks.

6. THE CARD-CARRIER OR INDIFFERENT MEMBER

Beyond the crisis unionist and dually oriented members are those who are completely unconcerned about unionism, who have no feelings for or against it, who join the union because they have to or because they wish to be part of the group.¹⁴ Workers of this type join the union if most of their fellow-workers are members, refrain if the shop is predominantly nonunion. In either case they are indifferent to the institution, caring more for shop fellowship. Sometimes workers who see themselves as only temporarily in the labor market—as young women who plan to be employed only until they get married or start to raise a family—are indifferent union members. So, too, are those who are completely satisfied with their jobs and opportunities and see no threat from management against which unionism might

¹⁴ Most of the card-carriers in our sample joined the union under such circumstances, but it does not follow that all who join under similar circumstances are indifferent members. They may change. A number of good union men, including several who rose to leadership, had joined the union because of legal or social pressure and remained card-carriers for their first months or even years of membership.

provide a defense. Workers of this type carry union cards but do not participate in union functions, except where unusual circumstances or pressure from their fellow-workers may force it, and they have no sense of their duties or obligations as union members and are indifferent and uninformed.

7. THE UNWILLING UNIONIST

There are occasional members, forced into the organization against their will by legal or social pressures, who see no advantage in unionism and who, left to follow their own free will, would promptly drop out. They are critical of unionism in general. A member who has been "bumped" into an undesirable job under seniority rules fostered by the bargaining agent may adopt this attitude. Or he may feel that he does not need the union because of his peculiar skill, willingness to work hard, or ability to get along with his supervisors. He may even see himself as an unusually proficient worker who would be rapidly advanced by management if only the union's seniority regulations did not block his progress. If he has ideas of entering into business for himself, he is apt to think unionism unnecessary for him.

The unwilling unionist is likely to view union leaders with hostility and suspicion and to sympathize with management where handicaps are imposed on it by union demands. He may criticize union leaders for dishonesty, for favoritism, or for dictatorialness, as he may blame the union for undermining efficiency or for protecting the interests of a few at the expense of the other members. Typically, he will oppose most strikes as unnecessary and reject all union activities not directly concerned with collective bargaining over wages and working conditions. Yet he may admit, perhaps grudgingly, that unions have brought about some improvements in wages, working conditions, or treatment of workers by the supervisory staff.¹⁵

¹⁵ Only one unwilling unionist was found in our sample of plumbers and none among the miners. There were several in our sample of farm-equipment workers.

At one extreme within the group may be a very few convinced antiunionists, the counterparts of the ideological unionists. They give the union no credit at all for improvements on or off the job and see the union as an unfair, oppressive force, perhaps dominated by Communists, racketeers, or other undesirable elements. The convinced antiunionist has deep feelings on the subject, just as the ideological unionist does; and, unlike many workers belonging to intermediate types, he does not readily change views as a result of greater experience.

CONCLUSIONS

The typology here presented, based on a very limited number of cases, is meant to be suggestive only. It would be interesting to know whether the types that appear in the locals studied occur in other locals, faced with other problems in other industries, and also whether, if the same basic types reappear, they will adopt somewhat different attitudes and behavior in response to special conditions—much as the peculiar conditions surrounding the operation of the plumbers' union have produced some variations, even though the types remain distinguishable. It would also be important to know how and to what extent specific conditions within the trade and the union affect the distribution of types within each local—whether, for example, a change in the type of union leader or in the nature of union-management relations will produce a redistribution. The authors have interviewed a number of union members who progressed from one type to another as a result of their experiences within the plant or within the union; much more needs to be learned about the circumstances and direction of these shifts.

The typology of members may throw light on some aspects of the present-day American labor movement, as well as on some of its coming problems. If union leaders are chosen almost exclusively from

among the first two types, which, between them, comprise a very small proportion of the total membership, then a gap between the orientation of leaders and members is inevitable, especially since experiences, once leadership has been assumed, are bound to widen the gap further. It appears very unlikely, moreover, that there will be any widespread and sustained participation by members in union affairs, except in crisis. This, in turn, hinders the growth of a functioning and effective democracy within the union movement. The presence of large numbers of the inactive types of unionists helps to explain the overwhelmingly favorable vote that a union may win in a National Labor Relations Board election, though the union may find it difficult thereafter to muster a quorum at a meeting. Conversely, the low level of participation at meetings does not demonstrate that the members see no value in the union.

The attitude that union leaders assume toward management—their degree of aggressiveness, their willingness or reluctance to threaten or call strikes—will also command different degrees of support within the union, depending in part upon the distribution of the types. Similarly, support for institutional demands such as the union shop will increase as the percentage of good union men grows, whereas other members will be much more concerned with using the union's bargaining power to win wage benefits and other immediate gains for themselves. Since only a few of the types believe it should engage in political action, success in politics will depend in part on the local distribution of types. One of the most important attributes of the successful union leader is knowing how to convince unwilling, indifferent, or crisis unionists that the union has a more important place and a deeper significance.

UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO
WRIGHT JUNIOR COLLEGE

TRADE-UNION GOVERNMENT, ITS NATURE AND ITS PROBLEMS

A BIBLIOGRAPHICAL REVIEW, 1945-55¹

DAISY L. TAGLIACOZZO

The large body of literature published in the last ten years on labor and industrial relations reflects a persistent and growing interest in the nature of trade unionism in America. This article summarizes those contributions which help to throw light on the problems and nature of trade-union government.

Since the issue of democracy versus bureaucracy in labor unions has moved into the foreground of attention, articles dealing with this problem have been made the central focus of this bibliography. It is not, however, limited to studies which deal explicitly with this problem but, instead, includes those dealing with trade-union characteristics and problems essential to an understanding of democratic or bureaucratic tendencies. Thus the list contains studies of the rank and file, the leadership, the political process, the nature of union rules, and the effect of different types of union-management relations on decision-making. Inevitably, the line of demarcation was somewhat arbitrary. Topics such as the unions' role in community or political life, the impact of governmental intervention on labor-management relations, the nature of public policy, the problems of interunion relationships, and the relationship of unions to the wider social and cultural environment are not included for reasons of space.

For the most part this review is confined to articles which have appeared in professional journals; articles in government publications, semiprofessional journals, and union publications have not been listed. Book reviews and doctoral dissertations have also been excluded. Bibliographies of

dissertations in labor and industrial relations have been compiled by Rosen and McCoy (292) and Lloyd (215). The bibliographical contributions of Bergman (33), McCoy (225), the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University (273), Prestridge and Wray (271), and Gulick, Ockert, and Wallace (126), as well as the syllabus by Wilensky (422) and the article by Pitzele (267), provide a more comprehensive summary of the *general* works on trade unionism, including both historical and theoretical studies, than is offered here.

This review includes studies variously reflecting legal, historical, economic, sociological, and psychological frames of reference, all of them contributing valuable insights into the nature and problems of trade-union government. The system of classification is set up to reflect the major foci of interest of the last ten years. The classification is as follows:

- I. Theory and method
 - A. Critical literature
 - B. Conceptual frameworks
 - C. Methods of research
- II. Trade-union government
 - A. Democracy and the problem of centralization
 - B. Structural types and ideological characteristics
 - C. Factionalism
 - D. Union rules and regulations
 - 1. Union security and the right to work
 - 2. Disciplinary powers and appeals
 - 3. Admission policies and problems of discrimination
 - 4. Financial reports and elections
 - E. The local union
- III. The rank and file
 - A. Rank-and-file attitudes and characteristics
 - B. Rank-and-file participation
- IV. Union leadership
 - A. Social backgrounds and characteristics
 - B. The roles and attitudes of labor leaders

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- V. Collective bargaining
 - A. Changing trends in collective bargaining
 - B. Types and development of union-management relationships
 - C. Decision-making in collective bargaining
 - D. Open conflict

I. THEORY AND METHOD

A. CRITICAL LITERATURE

General discussions and critical examinations of the present status of industrial research can be found in the articles of Web-bink (415), Dunlop (88), McConnell (224), Fisher (103), and Eby (97). Blumer (39, 38) examines the reasons for some of the inadequacies in sociological theorizing and research, and Sheppard (332) and Schneider (307) evaluate the writings of Mayo and his followers as they pertain to unionism. Some methodological problems and neglected areas of research are discussed by Moore (239, 241). Barkin (28) considers some neglected areas in the study of members' rights and leaders' prerogatives. Sorensen (354) examines the implications of the often ignored function of conflict, and Hart (136) analyzes the limitations of a purely economic frame of reference when applied to the study of unionism. In the articles by Knox (181), Gross (124), Schneider (308), Knowles (180), Meadows (229), Miller (231), Mills (234), and Koivisto (182) are additional discussions of sociological theories and concepts in industrial research, criticisms of commonly used concepts and their implicit value connotations, and attempts to stimulate thinking in relation to methods and areas as yet unexplored.

B. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Several writers have attempted to outline more integrated frames of reference and to re-evaluate traditional theories of the labor movement. Critical discussions of Perlman's (257) theory of the labor movement can be found in the papers published by the Industrial Relations Research Association (156) and in the articles by Gulick and Bers (125) and Sturmhthal (377). A summary and anal-

ysis of the most widely discussed theories of the labor movement can be found in the article by Taft (394). Tannenbaum (397, 398) traces the development of unionism in the light of the changes brought about by the Industrial Revolution and analyzes their significance. Dunlop and Whyte (92) seek to clarify two conceptual frameworks, applicable to either the internal or the external relations of companies and unions, and Harbison, Burns, and Dubin (131) raise some crucial questions and specify variables for the study of union decision-making and labor-management relations. Kerr and Siegel (177) state some limitations of the traditional perspectives for the study of the labor movement and propose a new point of view. Dunlop (87), proceeding from a critical analysis of existing theories, outlines a general theoretical framework for the study of the labor movement and lists a number of factors underlying union behavior. Major determinants of union growth are isolated by Shister (335). Lipset (212) develops hypotheses for the study of the relationship between the social structure of unions and their internal political organization.

The controversies which center around the effects of unions on allocation of resources and the applicability of the concept of monopoly to unionism arise because of conflicting notions of union functions and decision-making. The monopoly thesis is most thoroughly developed in the books by Lindblom (209) and Simons (346); proposals for the reduction of union monopoly can be found in the article by Lewis (208). The writings of Kerr (170), Ross (296), Shister (338), Dunlop (89, 90), Lester (205), and Rees (278) provide the reader with insight into the range of assumptions of students of trade unionism, and the various schools of thought are evaluated in the articles by McConnell (221, 222).

C. METHODS OF RESEARCH

In general, the earlier preoccupation with union constitutions, by-laws, and publications has been supplemented or replaced by an interest in questionnaires, interview

guides, and participant-observation techniques. Homans (144), Lipset (211), and others already cited call for the more precise use of analytical concepts and for quantitative analysis of hypotheses. Some problems of method and technique of the field worker in union research are discussed by Gullahorn (127). Sayles (301) reports on the use of projective techniques in the study of attitudes of union leaders; Hudson and Rosen (151) analyze the definition of attitude as part of a study of the rank and file; and Bain (15) reports on the reaction of workers to research. The role of various disciplines in the study of labor relations and experiments in interdisciplinary research are discussed in papers published by the Industrial Relations Research Association (154, 155).

II. TRADE-UNION GOVERNMENT

Topics which have attracted attention include the dynamics underlying the changing policies and governments of unions; the implications and nature of the trends which have led to increasing centralization of power in the hands of international unions; the problem of reconciling efficient action with the maintenance of democratic control; the factors which promote or deter rank-and-file participation in the government of unions; and the implications of internal union policies for the civil liberties of the rank and file. General discussions of these problems, particularly with reference to the nature of the structure and administration of unions, can be found in Peterson (260, 262), Barbash (24), Bakke and Kerr (19), Lester (204), Selekman (323), Shister (336), Taft (388), Moore (240), Dubin (84), Bloom and Northrup (35), Shultz and Coleman (345), and Reynolds (282). Michels' (230) thesis that the requirements of large-scale organization and leadership lead to the development of oligarchical tendencies in political parties has profoundly influenced studies of the political process in trade unions. Schumpeter (309) has viewed the growth of unionism within the context of the general bureaucratization of modern society. A critical conceptual analysis of the "iron

law of oligarchy" can be found in the article by Bendix (32).

A. DEMOCRACY AND THE PROBLEM OF CENTRALIZATION

The increasing power of unions has stimulated concern with the relationship between democratic administration and centralized decision-making. A theoretical framework for the analysis of the internal political organization of unions can be found in the article by Lipset (212), who derives hypotheses from an analysis of the characteristics of union members, factors inherent in the structure of large-scale organizations, and the needs derived from functional adaptations to other groups and structures. Summers (10), stressing that democracy is best measured by the rights guaranteed to individual members, states some of the reasons for the concern with democracy in unions and outlines the areas which are significant for its preservation. Individual studies reflect a great diversity in the operational definitions of "democracy"; formal definitions tend to place emphasis on the rights of the rank and file and their opportunities to oppose the leaders.

According to Field (100), a democratic government "would be one in which the citizens or a sufficient number of them to represent their will, freely act from time to time, according to an established procedure, to appoint or recall the leaders and to enact or revoke the laws by which the unit is governed." Similarly, Fisher and McConnell (102) emphasize the manner in which the organization handles conflicts within its own boundaries, and Miller and Young (232) stress respect for the individual member of the organization and an opportunity for all to express opinions, to be heard, and to have their demands acted upon by their leaders. Communication of sentiments and interest of members throughout the organization, recognition of these interests by officers, and the ability of the rank and file to discipline officers are stressed by Shepard (331) as important criteria of democratic control. Reynolds (281), who also stresses the right

of active dissent, discusses other aims besides democratic government. Vladeck (410) views unions as sovereign powers and membership in terms of "compulsory citizenship."

The factors which contribute to greater centralization of power at the national level and the implication of this trend for democracy have been widely discussed. Taft (390, 387, 395) treats of the problem of reconciling democratic principles with efficiency of operation, the importance of opposition groups within unions and the pressures toward centralization, the characteristics of national leaders, the factors affecting local strategy, and the extent of national authority over local unions. Kovner (187) considers the obstacles to democracy on the national level; some of the formal safeguards, such as independent judicial officers, which are missing in union structures; and the democratic checks which flow from the wider social and democratic environment to which unions belong. Witte (426) discusses the democratic process in collective bargaining.

Seidman (314) examines conditions which are favorable or unfavorable to the development of autocracy in unions, particularly those associated with their size and complexity. Shister (334) discusses factors which contribute to centralization of decision-making, such as the increasing role of the federal government, the internal structure of unions, and the need to prevent competition throughout the product-market area; he also (337, 340) examines trade-union government and the locus of control over union policies.

Many students of the problem of centralization have emphasized variations in unions. Pierson (265) finds trends toward centralization of power but also stresses that autonomy is retained in many locals. Brinker (44) suggests that the functions of the international and the local bodies vary, for example, with the organization of the industry, and he finds variations in the degree of centralization with respect to different areas of control. Lahne (193) examines the role of bodies intermediate to the local and inter-

national.

Case studies of particular unions have become commoner in recent years. Some illustrate the trend toward centralization in different unions, while a few emphasize local autonomy. An exception to Michels' generalization can be found in Lipset's (210) examination of democracy in the International Typographical Union and of the facts of organization which contribute to the competition of power groupings. Fisher and McConnell (102), focusing on the same union, analyze some of the attitudes toward political conflict and point out that all democratic devices imply recognition of conflict. Shultz (344), in a study of the Brotherhood of Shoe and Allied Craftsmen, finds four factors affecting the democratic process: independent sources of authority, authority which lies with the group rather than the individual, rivalry with another union, and officers who are responsible to the membership.

Barbash (25) illustrates the changing structure and power problems in the history of the Communication Workers of America. Brazeal (42) examines the powers of the international president and the structure of the Brotherhood of Sleeping Car Porters. Other studies along similar lines but dealing with different unions can be found in Robinson (284), Marsh (219), Steele (359), Peterson (259), Taft (384), and Herberg (138, 139) and in the works which are mentioned in some of the following sections. British labor unions, their constitutions, administrative practices, and structure, are examined by Allen (9) and Barou (29), who find tendencies similar to those observed in America.

B. STRUCTURAL TYPES AND IDEOLOGICAL CHARACTERISTICS

Recent preoccupation with case studies has overshadowed to some extent earlier efforts to classify unions according to structure and function and to ascertain their ideological orientation. Peterson (260), Barbash (24), Bakke and Kerr (19), and Millis and Montgomery (233) discuss types of union structure and function and explain the

variations. Stephansky (363) analyzes ideological and other factors affecting union structure and discusses earlier classificatory schemes. Traditional classifications are also considered by Taft (394). Kerr (173) distinguishes types of unions according to their penetration into the economic process and their reliance on economic and political methods. Rosenberg and Bellin (293) classify unions as conservative or progressive on the basis of content analysis of union journals.

Barbash (22) explores the effects of ethnic background on the ideological orientation of members and the nature of union administration. Golden (114) examines the nature of union responsibilities. Other discussions of union values, aims, and ideology and their implications can be found in Eby (96), Levitt (207), Leiserson (200), Seidman (316), Hardman (135), Hildebrand (142), Starr (358), Richberg (283), Harbison (128), Perlman (256), Sturmthal (378), and the book by Laski (199). Pelling (254) discusses some differences between American and British unionism.

C. FACTIONALISM IN UNIONS

Reactions to factionalism have varied, depending on the interest and values of students of the labor movement. For some they are and remain symbols of democracy in unions, whereas others have asked how the rights of union members can be protected without destroying the independence and power of the organization; still others were drawn to the problem of factionalism because of their concern over Communist infiltration. The internal struggles within the Sailors Union of the Pacific are examined by Wollet and Lampman (428). Haskel (137) explores a case of local rebellion in the International Ladies Garment Workers Union, and Jensen (160) discusses clashes within the International Woodworkers of America. Howe and Widick (149) show how factionalism within the United Automobile Workers contributed to limiting centralization of power. The Progressive Mine Workers of America and their struggles with the United

Mine Workers are examined by Hudson (150). Factionalism is also discussed in many of the case studies cited earlier.

Struggles between Communist and non-Communist factions are illustrated in Leiter's (201) study of the Fur Workers Union and in Jensen's (161) examination of the International Union of Mine, Mill, and Smelter Workers. The defeat of Communist factions in the National Maritime Union is discussed by Taft (396). The reasons for which strongly anti-Communist workers may follow a union leader despite his Communist sympathies are considered by McFarland (227). Pertinent also are the studies by Taft (385, 389), Krugman (191), the Research Institute of America (280), Baarslag (12), Seidman (315), and Lens (203) and the legal discussions by Lissaman (213), Paschell and Theodore (253), Kearns (167), and Aaron (4). An analysis of Bolshevik strategy and tactics in the American labor movement can be found in the book by Selznick (327).

D. UNION RULES AND REGULATIONS

Concern with the problem of democracy in unions has led to detailed investigations of union policies and of the rules governing the administration of internal affairs. A number of studies illustrate the variations as well as the general tendencies which were found in such matters as union finances, the closed shop, discipline, admission policies, and the payment of officers. These studies, while providing ample empirical data, have also raised many questions. How democratic can a union be and still retain its effectiveness as a fighting institution? Can the demands for responsible leadership be reconciled with the desire for rank-and-file participation and democratic administration? To what extent and in what areas should the government regulate the union's internal affairs? How secure must a union be before it can be "responsible"? What changes in internal or judicial procedures should be recommended?

A thorough analysis of the problem of civil liberties in unions, a summary of recent

factual studies on different aspects of the problem, and a program for action can be found in the publications of the American Civil Liberties Union (10, 11). Summers (383) examines the relationship between the union and the worker and suggests some essential individual rights. Slichter (347, 348) discusses ways of protecting the individual worker against arbitrary treatment by unions and the community against the abuse of their economic power. Several separately published articles are included in the book by Taft (393), in which he examines radicalism in unions and considers policies regarding dues, initiation fees, discipline and appeals, and elections. Description and evaluation of existing and proposed regulation of internal union affairs are reported by Summers (382), Forkosch (106), Johnson (162), Strauss and Willner (375), Kovner (186), Aaron (2) and Aaron and Komaroff (5, 6), Baldwin (20), Smedley (349), and Ratner and Newbold (276). A selected bibliography on the development of a democratic union constitution has been published by the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University (272).

1. *Union security and the right to work.*—The closed and the union shop remain controversial. Arguments in favor of the protection of minority rights, at the same time pointing out the consequent possible union weakness, can be found in the writings by Cheit (64), Stark (357), Rose (290, 288), Braun (40), Phelps (264), Berkowitz (34), Aaron (3), Burns (51), and Barkin (27). Union security provisions in agreements are examined by Rubenstein, Nix, and Gary (299) and in the publications of the National Industrial Conference Board (244). The situations in which the closed shop becomes important are discussed by Jansen (159). The job controls exercised in composing-room "chapels" of the International Typographical Union are considered by Porter (270). Larrowe (198) examines the conditions prevailing on the New York and Seattle waterfronts and the methods of hiring in an industry where jobs are short-lived. The merits and defects in attempts to regu-

late union security provisions by law are discussed by Rosenthal (294) and Toner (402); Davis (73) examines the status of union members during receivership and the occasions for the suspension of the local union; and Aaron (1), Kaufman (166), and Lahne (194, 195) discuss the problems of featherbedding, working rules in the railroad industry, and the union work permit.

2. *Disciplinary powers and appeals.*—Punishable offenses, various constitutional provisions and union practices, and the abuses to which certain clauses can be subjected are discussed by Summers (380, 381). Some standards for the evaluation of the formal machinery designed to secure conformity among members are set forth by Ornatis, who also classifies various activities as they bear on the survival and effectiveness of the organization. Aaron (4, 2) examines a case of suspension and discusses federal and state legislation and how such legislation may interfere with activities which are necessary to the union's continued existence. The dangers which may lurk in seemingly harmless statements in constitutions dealing with judicial procedures are discussed by Taft (391), who also considers the extent to which unions protect their members during appeal and the nature of relief through legal action (392). The problem of union discipline is also discussed in the general works and articles mentioned earlier which deal with the policies and democratic nature of unions.

3. *Admission policies and the problem of discrimination.*—Admission policies of unions are examined by Summers (379). The problem of Negro employment and union practices in this area have been investigated by Northrup (250), Weaver (414), and Seidenberg (313). Hope (146, 147) examines CIO and AF of L practices in relation to minority groups, three stages of union orientation to minority groups, and a union's experience with promotion and transfer of Negroes. Bailer (14) considers factors which have prompted a number of unions to modify or abandon discriminatory policies. The problems of Negro employment in the South

are discussed in the article by Dewey (78) and in the publication of the National Planning Association (246). Stetler (364) considers similar problems in a highly industrialized northern state. The postwar status of Negro workers in the San Francisco area is examined by McEntire and Tarnopol (226). Some of the problems involved in combating prejudice in industry are discussed by Rubin and Segal (300) and Marrow (218). Roper (285) considers factional struggles with ethnic overtones as they affect union solidarity. Other discussions of union practices and problems in relation to minority groups can be found in Algor and Dieckmann (8), Becker (31), Hope II (148), Rose (286), Sexton (328), Reitzes (279), Kornhauser (185), McNickle (228), Blue (36), Brophy (48), Northrup (251), and Bullock (50). Additional studies of legislative proposals can be found in the bibliographies of the Industrial Relations Center of the University of Chicago (406), the Institute of Labor and Industrial Relations of the University of Illinois (407), the Industrial Relations Section of Princeton University (274), and the School of Industrial and Labor Relations of Cornell University (69).

4. *Financial reports and elections.*—Union-shop and strike-vote elections are discussed by Hogan (143) and Witney (425), and representation elections are examined by Spielman (355). Wolfson (427) deals with conflicts preceding union elections. Financial reporting and accounting methods are examined in the articles by Good and Young (119), Kozmetsky (189), and Sexton and Heneman (329). A selected and annotated bibliography of union accounting methods and financial reporting has been published by Sexton and Heneman (330).

E. THE LOCAL UNION

Lahne and Kovner (196) call attention to the importance of the local union as a self-governing body and discuss circumstances contributing to the flexible adaptation of internal local union structure to varying needs. Sayles and Strauss (305), in a book which includes some of their separately published articles, examine several local unions

as to local leadership, grievance machinery, rank-and-file participation, and the structure of authority. Popeil (268), in a theoretical discussion applicable to the study of local unions, concludes that "an organization may . . . generate counterbureaucratic as well as bureaucratic tendencies" and analyzes the triple role of the rank and file as clientele, sovereign group, and instrument of the executive. Rose (289) examines the relationship of the local to the international union as dealt with by courts and legislation; he also considers the types of contractual relationships between local and international union, to ascertain the formal degree of autonomy or subordination.

Sayles and Strauss (304) view the local union as a confederation of competing interest groups rather than as a unified body of members and analyze the political nature of decision-making in the local. Sayles (302) discusses the manipulation of seniority rules. Strauss and Sayles (371) investigate the means by which members bring their problems to the attention of officers and the grievances of different groups of union members. Taft (395) discusses the problems of business agents in carrying out the policies set by national officers and the political vulnerability of local leaders. Herrnstadt (141) studied local decision-making, the members' share in formation of policy, and the factors which explain the attitudes and perceptions of individuals and groups in the local union. The administration of a powerful local union of the International Brotherhood of Electrical Workers is examined by Neufeld (248). Consideration of the problems and role of the union steward can be found in Glynn (112). Liveright (214), Brooks and Allen (46), Smith (352), and Brooks and Gamm (47) examine the nature, techniques, and problems of training programs for leaders.

III. THE RANK AND FILE

A. RANK-AND-FILE ATTITUDES AND CHARACTERISTICS

The recent studies of the attitudes of union members are in part a reaction to the earlier concentration on union regulations

and in part a reflection of the concern with membership participation in unions; they were also stimulated to some extent by Perlman's concept of job-consciousness. In a study of a teamsters' local in St. Louis, Rose (287) examines members' attitudes toward a variety of issues, including union accomplishments, union leadership and policies, and participation. Father Purcell (275) studies similar problems in a local of the packing-house workers, as do Rosen and Rosen (291) in a district organization of the machinists.

The attitudes of coal miners toward centralized control is examined by Karsh and London (163), and the attitudes of workers toward political action by the union are discussed by Seidman, London, and Karsh (318) and by Hudson and Rosen (152). Analyses of the reasons workers join unions can be found in Seidman, London, and Karsh (319), Bakke (18), and Strauss (366). Other pertinent studies which examine the social background of inactive and active members, as well as the attitudes of the rank and file toward the union, can be found in Sayles and Strauss (306), Keith and Germain (168), Brooks (45), Kyllonen (192), Valien (408), Blum (37), and Sheppard (333). Attitudes of white-collar workers toward their union and the meaning of unionism to them are examined in the work of Mills (238), in the article by Strauss (368), Smith (350), Goldstein (117), Waters (413), and Scigliano (310).

A number of writers have tried to ascertain the extent to which the attitudes of workers reflect conflicting loyalties toward management and union. The problem is examined in the work by Father Purcell (275) and in the studies by Dean (75) and Willerman (423). Critical examination of the problem of dual loyalty by a number of authors can be found in the symposium on "dual allegiance to union and management" (82).

B. RANK-AND-FILE PARTICIPATION

The apathy of union members has been among the most widely discussed problems in the study of unionism. More general discussions and speculations have been re-

placed in recent years by case studies. Several writers have pointed out that the trend toward bureaucratization is usually gradual, proceeding imperceptibly with the passive assent of the rank and file. In a study of the Transport and General Workers Union in England, Goldstein (118) finds widespread indifference, along with oligarchical controls. Barber (26) stresses some relevant factors about institutional structure and dynamics which may have been ignored in earlier discussions of the problem. Kovner and Lahne (188) suggest that participation in formal union affairs may not be the sole measure of awareness and interest in union affairs on the part of the rank and file, and they call for a fuller examination of the "shop society."

Studies of local unions analyze the unique factors which may in each case stimulate or discourage participation by the rank and file. Miller and Young (232) find "disinterested allegiance" in their study of selected local unions and point out that minority participation does not necessarily indicate a lack of support of the "democratic potential." Strauss and Sayles (371) analyze reasons for initial and continued worker participation and the relationship between expenditure of time in union affairs and such matters as group homogeneity and the social status of the job. Herberg (140) examines the implications of changing ethnic composition of the membership and the problem of developing leaders in a bureaucratized union environment. Participation in the American Flint Glass Workers Union is investigated by Steele (361), and the relative advantages and disadvantages of rank-and-file participation in negotiations are considered by Selekman (326). Shister (334) discusses the implications for rank-and-file participation of the shifting of contract negotiations from the local to the international. Pertinent also are the articles by Eby (94), who discusses the need for a revised educational program to promote rank-and-file participation, and Caldwell (52), who presents some hypotheses which emerged from an "action-research" attack on apathy.

How changes in the composition and atti-

tudes of members can alter patterns of participation and threaten democratic control is illustrated by Shepard (331), who examines the relationship between organization and membership in the clothing workers. Strauss and Sayles (369) and Strauss (367) discuss factors which discourage attendance and propose some changes in the conduct of the typical local union meeting. Dean (74) suggests that the motives for participation vary with different stages of union-management relationships; and Lipset and Gordon (211) conclude that social mobility, downward as well as upward, affects the attitudes and behavior of workers toward their union.

IV. UNION LEADERSHIP

A. SOCIAL BACKGROUND AND CHARACTERISTICS

Discussions of the background and attitudes of American labor leaders can be found in the works by Mills (236), Ginzberg (111), and Madison (216). In the articles by Mills (237), Stogdill (365), and Strauss and Sayles (373, 370) various characteristics of local and international labor leaders are examined. Tenure of labor leaders is examined by Ginzberg (110) and Steele (362).

B. THE ROLES AND ATTITUDES OF LABOR LEADERS

The social and cultural pressures which tend to modify the attitudes and values of "progressive" labor leaders are examined by Gouldner (120). Barbash (23) analyzes political pressures, and Greer (123) suggests that conflicts between the protest and the accommodation function, on the one hand, and between the technical and the democratic function, on the other, are intensified for the ethnic labor leaders. Selekman (325) discusses the dilemmas which a "mature" labor leader would have to face, and Weber (416) and Fisher (101) examine some conflicts between the demand for responsible leadership and the demand for effective union operation and member participation.

Krauss and Kennedy (190) present the job and duties of the business agent as a distinct type. Two kinds of labor leader, the "administrator" and the "social leader," are

defined by Strauss and Sayles (374). The functions and problems of a union organizer during an organizing strike are discussed by Karsh, Seidman, and Lilienthal (164), and attitudes of local union leaders toward their job and the union are examined by Seidman, London, and Karsh (317). Kornhauser (184) presents an analysis of the Negro union official as a liaison between the members of his race and higher union officials. Also pertinent are the articles by Eby (98, 96, 95), Van Zelst (409), Phelps (263), Imberman (153), Nadell (243), Chinoy (65), Mills (235), and Alexander and Berger (7), in which are discussions of conflicting pressures on labor leaders; their values and their attitudes toward their role; obstacles to their recruitment; patterns of their ascent; their attitudes toward the present economic and social system; and case studies of their careers.

V. COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

The literature on collective bargaining is perhaps the most voluminous. The studies which are included here are only those which primarily throw light on union decision-making in collective bargaining. The many general works in this area, with a few exceptions, are not listed. The bibliographies cited at the beginning of this paper contain references to general works on collective bargaining.

A. CHANGING TRENDS IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

Changes in trade-union government and decision-making can, at least in part, be explained by changing trends in collective bargaining. New developments in collective bargaining are discussed by Kassalov (165), who also examines the new role of specialists in collective bargaining. The increasingly important role of labor lawyers is discussed by Segal (311, 312) and by Mamet (217). Pierson (266), Backman and Gitlow (13), and Kerr and Fisher (174) examine multiple-employer bargaining and its effect on decision-making. Steele (360) examines the conditions under which multiunit bargain-

ing will contribute to stability in labor-management relations and points out that it may challenge unions to show "industrial statesmanship," although it may at the same time threaten local self-determination. Chamberlain (57) examines the concept of freedom of contract and its limitations under changing industrial conditions. Briefs (43) discusses recent changes in unionism and the struggles between management and union leaders. Selekman (321) and Drucker (80) examine some characteristics and implications of the present structure of power of labor and management.

New factors in wage determination and the consequences of government intervention for union and management decisions are discussed by Harbison (130, 129) and Harbison and Spencer (134). Chamberlain (60) examines collective bargaining in terms of the locus of authority and changing trends in decision-making. Trends in collective bargaining are also dealt with by Golden (113), Weisenfeld (417), Williamson and Harris (424), Gray (122), McCabe (220), Petchek (258), Tripp (403), Wolman (429), Capes (53), Lens (202), Smyth (353), Carlton (54, 55), Teele (399), Forkosch (105), and Douty (79).

B. TYPES AND DEVELOPMENT OF UNION-MANAGEMENT RELATIONSHIPS

A number of studies set up typologies of labor-management relationships. Harbison and Dubin (133) and Harbison, Burns, and Dubin (131) classify union-management relationships according to the position of the two parties in the prevailing constellation of power. Harbison and Coleman (132) emphasize, in addition, the degree of conflict and the union's and management's attitudes toward it. Other discussions of classifications can be found in Selekman (324) and Moore (240), who also criticizes typologies based on the distribution of power. Whyte (420) sets up objective standards by which various types of union-management relations can be differentiated.

A number of case studies focus on conditions which affect the development and the

consequences of types of union-management relationships. The National Planning Association (245) has published fourteen case studies which throw light on the causes of industrial peace under collective bargaining. The major findings of these studies, their implications, and the methodology are presented in the volume edited by Golden and Parker (115). An interdisciplinary study of different types of union-management relationships in a single community and of the behavior of the rank and file and union and management appears in the volumes by Derber *et al.* (77). Harbison and Dubin (133) report a study of a General Motors and a Studebaker plant, emphasizing conditions leading to conflict and centralized decision-making.

Shister and Hamovitch (341) examine the factors decisive in union-management relationships; and Baum (30) discusses some causes of industrial peace, such as common interests, reasonable exercise of discipline, the foregoing of immediate satisfaction, and avoidance of the legalistic approach. The price of freedom in union-management relationships is discussed by Bakke (17). Labor-management relationships in different industries and their consequences are discussed by Eliel (99), Warren (412), Tilove (401), Northrup (249), Whyte (419), Fisher (104), Turnbull (405), Whiteford, White, and Gardner (418), Forkosch (105), Baratz (21), Cohen and Lieberman (68), Kerr and Randall (175), and Cozan (70).

Union-management co-operation has been studied by several authors. Dubin (85) examines, among other things, the effect of different types of union-management consultation on the status of leaders. Shister (339) analyzes the conditions which give rise to union-management co-operation, emphasizing such matters as the characteristics of the leadership and the workers' attitudes. The development, functioning, and consequences of union-management co-operation in the clothing industry are discussed by Braun (41). Dymond (93) presents a case study of union-management co-operation in a factory of Lever Brothers, Ltd. The study

is critically reviewed in the article by Whyte (421). Several discussions of union-management co-operation can be found in papers published by the Industrial Relations Research Association (157).

C. DECISION-MAKING IN COLLECTIVE BARGAINING

A number of studies, besides those on centralization in union government already referred to, analyze specifically some factors affecting union decision-making in collective bargaining. France (107) discusses the ways in which the interests of the rank and file are resolved in a unified bargaining position and shows how the leaders' decisions may be keyed to rank-and-file demands. Case studies of the interests of different parties in decision-making can be found in Shultz (343), Weber (416), Stagner (356), Dalton (71), Ross (296, 297), Denham (76), Thompson (400), Garfield and Whyte (108, 109), and Levitt (206).

A general treatment of the unions' effort to participate in areas formerly considered the exclusive property of management appears in the volume by Chamberlain (62). Contrasting points of view about the desirable extent and the nature of unions' influence on management decisions are stated by Drucker (81) and by Brown (49). A discussion of a union's influence on management decisions has been published by the Industrial Relations Research Association (158). Some trouble spots in collective-bargaining theory are examined by McConnell (223), and Pen (255) discusses a general theory of collective bargaining.

In the work by Shulman and Chamberlain (342) and in the article by Kennedy (169) problems that arise in the day-to-day administration and enforcement of the agreement are discussed. The need for formalization of union-management relationships, the relationship between grievance procedures and collective bargaining, and the need for a precise definition of terms are examined by Chamberlain (57, 59). Selekman (321, 320) considers the consequences of an overly legalistic approach to the ad-

ministration of the agreement. Goldner (116) discusses the effect of pension plans on motivations of leaders, the aspirations of the rank and file, and the structure of the union.

General treatments of the nature and problems of collective bargaining can be found in Chamberlain (56), Dunlop (86), Dunlop and Healy (91), Bakke (16), and Smith (351). Turnbull (404), in a research memorandum, surveys the literature dealing with collective bargaining.

D. OPEN CONFLICT

The difficulties involved in studying a strike in progress have undoubtedly contributed to the relative scarcity of sociological studies of it. A comprehensive study of strikes, their causes and effects, and their tactical forms can be found in Knowles (179), who also examines strike-proneness and its determinants (178). Ross and Irwin (298) analyze trends in strikes in five countries, consider the economic and political institutions which may be conducive to a high or low volume of strike activity, and critically discuss theories which fail to consider the institutional framework in which strikes are conducted. Peterson (261) examines some psychological and sociological causes of industrial unrest. An analysis of the social purposes served by strikes and of the effects of certain types of mediation on relationships between members and leaders can be found in Kerr (171). Kerr and Siegel (176) develop hypotheses to explain why some industries are strike-prone while others are strike-free and examine some theories of industrial peace and conflict in the light of their findings. Approaches to the problem of industrial conflict are also set forth in the articles by Moore (242), Ross (295), Dubin (83), Rees (277), Porter (269), Cleland (67), and Daugherty (72). A detailed examination of the impact of strikes on our economy and the problem of their control can be found in the works by Chamberlain (61, 63). The volume edited by Kornhauser, Dubin, and Ross (183) deals in a comprehensive manner with the nature and causes of industrial conflict.

Some students have focused their attention on wildcat strikes. Lamson (197) examines a wildcat strike in relation to the structure of a union and the division of authority within it. Gouldner (121) claims that a wildcat strike developed out of a violation of an "indulgence pattern" expected by the workers but not explicitly provided for. Other discussions of wildcat strikes can be found in the articles by Homans (145) and Sayles (303).

Strike-control provisions in union constitutions are discussed in the *Monthly Labor Review* (376).

VI. CONCLUSION

The fact that problems of trade-union government have been approached from so many different points of view is both a handicap and an advantage. The varied interests and values of investigators make it difficult to impose a more rigorous conceptual framework, although the wealth of material that they have developed should facilitate further advances in knowledge. We need to examine the existing literature in detail and relate the pertinent studies to one another.

Problems for present-day research include the assumptions underlying the demands for democracy and participation in union affairs. The current research on rank-and-file attitudes is still in its early empirical stage, and some of the implications of the findings appear not to be fully exploited as yet by students of the problem of democracy and bureaucracy.

Studies of workers' attitudes give a rather consistent picture of the American worker as a union member. However, as yet we

know little of the process which underlies the making and unmaking of attitudes; and we are poorly informed as to the dynamics of rank-and-file influence, informal as well as formal, on the leaders.

We lack studies at time intervals of the development of a union's government, and we need much more knowledge of decision-making at the top level of a union's hierarchy. For the student of sociology it will be apparent that strike behavior is as yet significantly unexplored. Despite the gaps in our knowledge, conceptual clarification and efforts to bring the findings in different areas to bear on some central problem, such as that of bureaucracy, would contribute at least as much to knowledge as would research into unexplored areas.

Methodologically, many of the studies lack rigor and precision. Few studies test precisely formulated hypotheses and research results, and conceptualizations are not always evaluated in the light of the available pertinent literature. On the other hand, the tentative and exploratory way in which many areas have been approached made it possible to develop a body of literature which is provocative and insightful, if not precise. Recent criticisms and more recent attempts to formulate theoretical frameworks for studies of trade-union government attest to the fact that the experimental stage may have passed and that, increasingly, we shall witness attempts to clarify theoretical and methodological problems. It is hoped that this tendency will persist and that students will avail themselves of the large body of provocative material already in print.

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DEFINITIONS OF TIME AND RECOVERY IN PARALYTIC POLIO CONVALESCENCE¹

FRED DAVIS

ABSTRACT

In addition to the manifestation of pathological body symptoms and processes, the course of a disease is marked by significant changes in the perspectives of the victim and his family. Communications of hospital personnel on the problems of prognostic uncertainty and the gradient structuring of the physiotherapeutic regime had the effect of lengthening the recovery-time perspective of child polio cases and their parents and altering their concept of recovery. This had both functional and dysfunctional consequences for the paralyzed child's eventual return to home and community.

It is an oft-repeated, although seldom analyzed, truism that recovery from a disease is as much a psychological process as it is a physiochemical process. The rate and extent of the recovery are presumed to be influenced significantly by optimism, the will to get well, and self-confidence in the body's recuperative process. More often than not, these traits and motivations are assumed to be inherent in the patient; he brings them, pre-formed, to the sickbed, and they serve to his recuperative advantage. Seldom does the precise role played by the hospital and its personnel in this psychological process of recovery come under scrutiny.

In the course of a long-range, longitudinal study of the psychological and social impact of paralytic poliomyelitis on children and their families, the author and his associates have examined the ways in which the hospital and its personnel structure and define the recuperative motivations and orientations of the stricken child and his parents. More concretely, we have examined the ways in which therapeutic personnel attempt to gear the child and his family to an acceptance of institutional and somewhat special definitions of the patient's paralysis and progress in recovery—definitions which, it might be added, both draw upon broad cultural values and motivational patterns and, in a number of respects, conflict with them.

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Let us consider the situation of the child who is stricken with paralytic poliomyelitis. In a very real sense he is thrown into an entirely new world from the one to which he is accustomed. The paralysis affects not only his ability to manipulate his own body but also severely alters his customary motor relations with significant persons and social objects. In a great many cases he cannot walk for several months following the acute attack. He is taken away from family and playmates and set down in strange surroundings where the routine is unfamiliar and where the faces of those who minister to his needs change with great frequency. No longer is he the only child or one among several children. He is one among many. Generally, he has only the vaguest idea of what is being done to him and why it is being done. In short, the child and his parents are confronted by an unknown world which requires definition of its procedures and purposes as well as its relationship to the everyday world with which they are familiar.

This paper will consider the question of how the hospital and its personnel—especially the physiotherapist, who is most actively involved in the polio child's day-by-day treatment—go about effectuating what W. I. Thomas has called the "definition of the situation." Two aspects are singled out for discussion. These are the definition of time and the definition of progress in recovery.

Let us begin with the definition of time. When the stricken child is first admitted to

the hospital in the acute stage of poliomyelitis, doctors, nurses, and other attending personnel are inevitably, and understandably, bombarded by the family with such questions as: How long will it be? When can I have my child back? etc. The children themselves, although often in a high fever and suffering from muscle spasms, at first ask incessantly when their parents will come for them and when they will be sent home. A few weeks later, upon admission to the convalescent hospital—the scene of the long-term pull toward recovery—the same questions are raised by parent and child, albeit with somewhat less persistence and a certain sense of resignation learned from what has already transpired.

Invariably, what happens to the children and families we have studied is that an initial perspective of short-time hospital confinement with associated thoughts of rapid recovery is, within a few weeks after the acute onset, replaced by a long-term perspective wherein the extent of ultimate recovery from the paralysis is viewed in a more qualified and ambiguous fashion. As a physiotherapist at one of the Baltimore convalescent hospitals has put it: "When they come in here, the children think in terms of days. Very soon they're thinking in terms of weeks and not long after that in terms of months."

How is this change in time perspective brought about? Of course, to begin with, a large part of this, obviously, is accomplished by the doctor in communicating to the parent specific facts about the nature and course of the disease, knowledge with which even a well-informed parent is only slightly familiar. But it is important to examine the situational and institutional contexts of communication between expert and layman to understand the lengthening of the time perspective.

Very significant is, of course, the discrepancy in power in the doctor-patient relationship. Little need be said on this oft-noted point, except to repeat the observation made by Parsons in his discussion of medical practice, namely, that, when the patient is placed in the hands of the doctor,

he and his family relinquish, in effect, all *technical* responsibility for the patient's treatment and somatic recovery.² Said a father whose nine-year-old daughter was paralyzed in the lower extremities: "I've never felt so helpless in all my life. There's nothing you can do except put your trust in the doctors and hope for the best."

This in itself constitutes an important point of leverage for the doctor as he begins to redefine the time perspective of parent and child. However, although a good deal of factual knowledge regarding the course of the disease is imparted to the parent, in polio, as in so many pathological conditions, much is unknown, and the practitioner is confronted by significant areas of therapeutic uncertainty. This uncertainty is for the most part on the socially crucial questions of the rate of recovery and the ultimate extent of disability with which the patient will be left. It is thus necessary for the doctor somehow to communicate to the parents that the uncertainty stems from the nature of the disease itself and not from therapeutic incompetence or an unwillingness to speak the truth. His status as an expert generally insures that the child and his parents will believe him. That it is not always so, however, is attested to by the "shopping around" inside and outside the hospital which numerous parents in our study engage in.

"Shopping around" inside the hospital usually means that the parents direct inquiries at physiotherapists and nurses and sometimes at other parents whom they meet on visiting days and who, they feel, may be more knowledgeable than themselves. As can be expected, this rarely provides the answers they are seeking. Other parents, they soon learn, are as much in the dark as they. As subordinates of the doctor, the nurses are most averse, as a rule, to making prognosticatory statements of any kind. Beyond "handling" the parents with the customary retort that the patient "is doing

² Talcott Parsons, *The Social System* (Glencoe: Free Press, 1951), chap. x.

fine" or "as well as can be expected," they invariably refer them to the doctor.

The physiotherapist, however, does generally possess an intimate knowledge of the child's condition; sometimes she knows more than the doctor. Early in the convalescent period she is likely to have reached certain well-founded conclusions concerning the type and degree of residual muscle damage. But, partly because the communication of prognoses is the professional responsibility of the doctor and partly because the probable in polio convalescence is by no means certain, she is careful not to speak her mind in full or go into too great detail. When pressed by the parents for definitive statements concerning the child's future, she, too, refers them to the doctor.

"Shopping around" outside the hospital typically involves consultations by the parents with other doctors and talks with suddenly discovered, near or distant, neighbors whose children have had polio. The former is seldom satisfactory in that the private practitioner, on the basis of what the parents can tell him, is in less of a position to prognosticate or offer reassurance than is the doctor who is resident in the hospital. And visits with neighbors who have faced polio in their own families generally result in an exchange of experiences and beliefs which, at best, pertain to but a few cases. The cases they hear about display so much variability in onset and outcome that the parents soon come to feel that few, if any, generalizations are possible. All these frustrating encounters serve only to reinforce the doctor's initial injunction that "much is unknown and only time will tell." "Time" in this context connotes, of course, a long time.

Another important factor in the lengthening of the time perspective is the gradient approach to recovery which the hospital institutes: treatment procedures are so progressively arranged and serve so clearly to delineate the sequence of benchmarks on the road to recovery that time begins to be conceived as measured intervals in the striving toward a goal. The significance of this for the child will be discussed later.

Here let us briefly consider some implications for the parent.

Parents are permitted to visit their children in the hospital only once or twice a week at regularly scheduled times. This in itself frequently imparts to their time perspective a certain attenuated periodicity. Further, in the course of these visits they soon become aware that they are able to observe only slight changes from week to week and are led to believe anew that recovery is a long, slow process. This belief is reinforced by doctor and physiotherapist, who caution the parent "not to expect too much too quickly." Optimism is not completely discouraged, however, for it is an attitude of "restrained hopefulness" which hospital personnel typically regard as most conducive to establishing a proper therapeutic environment. Thus, the physiotherapist at a polio convalescent hospital told a parent who phoned almost daily to inquire about her child's condition: "Mrs. Smith, if you call me every day, there's not much progress I can report in Harry's condition. But, if you would call me every other week, I think I'll be able to give you a good report." Such periodic reports, along with the ordered sequence of physiotherapeutic exercises and formal muscle checks taken at six-week intervals, also have the effect of directing the parents' expectations to points in the future.

Thus far we have been considering the hospital's management of time perspective chiefly with reference to the family of the paralyzed child. How does the institution manage to lengthen the child's own time perspective? Of predominant importance in this connection is the loosening of the child's affective ties with home and his immersion in the hospital's subculture of sickness. As long as the child senses his separation from parents and home acutely and unremittingly, the incorporation of hospital routine and values in his motivational system is mechanical at best. The passage of each day is keenly felt as but further forced separation from the familiar and loved. In the phraseology of the hospital personnel, this child is not

"a co-operative patient."

The rapid immersion of the child in the subculture of sickness proceeds on many well-charted fronts. In general, this is accomplished by restricting parents' visits to once or twice a week; by the hospital personnel's assuming in surrogate fashion many of the functions of parents; by duplicating in the hospital many of the activities and diversions of the home (e.g., television, games, picture and comic books, group play, etc.); by a reward and punishment system, both formal and informal, which sanctions good behavior and co-operative attitudes as these are defined by the treatment personnel; and—most important of all, perhaps—by the fact of living in a milieu in which sickness is the norm rather than the deviation and which permits the child to relate in a more thorough and structured fashion to a common universe of special meanings, goals, and evaluative rankings.

This raises, in passing, the interesting problem of certain dysfunctional consequences in the very thorough assimilation of hospital definitions and values which many of the children experience during their convalescent stay. For the values of the hospital are not precisely those of the society to which the child will have to return one day. The severely paralyzed child who after long treatment is able to get out of bed and move about on crutches has, in the eyes of the physiotherapist, for example, made marked and important progress. Naturally, he and others in the hospital encourage and support him in this conviction. To outsiders—and possibly to his parents—he may just be a "poor crippled kid." Hence, a number of the children in our study, particularly those approaching adolescence, voice reluctance and strong foreboding when discharge time draws near. Growing increasingly aware of the trauma frequently attending the shift from hospital to home, some polio convalescent centers have begun to institute a policy whereby the children are allowed home for several week-end visits a month or so prior to discharge. There remains, however, the broader problem of the extent to which the

values of the two worlds can be effectively reconciled without detriment to either.

Before taking up the question of how the hospital defines progress in recovery, let us consider some of the latent functions of the lengthening of the time perspective. First, it encourages the paralyzed child to shift his attention from the ultimate hope of walking, running, playing ball, etc., to such short-range goals as sitting up in bed, moving a specific muscle, and locomotion in a wheel chair. Second, for the treatment personnel—especially the doctor—it serves the purpose of blocking repetitive and incessant questioning by the family. Because recovery is defined as slow and full of uncertainty, many parents soon begin to feel that there is not much point in "pestering" the busy doctor, particularly if they will be told very little, as is generally the case. Hence the doctor can either rightly or wrongly shed some of the onerous burden of continually answering questions and devote himself more fully to what he regards as his significant duties, namely, diagnosis, prescription, and treatment. Third, from the parents' standpoint, the lengthening of the time perspective provides them sufficient time to assimilate the crisis and thereupon gradually to reorganize their attitudes in accordance with the changed circumstances of their child's life. Particularly significant is the psychological time required for the parents to accept the fact that their child, as is so often the case, will be left with a residual disability.

Customarily we think of recovery from a disease or ailment as a more or less spontaneous process. True, there are the usual medical interventions and medications, but we assume for the most part that the feeling of getting well is a subjective state which hardly requires definition. Yet closer examination reveals a whole class of pathological conditions in which this would not seem to be the case. Questions can be raised as to whether the experience of recovery from any disease or ailment is ever as subjectively spontaneous as we think, but, in particular, we refer to those conditions in which the

precise course and extent of recovery are obscured by uncertainty factors and where, as a rule, the patient's state upon recovery is significantly different from what it was originally. Certain mental diseases, diabetes, numerous cardiac conditions, and paralytic poliomyelitis seem to fall in this class.

What distinguishes this class of pathology is that without the explanations provided by the therapeutic personnel, as well as the implicit cues in the treatment procedures, the patient would have little way of sensing progress and knowing that he is getting better. It has been pointed out, for example, that in mental disease an important first step around which ward-treatment procedures are structured is for the patient to recognize verbally that he is sick and to express an intention to get better. This is institutionally labeled as "achieving insight." When this occurs, the patient's course of treatment is changed accordingly.³ In recovery from paralytic polio, signs and movement tendencies, similar in form although different in content, are also structured into the everyday treatment procedures and interaction between physiotherapist and patient. These treatment procedures, in general, involve a graduated, step-by-step approach by the patient toward what the doctor and physiotherapist calculate to be optimal muscle functioning within the limits imposed by the initial muscle damage. Very frequently, of course, this means something less than total recovery of muscle use.

Consider the example of a child with extensive muscle damage in one leg which permits him neither to stand nor to walk. Treatment may begin on a stretcher bed on which the physiotherapist bends and manipulates the paralyzed leg to the point of pain. Besides familiarizing the physiotherapist with the exact site and extent of muscle damage, this procedure serves to indicate to the child that the leg is potentially of use, something which a passive regime of bed rest would not

make evident so early. Several days later the child may be suspended for the first time in the hydrotherapy pool, where the buoyancy of the water permits him to move the damaged leg about more easily than he could on dry land. This in itself is a rewarding and pleasurable experience and serves to reinforce the sense of muscle potential. In the course of several months the child may progress from moving the leg to and fro while lying prone upon a mat on the floor of the physiotherapy room, to standing up while being held by the physiotherapist, to ambulating up and down a ramp while he supports himself on arm rails, to taking his first tentative steps with the aid of braces or crutches, or both.

As each phase of the treatment is being mastered, the child is prepared by the physiotherapist for the next phase. The progression not only defines his recovery for him but also functions as something of a reward for the efforts he has made. New movements and sensations he experiences in his leg are referred by him to the physiotherapist for definition as to whether they are "good" or "mean anything." In short, even though his disability when viewed by the layman might turn out to be marked, in his physiotherapeutic experiences he learns by word and deed that he is "getting well." In addition, particular physiotherapeutic routines become so intimately associated with particular stages of motion and ambulation that the former frequently comes to be thought of by the children as an indispensable condition for the latter. This led one perceptive twelve-year-old at a polio convalescent center to remark somewhat sarcastically: "No body around here walks until after they've had their second muscle check." Physiotherapists are concerned lest the polio convalescents "sneak in too many walks" prior to the appointed time. This concern certainly stems in large degree from the possible harmful effects on gait and body-muscle balance which premature ambulation can cause. At the same time, though, the "scheduling" of so critical a physical advance as ambulation suggests that factors

³ Private communication with Erving Goffman, visiting sociologist, Laboratory of Socio-environmental Studies, National Institute of Mental Health, Bethesda, Md.

like patient morale⁴ and maintaining routinized treatment procedures are also at play.

The treatment procedures in a very real sense tap the deep and implicit faith of parents and children concerning the efficacy of "will power" in overcoming adverse circumstances. The gradient structuring of the recovery process not only gives a public demonstration of the concept of will power but, as their child moves from stage to stage, gives fresh assurances that he has successfully demonstrated this quality. Therefore, the paralytic polio treatment procedure is of the quintessence of the Protestant ideology of achievement in America—namely, slow, patient, and regularly applied effort in pursuit of a long-range goal. Moreover, the great amount of activity and application called for in the physiotherapeutic regime, as well as the elaborate technological apparatus surrounding it, leave little room for doubt that "something is being done," thereby

⁴ In the course of their work physiotherapists must frequently take into account how rapid progress by some children affects the morale of those who progress more slowly.

further reassuring the child and his parents. This accords in significant respects with what Parsons has termed the "activity bias" of American medical practice,⁵ especially as it relates to the problem of coping with uncertainty. In this connection it is interesting to report that, while many orthopedic surgeons privately doubt that physiotherapy per se contributes anything beyond that which natural recuperative processes themselves accomplish, most realize, if only unconsciously, that it fulfils important psychological functions like those touched on here.

What has been written here refers chiefly to the effect of patterned institutional schema on the stricken child and his family. This is not to say that all cases proceed alike or that significant deviations from the pattern cannot be found. Indeed, they can, and they constitute an ongoing source of strain in the functioning of the treatment system. An examination of these aspects of the treatment system must, however, await another occasion.

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⁵ *Op.cit.*

GROUP INFLUENCES AND AGRICULTURAL INNOVATIONS: SOME TENTATIVE FINDINGS AND HYPOTHESES¹

C. PAUL MARSH AND A. LEE COLEMAN

ABSTRACT

Kentucky research on group influences in the acceptance of agricultural innovations shows wide variation among the neighborhoods of a single county in the adoption of new practices and supports the hypothesis that norms in some neighborhoods are more favorable to their acceptance than those in other neighborhoods. In areas favorable to new techniques, those farmers from whom other farmers obtain information show higher rates of adoption than farmers in general; but in areas less favorable to innovation, the adoption rates of leaders are similar to adoption rates of farmers in general. Thus group norms in the one case tend to accelerate change, and in the other they may retard it.

The purpose in this paper is to review certain aspects of the research at the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station that touch on group influences in the acceptance of agricultural innovations. Some of the findings discussed here have been published previously.² This paper attempts to summarize the research to date and to organize it around certain assumptions and general hypotheses.

The data were obtained in 1950 from farmers in what is generally regarded as one of the better agricultural counties in Kentucky. At this time the county had been served by a county agricultural extension agent for about thirty years, and the extension program was regarded as one of the more effective programs in the state. In addition to the Extension Service, the county was served by the usual federal agricultural agencies and programs. Thus it

enjoys the advantages of well-established information, educational, and service agencies designed to promote a more efficient agriculture. Of course, it is part of a larger society that presumably places a high value on efficiency and science. Virtually all the farm operators in the county are native-born whites with similar backgrounds, operating family-type farms. Somewhat more than half the county is rough and hilly, and the rest is moderately rolling. In the hill section the farms are smaller, the land is poorer, and the socioeconomic level of operators is much lower than in the moderately rolling section.

The data presented here were obtained in personal interviews with 393 farm operators. All operators in thirteen neighborhoods were interviewed. The neighborhoods selected were judged representative of different areas. No respondent lived more than 25 miles from others. The term "neighborhood" is used somewhat loosely here; it is not assumed that these areas represent well-integrated groups, though it is assumed that they have some significance as local groupings. The neighborhoods were delineated several years before the study, by extension personnel and rural sociologists.

The following well-established proposition seemed to offer a lead for one approach to the study of group influences: When a number of persons are in interaction over an extended period of time, mutual expectations and norms develop for their behavior, and their actions are not independent of these norms and expectations. This proposition emphasizes interaction and implies that

¹ A paper presented before the annual institute of the Society for Social Research, University of Chicago, May 20, 1955. The investigation reported in this paper is in connection with a project of the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station and is published by permission of the director.

² See C. Paul Marsh and A. Lee Coleman, "Farmers' Practice Adoption Rates in Relation to Adoption Rates of Leaders," *Rural Sociology*, XIX (June, 1954), 180 f.; "The Relation of Neighborhood of Residence to Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices," *ibid.*, December, 1954, pp. 385-89; *Communication and the Adoption of Recommended Farm Practices* ("Progress Reports," No. 22, Agricultural Experiment Station, University of Kentucky [Lexington, November, 1954]); and Coleman and Marsh, "Differential Communication among Farmers in a Kentucky County," *Rural Sociology*, XX (June, 1955), 93-101.

different norms may be expected to develop in different groups.³

If it is assumed that there is frequent interaction among neighbors on family farms, it seems reasonable to suppose that norms relative to farming develop and that these norms may vary widely among small localities even within an area as small as a county. It is common observation that this is the case. The first general hypothesis guiding this phase of the research is: *Norms relative to agriculture vary among the neighborhoods of the county, and norms in certain neighborhoods are more favorable to the acceptance of innovations than those in others.*

Since no direct information concerning norms was obtained, a clear-cut test was not possible. But the general hypothesis does suggest certain operational hypotheses that are subject to more direct test with the data at hand. Presumably, support of these operational hypotheses can be reasonably interpreted as lending support to the general hypothesis. The first hypothesis is: *The extent to which farm operators accept agricultural innovations varies among neighborhoods.*

Information was obtained on the extent to which each of the operators had tried and was following 21 farm practices recommended by the agricultural agencies. For each respondent, an adoption score was calculated. This score is the percentage of applicable practices which the operator had adopted. For example, if 18 of the practices applied to the farm operations being carried on and the operator had adopted 9, his score was 50.

As may be seen in Table 1, neighborhoods varied widely in the mean adoption scores of residents, which range from a low of 25 in one neighborhood to a high of 57 in another. The neighborhood with the lowest score was within three miles of that with the highest, but no farmer in either neighborhood reported regularly visiting a farmer in the other neighborhood.

³ The term "norm" as used here refers to the "prescribed course of action" or the "expected course of action" in a given situation (see Robin M. Williams, Jr., *American Society* [New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1951], pp. 19-35).

Such socioeconomic characteristics as educational level, size of farm operation, and score on the Sewell Scale of Socioeconomic Status were associated both with adoption score and with neighborhood of residence. Thus farmers that are low on these variables tend to have low adoption rates, and a much larger proportion of farmers in the areas of low adoption than in those of high adoption are low on these variables. The question then arises as to whether the differences among neighborhoods as to adoption may be attributed to differences in these socioeconomic variables.

TABLE 1

NUMBER OF RESPONDENTS AND MEAN PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORES OF RESPONDENTS IN EACH NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1950

Neighborhood	No. of Respondents	Mean Adoption Score
All.....	393	40
1.....	28	25
2.....	27	28
3.....	51	30
4.....	50	33
5.....	39	39
6.....	16	41
7.....	14	43
8.....	54	44
9.....	16	44
10.....	26	50
11.....	23	52
12.....	17	56
13.....	32	57

Although the number of cases in each neighborhood was too small to permit further analysis by individual neighborhoods, the distribution of mean adoption scores pointed to a grouping of neighborhoods. Among the four neighborhoods with the lowest adoption scores, the range in mean scores is only from 25 to 33; among the next five, the range is from 39 to 44; and in the top four, the range is from 50 to 57.

The neighborhoods were combined on this basis into three types of neighborhoods: "low adoption areas," "medium adoption areas," and "high adoption areas," with 156, 138, and 98 cases, respectively. The following analysis uses this grouping, on the assumption that the normative structure in

the neighborhoods classified together is similar in the way that it influences acceptance of innovations in agriculture. The percentage distribution of scores by "type" of neighborhood is presented in Table 2, and the percentage of operators who had adopted each of 15 of the 21 practices is presented in Table 3.

This grouping of neighborhoods makes it possible to cross-tabulate scores by type of neighborhood, with educational level, size of farm operation (as indicated by value of products sold), and socioeconomic status held constant (successively, not simultaneously). These cross-tabulations indicate that the differences among neighborhoods still exist when these factors are controlled

(see Tables 4-6). For example, as may be seen in Table 4, only 5 per cent of the residents of "low adoption neighborhoods" who had only 8 grades or less of schooling had adoption scores of 45 or more. However, 27 per cent of those with a similar educational level in "medium adoption areas" had scores equal to this or higher, and 48 per cent of those living in "high adoption areas" had such scores.

Thus the data further support the hypothesis that the degree of farmers' acceptance of innovations in farming varies by locality, and to this extent the data also support the more general hypothesis that norms relative to agriculture vary by neighborhoods.

TABLE 2*
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORE AND
TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY, KEN-
TUCKY, 1950 (IN PERCENTAGES)

Practice-Adoption Score	"Low" Neighborhoods (N=156)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N=139)	"High" Neighborhoods (N=98)	All Neighborhoods (N=393)
All.....	100	100	100	100
6-22.....	32	9	1	16
23-30.....	29	14	6	19
31-38.....	17	18	15	17
39-44.....	13	21	12	16
45-59.....	6	24	23	16
60-89.....	3	14	43	16

* $\chi^2 = 145.21$; degrees of freedom = 10; $P < .001$.

TABLE 3*
PERCENTAGE OF FARMERS WHO HAD ADOPTED CERTAIN RECOM-
MENDED PRACTICES, CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO TYPE OF NEIGH-
BORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1950

PRACTICE	TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD		
	"Low Adoption" Neighborhoods	"Medium Adoption" Neighborhoods	"High Adoption" Neighborhoods
Artificial breeding.....	3	14	31
Farm records.....	7	14	20
Terracing or contouring...	1	17	53
Ladino clover.....	9	25	52
Kentucky 31 fescue.....	17	21	43
Calf vaccination.....	13	33	43
Chick purchase.....	42	68	80
Pullet flock.....	12	32	35
Bluestone lime.....	41	70	76
Tobacco fertilization.....	51	67	80
Soil testing.....	10	25	42
Phenothiazine drench.....	36	68	73
Phenothiazine with salt...	34	63	76

* For each practice the percentages are based on the number of farmers having the enterprise to which the practice applies.

TABLE 4
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORE, EDUCATION,
AND TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY
KENTUCKY, 1950 (IN PERCENTAGES)

PRACTICE- ADOPTION SCORE	8 GRADES OR LESS OF SCHOOLING*			MORE THAN 8 GRADES OF SCHOOLING†		
	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 144)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 102)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 50)	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 12)‡	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 36)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 48)
All.....	100	100	100	...	100	100
6-30.....	65	28	12	...	8	2
31-44.....	30	45	40	...	22	15
45-89.....	5	27	48	...	70	83

* $\chi^2 = 71.59$; degrees of freedom = 4; $P < .001$.

† χ^2 not computed, since the expected frequency in 2 cells is less than 5.

‡ Percentages were not computed if $N < 30$.

TABLE 5
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORE, VALUE OF
PRODUCTS SOLD, AND TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY
KENTUCKY, 1950 (IN PERCENTAGES)

PRACTICE- ADOPTION SCORE	VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD UNDER \$2,500*			VALUE OF PRODUCTS SOLD \$2,500 AND OVER†		
	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 140)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 73)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 29)‡	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 15)‡	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 61)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 69)
All.....	100	100	...	...	100	100
6-30.....	61	32	...	...	10	1
31-44.....	31	48	...	...	31	19
45-89.....	8	20	...	...	59	80

* $\chi^2 = 17.92$; degrees of freedom = 2; $P < .001$.

† χ^2 not computed, since the expected frequency in 2 cells is less than 5.

‡ Percentages were not computed if $N < 30$.

TABLE 6
DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORE, SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS
SCORE,* AND TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY
KENTUCKY, 1950 (IN PERCENTAGES)

PRACTICE- ADOPTION SCORE	SOCIOECONOMIC SCORE OF 73 OR LESS†			SOCIOECONOMIC SCORE OF 74 OR MORE‡		
	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 125)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 58)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 19)§	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 30)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 81)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 79)
All.....	100	100	...	100	100	100
6-30.....	68	36	...	30	12	4
31-44.....	28	48	...	43	33	21
45-89.....	4	16	...	27	55	75

* Score on Sewell Scale of Socioeconomic Status (Short Form).

† $\chi^2 = 14.73$; degrees of freedom = 2; $P < .001$.

‡ $\chi^2 = 24.35$; degrees of freedom = 4; $P < .001$.

§ Percentages were not computed if $N < 30$.

In so far as this general hypothesis can be supported, the following hypothesis should also be tenable: *The higher the adoption rate in a neighborhood, the greater the use of all sources of farming information and especially of such sources as agricultural agencies, which are known to provide information about innovations.* This hypothesis is based on the assumption that the more favorable the norms to the acceptance of innovations, the greater the pressure, both internalized and from neighbors, to keep up with new developments in farming.

"medium adoption neighborhoods" and 82 per cent in "high adoption areas." As has been shown elsewhere, these differences remained when education and size of operation were controlled (separately, not simultaneously), though the differences were reduced in some cases.⁴

Thus the data support the hypothesis that the higher the adoption rate in a neighborhood, the greater the use of sources of farming information; and to this extent the data lend some further support to the general hypothesis that norms in

TABLE 7
PERCENTAGE OF FARM OPERATORS REPORTING USE* OF VARIOUS SOURCES
FOR FARMING INFORMATION, BY TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, WASHINGTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1950

SOURCE OF INFORMATION	TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD		
	"Low Adoption" Neighborhoods (N = 156)	"Medium Adoption" Neighborhoods (N = 139)	"High Adoption" Neighborhoods (N = 98)
Radio	82	88	89
Farm magazines	70	88	93
Newspapers	52	71	85
Agricultural agency representatives	34	66	82
Farm meetings	19	36	53
Farm bulletins	28	50	69
Circular letters from county agent	63	84	86
Friends, neighbors, or relatives	88	82	97
Dealers or salesmen	27	29	49

* Use refers to any use in the two years preceding the interview.

As may be seen in Table 7, the higher the adoption rate in the neighborhoods, the greater the proportion of farm operators who reported receiving information from each of the sources of information studied. Only in the use of "neighbors, friends, and relatives" was this relationship not consistent. The differences among neighborhoods were especially marked in the proportion of farmers reporting personal talks with agency representatives, the proportion reading farm bulletins, and the proportion attending meetings sponsored by the agencies. For example, only 34 per cent of the respondents in "low adoption neighborhoods" reported that they had talked personally with a representative of an agricultural agency in the two years preceding the interview, as compared with 66 per cent in

some neighborhoods are more favorable to innovations than are those in others.

But a quite different interpretation of these differences in the use of the various information sources is possible. It may be argued that some factors other than norms lead to the differences in contact with sources of information and that these differentials lead to differentials in adoption rates. If this were true, however, those who reported personal talks with agency representatives should have similar adoption scores, regardless of residence. As may be seen in Table 8, this was not the case. The differences among neighborhoods in adoption scores remained when this factor was controlled. The argument that all differ-

⁴ Coleman and Marsh, *op. cit.*

ences among neighborhoods in acceptance of innovations may be accounted for by differences in contact with information sources does not appear to be tenable.

If we assume, then, that there are differences among neighborhoods in the normative structure relative to agriculture, it is possible to draw on another common hypothesis. It may be stated as follows: *Those recognized as leaders do not deviate very far from the norms of their group.*

Wilkening found in a North Carolina community that the farm operators to whom other farmers went for advice on

If higher adoption rates within an area do reflect, in part, a normative structure favorable to adoption and if a lower adoption rate reflects the reverse, the following operational hypothesis, based on the general hypothesis that those to whose opinions other group members defer do not deviate far from the norms, is suggested: *In areas of high adoption, those from whom other farmers obtain farming information have higher adoption rates than farmers in general; but, in areas of low adoption, the adoption rates of leaders are similar to adoption rates of farmers in general.*

TABLE 8

DISTRIBUTION OF RESPONDENTS BY PRACTICE-ADOPTION SCORE, TYPE OF NEIGHBORHOOD, AND WHETHER THEY HAD TALKED WITH AGRICULTURAL AGENCY REPRESENTATIVE* IN TWO YEARS PRECEDING INTERVIEW, WASHINGTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1950 (IN PERCENTAGES)

PRACTICE- ADOPTION SCORE	HAD TALKED WITH ADVISER†			HAD NOT TALKED WITH ADVISER‡		
	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 53)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 89)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 80)	"Low" Neighborhoods (N = 103)	"Medium" Neighborhoods (N = 49)	"High" Neighborhoods (N = 18)§
All	100	100	100	100	100	...
6-30	45	12	4	69	41	...
31-44	40	36	21	26	47	...
45-89	15	52	75	5	12	...

* County agent, Soil Conservation Service technician, Production Credit Association representative, or Farmers Home Administration representative.

† $\chi^2 = 60.50$; degrees of freedom = 4; $P < .001$.

‡ $\chi^2 = 9.493$; degrees of freedom = 2; $P < .01$.

§ Percentages were not computed if $N < 30$.

farm matters were not far ahead of the average farmer of the community in the adoption of new farm practices. He suggests that these "informal leaders" reflect the traditional local values and therefore are "unlikely to support a new idea unless it supports the existing social and cultural system, or unless it is likely to meet with group approval."⁵

Lionberger, though, found a quite different situation in a Missouri community: that farmers to whom other farmers most frequently talked about farm matters were far ahead in the use of recommended farm practices. He characterizes the community as one where "conditions of farming are generally above the state average."⁶

⁵ Eugene A. Wilkening, "Informal Leaders and Innovators in Farm Practices," *Rural Sociology*, XVII (September, 1952), 272-75.

Twenty-nine of the farmers interviewed were listed by two or more farmers as a source of information about one or more of the practices studied. Because of this small number of cases, the neighborhoods were dichotomized into "low adoption areas" and "high adoption areas." With this grouping, the hypothesis is supported by the data. In the "low adoption areas" the mean score of all farmers was 32 and that of leaders 37, while in the "high adoption areas" the mean score of all farmers was 48 and that of leaders 66 (Table 9).

If norms relative to farming do vary by localities, these data appear to support the hypothesis that the individuals to whose

⁶ Herbert F. Lionberger, "Some Characteristics of Farm Operators Sought as Sources of Farming Information in a Missouri Community," *Rural Sociology*, XVIII (December, 1953), 327-38.

opinions the others most frequently defer conform closely to the norms of the group.

It has been assumed here that actions of individuals reflect, in part, the norms of their group and, therefore, that inferences may be made from actions to norms. It was

the residents are of similar ethnic background.

Such inferences must be regarded, of course, as highly tentative. Further research is planned in the same localities in order to explore more directly the possible differences in the normative structure within the neighborhoods.

Further exploration of the effect of the normative structure of such local groups upon the extent to which residents accept innovation seems also to be indicated. The usual hypothesis is that group norms and expectations retard change.⁷ While this is presumably true if group sanctions apply to specific traditional practices, perhaps there are also situations in which group sanctions of farm matters accentuate change, especially in a society such as ours, where there is a strong emphasis upon efficiency and science.

It is hoped that these and similar questions may be explored further in the next stage of the research on the spread of recommended farm practices in Kentucky.

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⁷ E.g., see *Sociological Research on the Diffusion and Adoption of New Farm Practices: Report of the Subcommittee on the Diffusion and Adoption of Farm Practices, the Rural Sociological Society* (published by the Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Department of Rural Sociology, RS-2 [Lexington, June, 1952]), p. 5.

TABLE 9

MEAN ADOPTION SCORES OF "LEADERS"* AND OF ALL RESPONDENTS, IN AREAS OF "HIGH ADOPTION" AND "LOW ADOPTION," WASHINGTON COUNTY, KENTUCKY, 1950

KIND OF AREA†	LEADERS		ALL RESPONDENTS	
	No. of Cases	Mean Score	No. of Cases	Mean Score
All areas.	29	56	393	40
"High adoption" areas.	19	66	198	48
"Low adoption" areas.	10	37	195	32

* "Leaders" are those who were listed by two or more farmers as a source of information about one or more farming practices.

† "High adoption" areas include all neighborhoods having mean adoption scores of 40 or higher. "Low adoption" areas are the neighborhoods having mean scores of less than 40.

shown that actions involving the acceptance of innovations and the use of sources of information vary by localities; this variation in action was interpreted as suggesting that norms relative to agriculture may vary widely among localities—even within a small county where all localities are served by the same agricultural agencies and where

A STUDY OF THE GROWTH OF AMERICAN FAMILIES¹

P. K. WHELPTON AND RONALD FREEDMAN

ABSTRACT

Field work has been completed for a national sample study of the growth of American families. Its objectives are: (1) to study expectations of size of family as one basis for better forecasts of births; (2) to describe differences in fertility behavior for major population strata; and (3) to test the relationship of basic social variables to fertility behavior. A national probability sample of white married women in the childbearing years has been interviewed and field work has been completed. The response rate was high.

Field work and preliminary tabulations have been completed for a study by a national sample of the growth of white American families.² Broadly stated, the objectives of the study are to analyze recent family-growth patterns and the future expectations of family growth among married couples. This is the first national study for the United States on many of the crucial variables involved in family-growth histories and expectations. More concretely, the objectives of the study are six.

1. *To obtain data on expectations about family size from young married couples as a basis for projecting births for the United States for 5-year periods up to 1970*

By general agreement the most difficult variable in national population forecasts is

fertility. Differences between the forecasts and the actual postwar population have resulted mainly from too low assumptions of the postwar rise in birth rates. For example, the medium series (with immigration of 200,000 per year) in the forecasts for the United States made by Whelpton and others for the Bureau of the Census in 1945³ showed a population of 151,982,000 on July 1, 1955, including 24,194,000 children under ten. Current estimates indicate that the actual population was about 165,300,000, of whom about 34,200,000 were children under ten. The difference between the two series is about 13,300,000 for the total and 10,000,000 for those under ten. In other words, approximately 75 per cent of the difference between the totals of these series is accounted for by the low forecast for children under 10; births from July 1, 1945, to July 1, 1955, were far in excess of the number yielded by the medium fertility assumptions.

Projections of births in many past forecasts have been made by an "informed" extrapolation of trends of crude or age-specific birth rates. The basis for such informed extrapolations has been improved by the development of cohort-fertility analysis.⁴ This involves separate study and projection of trends for cohorts of women by age and by birth order of child. It recognizes the simple fact that the number of children a group of

¹ A paper read at the annual meetings of the American Sociological Society in Washington, D.C., September 1, 1955. The study is a co-operative undertaking of the Scripps Foundation for Research in Population Problems, of Miami University, and the Survey Research Center, of the University of Michigan, supported primarily by a grant from the Rockefeller Foundation. Assistance at various stages of the study to date has been given by Norman Ryder of the Scripps Foundation and the following members of the staff of the Survey Research Center: Angus Campbell, Morris Axelrod, Charles Cannell, Leslie Kish, George Katona, Jeanne Clare, and David Goldberg. The authors supervised the design of the study, field work, and coding, which were done at the center.

² Non-white couples were omitted mainly for two reasons: (1) it was believed desirable to concentrate our limited research resources on the major segment of the population, and (2) the comparable official vital statistics are less accurate for the non-white than for the white population.

³ P. K. Whelpton, *Forecasts of the Population of the United States, 1945-1975* (Washington: Bureau of the Census, Government Printing Office, 1947).

⁴ E.g., see P. K. Whelpton, *Cohort Fertility: Native White Women in the United States* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1954).

women will have in future years is dependent not only on their ages but also on the number of children they have already borne.

Even with such refinements, however, an extrapolation into the future requires some assumption about what the completed size of family (the average number of births by age forty-nine) will be for women who have not reached that age. There is no agreement among "experts" in the field as to what these assumptions should be. It is now clear that completed family size will be relatively small—about 2,320 births per 1,000 women living to age forty-nine—for women born during 1905-9. These women, it should be remembered, were twenty to twenty-four years old at the beginning of 1930; most of their younger childbearing years occurred during the depression decade. But while some people think that the size of completed family will rise sharply among later cohorts, others think that it probably will level off after a moderate recovery from the low mark, which was due, in part, to the depression.

A final determination of which of the various views about future fertility is correct must wait until the families of each cohort are finally completed. However, an important basis for a better forecast may be found in the present expectations about family size of women of childbearing age. The decisions about the number and spacing of children which are currently being made by millions of young families will determine in many of them the completed family size. It seems reasonable to go to these families to obtain data on the nature of these decisions and the values which lie behind them.

In the current study a national cross-section of wives in the childbearing years has been asked a variety of questions on expectations about completed size of family. They gave their own best estimates of the number of children they would have, as well as their opinions about the range that might result under several possible conditions. Obviously, such statements of expectations cannot be accepted at face value. However, for the demographer who faces the task of project-

ing the future births to women of a particular age and parity, the expectations and values of the women themselves are important.

In assessing such expectations, at least two important questions are immediately relevant: (1) To what extent do health and sterility affect the ability of married couples to have as many children as they want? (2) To what extent will these couples be able voluntarily to prevent conception after the birth of all the children wanted? (3) How will the number wanted be influenced by the future experience of the family?

To deal with these issues, the study includes questions regarding (1) physical and health impairments limiting the ability of the couple to have additional children, (2) the extent and success of past use of methods of family limitation and attitudes and intentions for future use, and (3) the changes (if any) which have already occurred in the number wanted and the reasons for them.

The probable influence, limiting or permissive, of these discovered facts on fecundity, on family limitation, and on the pattern of changes in desires with age and experience may be useful to "adjust" the statements of expectations. In the present study, two standard occasions for retrospection have been selected: just before marriage and about one year after the birth of a first child.

Apart from their value in adjusting expectation statements, the fecundity and family-limitation data may provide a better basis for the extrapolation of historical fertility trends, for they may permit such extrapolations to be based on a distribution of women not only by age and parity but also by fecundity and contraceptive status.

Even with adjustments for fecundity and contraceptive status, it is unlikely that the expectations can be accepted at face value as stating future behavior. Since this is admittedly an experimental venture, a variety of questions about fertility expectations and values have been asked, to provide guides for adjusting and evaluating statements of expectations in advance and also to permit

a later assessment of the kinds of statements having the most validity. Such statements of expectations will undoubtedly err in specifying the actual births for each cohort of women. A central objective will be to provide a basis for assessing the extent and the nature of this discrepancy.

In many respects, projecting birth rates on the basis of fertility expectations resembles the efforts begun a decade ago to improve the understanding and forecasting of economic trends by means of a national sample survey of consumer expectations, supplementing conventional data on historical economic trends. Like consumer expectation studies, those of fertility will profit by the repeated inquiry into expectations at regular intervals under varying economic and social conditions. They will also benefit by a comparison of expectation-based predictions and the actual fertility behavior as revealed later by census and vital statistics.

Data on expectations and norms about family size should be useful not only as a basis for population projections but also in the study of family organization. Personal and social norms about "ideal" family size and actual family size should vary in some relation to the functional significance of family size in major population strata.

2. *To improve our knowledge of the extent to which the postwar "baby boom" has resulted from an increase in the size of completed families and a change in the "timing" of children*

The annual fertility rate of native white women (the number of births per 1,000 women aged fifteen to forty-nine averaged about 70 during the 1930's, compared with 89 for the preceding decade and 85 for the following decade. During the 1930's and for some years thereafter, it was thought that the low fertility of that decade resulted mainly from a continuation of the long-time decline in the average number of children per family. There is evidence that this factor was of some importance. For example, the completed fertility rate of actual cohorts of

women (the number of births per 1,000 women in the cohort who live to age forty-nine) declined from about 3,120 for the native white cohorts of 1885-89 (most of whose babies were born before 1930) to about 2,320 for the cohorts of 1905-9.⁵ If the higher rate had continued and other conditions had been as they actually were, the number of births to native white women during the 1930's would have been larger by about 850,000. But we know now, as we did not know fifteen years ago, that the postponement of births during the depression years was more important. If during the 1930's there had not been this postponement on a large scale (i.e., if the pattern of the timing of births during the 1920's had continued) and other conditions had been as they actually were, native white women would have borne between 2,000,000 and 2,500,000 additional babies during the 1930's.⁶ In other words, we know now that the delaying of births during the 1930's was two and a half to three times as important as the decline in completed fertility rates in reducing the number of babies born in that decade.

During 1945-54 there was a "baby boom"; the annual fertility rate for native white women was 94 (it was 70 during the 1930's), and the number of these births has been larger by more than 50 per cent (30,700,000 instead of 19,000,000). There is evidence that at least four influences have been at work, namely, (1) the reversal of the long-time decline in the proportion of women marrying and having a child; (2) the stopping, and perhaps the reversing, of the long-time decline in the number of children per fertile couple (i.e., couple having children); (3) the making-up of births postponed during the depression and World War II; and (4) the decline in the age at first marriage and at the birth of the first child.

In considering how 1955-64 will differ from 1945-54 it is important to have fairly

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 159. The final rate for the cohorts of 1905-9 is a revision of the figure published earlier, utilizing the data now available for later years.

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 186-87; computed from data in Table 17.

accurate information about the strength of each of these factors: the first two have a long-time, but the last two have a temporary, effect. The proportion of white native women who married and bore a child declined from about 81 per cent in the cohorts of 1875-79 to 77 per cent in those of 1905-9.⁷ This loss has already been regained by the cohorts of 1902-24, but opinions differ as to whether the upward trend will stop soon or will continue to 90 per cent or even more. The average number of births per fertile native white women (i.e., per women bearing at least one child) decreased from about 4.3 for the cohorts of 1875-79 to 3.0 for those of 1905-9. While it is now almost certain that this trend will be reversed, there are widely diverging opinions (because of the scarcity of relevant facts) as to the size of the increase. Will it stop before 3.5 or go to 4.0 or more?

It has been estimated that at least 1,800,000 and perhaps as many as 2,900,000 babies were postponed by native white women from 1930-44 to 1945 or later and that most of them have been born by now.⁸ It has also been estimated that between 1,500,000 and 2,500,000 babies that native white women would have borne in 1955 or later according to the 1920's pattern of age at marriage and birth of children actually were born before 1955 as a result of the tendency to marry and start a family at younger ages which has persisted for more than a decade.⁹ These estimates are based on high and low "informed guesses" regarding changes in size of completed families; while they put the number of births added to 1945-54 by changes in timing at between 3,300,000 and 5,400,000 for native white women (or between 10 and 18 per cent of all

births to these women), the true figure may be even smaller or larger. Since the making-up of postponed births will be a negligible factor during the next ten years and the number of births advanced through earlier marriage will diminish greatly, it is important to narrow the range in these estimates as one step in improving our knowledge of how fertility between 1955 and 1964 will compare with that between 1945 and 1954.

Progress in measuring more accurately the number of births which were added to the 1945-54 period by each of the four factors mentioned can best be made, with present techniques, by improving our knowledge of changes in the average size of completed families. It will then be possible to make better estimates of the influence of the new timing pattern. If the information about changes in the number of children that couples are expecting, obtained in the present study, provides a good guide for future cohort fertility, our understanding of the postwar "baby boom" will be greatly improved. This will also be of substantial help in improving forecasts of annual fertility and fertility rates.

3. *To describe for the nation the differences in fertility behavior between major population strata, defined by various socioeconomic and cultural criteria*

This objective will provide data for the nation of a type previously available only for part of the Indianapolis population. For example, it will show the fertility planning status of the married women of childbearing age in certain major strata.

This objective involves extending our knowledge of differential fertility with respect to both the kinds of social groupings and the types of fertility behavior considered. On the one hand, it means adding to the socioeconomic characteristics usually considered in census publications such items as religion, cultural origins (e.g., rural-reared, ethnic background), social class, and occupational mobility. On the other hand, a fuller definition of fertility behavior calls for adding data on contraceptive history and

⁷ *Ibid.*, Tables A and B. These percentages are for women living to age forty-five.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 183.

⁹ P. K. Whelpton, "Using Cohort Tables To Evaluate Changes in the Timing of Births and an Increase in the Size of Completed Families as Causes of the Postwar 'Baby Boom' in the United States," *Proceedings of the World Population Conference, August 31 to September 10, 1954, Rome*, Table 4,

expectations and values about both family limitation and family size. Data on these relationships have intrinsic value not only in making population projections but especially in interpreting the changes in fertility for major strata of the population as they occur.

4. *To explore the relationships between a limited number of "basic" social and psychological variables, on the one hand, and fertility behavior, on the other*

One variable to be considered is the extent of involvement of the wife in activities outside the family, particular attention being directed to her work history and aspirations and her participation in voluntary organizations.

Another major group of variables being studied covers the economic history and prospects of the family as perceived by the respondent. We have utilized, as far as possible, questions comparable to those used by the economic program of the Survey Research Center of the University of Michigan. In consequence, it should be possible to "calibrate" the economic history and expectations of our sample of married women with those of the general population in 1955. This group of economic variables may be particularly important, since we know that the timing of births has varied in relation to economic trends. Also, the "feeling of economic security" was one of the significant variables in the study of social and psychological factors affecting the planned fertility of couples in the "Indianapolis" study.¹⁰

Another experimental variable, which may be designated as "personal competence," concerns the attitude of the respondent regarding her personal ability to plan and control her own future. Does she feel competent to control her environment or helpless and at the mercy of forces beyond her own control? This variable is regarded as promising, because in an earlier experi-

mental use by the Detroit Area Study it was found to be significantly related to statements about the "ideal" size for the average American family.

Other important social variables whose relation to fertility will be studied include some indexes of social mobility and the respondent's perception of the probable completed family size of close associates.

5. *To examine the replies to open questions and probes bearing on family-size values and expectations (which were used fairly extensively) in a search for other variables affecting family size*

In such open questions respondents were asked why they preferred to have the number of children they said they expected rather than a smaller number or a larger number and what changes in their circumstances might lead to changes in expected family size. They were also asked what things they found pleasant and what things not so pleasant about having and rearing children. Similarly, open questions were asked about attitudes on family limitation. Certain hypotheses will be tested in the analysis of the replies obtained. It is hoped also that new constellations of variables, which should be important in later studies, may be found and evaluated in a preliminary way.

6. *To formulate suitable methods of study*

No one has previously attempted to measure for the national population such variables as fecundity or family-limitation practices by interviewing a probability sample. Such a study poses many problems that are not present in intensive studies of clinical or local community populations, and so this study with respect to both accomplishments and errors should serve as a basis for improved methods in later studies. Such methodological developments from successive studies have occurred, for example, in the repeated studies of consumer expectations.

To meet the six major objectives that have been outlined briefly, each wife in the

¹⁰ Charles F. Westoff and Clyde V. Kiser, "Social and Psychological Factors Affecting Fertility: An Empirical Re-examination and Intercorrelation of Selected Hypotheses Factors," *Milbank Memorial Fund Quarterly*, XXXI, No. 4 (October, 1953), 421-35.

sample was questioned on the following topics:

1. Her marital history
2. Her pregnancy history, including dates and termination or product
3. The nature and history of the couple's physical deterrents to fertility, if any
4. General attitudes of wife and husband toward family limitation
5. The couple's past limitation practices (including type of method, regularity of use, and success in use) and intention regarding future use
6. Expectations about the number and birth dates of additional children and the reasons for these expectations
7. The ideal size for the average American family and for her own family
8. Her opinion of the rewards and problems of rearing children
9. The economic history of the family and her expectations for the future
10. Her work history and aspirations
11. Her feeling of personal competence
12. The characteristics of the wife and husband on such socioeconomic and cultural variables as income, occupation and labor-force background and current status, ethnic origin, farm background, and religious preference

The sample for the study is a probability area sample of white women aged eighteen to thirty-nine, currently married and either living with their husbands or temporarily separated by reason of the latter's service in the armed forces. A total of 2,713 interviews was undertaken with married women meeting these qualifications. In addition, 250 interviews were conducted with a national sample of white single women between the ages of eighteen and twenty-four, using a shorter schedule which emphasized family values.

To find the eligible respondents was a major task, since only about 40 per cent of the households in the United States include a white married woman aged eighteen to thirty-nine or a white single woman aged eighteen to twenty-four. The procedure was to select an area probability sample of about 8,500 households, for each of which inter-

views were requested whenever the roster included an eligible respondent. In addition, after most of the interviewing was completed, another visit was made to households where the eligibility of the respondent might be marginal (e.g., women reporting ages of forty or seventeen). Very few errors were discovered. Checks of eligibility rates with outside data indicate that our procedure was successful.

No substitutions were permitted for eligible respondents in the households of the probability sample. Numerous call-backs (up to seven in some cases) were made to interview the proper respondent. All interviews were taken by women interviewers of the national field staff of the Survey Research Center. The interviews averaged an hour and a quarter in length. An attempt, not always successful, was made to have them private.

The field work was successful, so far as success can be judged by a high response rate, the apparent co-operativeness of the respondents as reported by the interviewers, the interest of the interviewers, and the apparent internal consistency of the data as observed in preliminary analysis and coding. Interviews were completed with 91 per cent of the eligible respondents in the sample. This compares very favorably with the average response rate for national sample surveys having probability samples. The 9 per cent non-response rate is about evenly divided between refusals (about 5 per cent) and cases in which interviews were not obtained because of illness or disability of the respondent, temporary absence, or inability to find the respondent after at least three visits by the interviewer.

In advance of the field work there were many doubts that the response rate could be kept sufficiently high in a national sample survey which included questions relating to pregnancy history, sterility, and family-limitation practices. That in the context of a family-growth study these doubts and fears are not justified is indicated by the exceptionally high response rate and by the respondents' unusual interest and co-opera-

tiveness. Perhaps this reflects the fact that young single women and wives under forty feel more competent to answer questions on family-growth problems than on the broad issues of economic and political policy usually covered in public opinion surveys.

There is also internal evidence in the interviews themselves. Of 2,713 wives interviewed, only 12 were unwilling to answer the set of questions dealing with their family-limitation practices. This internal refusal rate is considerably less, for example, than that generally reported for surveys on such topics as income or savings or choice of political candidates. In fact, in this study fewer women were unwilling to answer questions about family-limitation practices than about family income.¹¹

The validity of the responses in the survey will undoubtedly vary according to type of question. The surface evidence that comes from reading and coding the interviews is that most of the respondents have answered the questions honestly and sincerely. As the analysis proceeds, it will be possible to assess the validity of the answers to some questions by comparison with external criteria in published census and vital statistics reports. On such matters as number of live births, number of multiple births, and labor-force status, the sample, so far, conforms closely to benchmark data. A certain number of inter-

nal consistency checks can also be made. In 1960 the distributions of family-size expectations for 1955-59 can be checked against actual births. This last kind of comparison is not really a check on the honesty or validity of expectation statements, of course, since expectations honestly held and expressed this year may change as a result of social trends or unexpected changes in a family's situation.

The favorable reception of the survey by respondents was foreshadowed by a systematic pretest three months prior to the full-scale field operation. One hundred interviews, taken in four counties with widely differing economic, religious, and ethnic characteristics, indicated the respondents' general acceptance of the interview schedule and also provided clues for improving the questions.

It is hoped that the major findings of the study will be available by the middle of 1956. The first report will deal mainly with the differential fertility behavior of major population strata and with the projection of births during 1955-70 on the basis of the new data and the cohort fertility tables which are now available.

One of the significant contributions of the study is already clear, namely, that questions of family growth can be investigated without serious difficulty in surveys of samples that can yield national parameters.

¹¹ This is believed to be in part due to letters of indorsement obtained from two sponsoring committees, one composed of distinguished laymen and the other of distinguished medical men.

OF TIME, THE CITY, AND THE "ONE-YEAR GUARANTY": THE RELATIONS BETWEEN WATCH OWNERS AND REPAIRERS¹

FRED L. STRODTBECK AND MARVIN B. SUSSMAN

ABSTRACT

Why is a standard price charged for watch repairs of differing complexity? A "spare-parts technology" has brought about an obsolescence of craftsman skills which could not be hidden in a detailed discussion of repairs. The "clean-and-adjust" practice, which results in the standard price, avoids status threats. When this practice is coupled with a "one-year guaranty" to protect watch owners, mutual benefits arise which make particularized costing unlikely.

The amount a watch owner pays for the repair of a watch is not closely related to the repairer's costs. In classical economic theory, discriminative pricing is believed to be a short-run instance of imperfect competition, and it is therefore predicted that a service priced to reflect more closely the cost to the repairer will eventually be brought about. In this paper the writers present the basis for the prediction that a generalized and, in an economic sense, discriminatory price will continue to be charged for watch-repair services.

In each of the three sections which follow, a primary consideration is given the technology of the watch. The groundwork of the argument rests upon the obsolescence of certain previously prestigious skills and the limited risk to a repairer who guarantees a repair. The repairer's work situation is developed in terms of the historical position of the craft, the requirements of daily operations, and the repairer's ultimate occupational aspirations. Finally, the typical watch owner's perspective of watch mechanisms is presented, to complete the matrix of factors used in the interpretation of current price practices.

THE WATCH MECHANISM AND REPAIR TECHNOLOGY

The evolution from the clock operated by weights to the modern watch involved essentially three inventions: the mainspring, the spiral balance spring, and jewel bearings.

¹ Incidental direct expenses incurred in this study have been met from a Ford Foundation grant-in-aid.

The mainspring is believed to have been invented by Henlein, between 1500 and 1510. The principle of motive power involved in this invention, i.e., the use of a coiled steel spring for the source of power, has not been altered since 1700, although improvements in the size, tension, and quality of mainsprings have been made.

The accuracy of the modern watch is dependent upon the invention of the spiral balance spring by Huygens and Hooke in the seventeenth century and upon the promotion of its widespread use by the watchmaker Julien LeRoy a century later. This spring, popularly known as the "hair-spring," is a delicate, coiled steel spring, "set" on the balance wheel to control the circular motion of the balance. Without the constant harmonic motion of the balance wheel (to and fro, back and forth), accurate timekeeping would be impossible.

Other improvements in the watch mechanism which came after the mainspring and hairspring include the perfection of wheels, gears, pinion teeth, and pivots. The most notable of these was the use of jewels (pierced rubies or synthetic corundum) as pivot holes by Nicholas Fatio, the Swiss geometer, in 1704. Jewel bearings reduced friction between moving parts so that watch pieces could be made smaller, their size being determined by the strength of the steel pivots set in jeweled pivot holes.

By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Henlein, Huygens, and others had discovered the basic principles of watch construction. Watches made for Queen Elizabeth I had been in operation for more than

two hundred years. The watchmaker, associated with royalty and with the prestige of the sciences of geometry and mechanics, was a skilled craftsman working at the most advanced technology of his time. Although from that time forward development of the theoretical science of watchmaking virtually stopped, the rapid and continuous advance of general machine technology made it possible by 1860 to drill plate holes and manufacture jewels with precision sufficient to allow the setting of jewels by pressure alone.²

Up to the turn of the twentieth century the watchmaker, with some salvage parts and bits of metal, could duplicate the wheels, pinions, or any other part needed for repair. The skill required for this task was almost equal to that of earlier times, when the watchmaker started the manufacture of a handmade watch by scratching out pivot locations on a blank metal base plate. Experience and ability to operate complex hand tools were essential. But, by 1900, machine tools adequate for producing the 125 standardized interchangeable parts which go into the average watch were perfected by Swiss technologists.

In America, after World War I, supply-parts catalogues and channels for the distribution of interchangeable watch parts manufactured in Switzerland were rapidly developed. Today a judiciously organized portable cabinet can contain most of the tools and watch parts required to repair a large variety of standard watch models. The other parts a repairman needs in his work can be obtained through material-supply houses. If he needs a hairspring vibrated (a skilled operation of coiling the spring and curving of the brequet loop according to the weight of the balance) or a radium-figured dial repainted or if he has a watch that he has failed to repair after several tries, a "sticker," he can obtain the services of more experienced workmen. If a smashed or rusted watch movement, the present of a loved one, must for sentimental reasons be

replaced, the repairer can obtain another movement.

There have been no contrasting developments in recent years to complicate watch repair and offset the very great reduction in mechanical skill which this availability of spare parts has involved. This holds despite the increased distribution of very small ladies' watches. The smaller watches demand only slightly more careful handling to insure that parts will not be damaged in the process of repair. The one major innovation in repair technology during the last twenty years is the electronic timer. By placing a watch in this machine and adjusting it to various positions, the repairer can, in about 1 minute, extrapolate the accuracy of time performance of the mechanism over a 24-hour period. Differential performance in three positions provides a diagnostic test for a number of causes of watch stoppage, e.g., binding gears, oily or bent hairspring, balance out of true and poise, etc. Yet, while the electronic timer is a recent and helpful innovation, the very great simplification of watch repairing may be attributed almost entirely to the availability of spare parts. The extent of this simplification is illustrated by the ordnance training program utilized during the second World War: in 15 weeks inexperienced men with mechanical aptitude could be taught to use spare parts in the maintenance and repair of army timepieces.³

The use of whatever machine skills the repairer may possess to make wheels, pinions, or other watch parts is now "obsolete." Parts are available at very low cost: winding stems for standard-model watches, for example, cost as little as 75 cents a dozen. The price is far less than the value of the time required to make a stem from steel stock. If parts are not available, a substitute movement of equal quality can usually be obtained for less than \$10.00. If none of these courses is practical, a new watch can be had

² A recent and readable history of the watch is given in James R. McCarthy, *A Matter of Time* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

³ *War Department Technical Manual, TM 9-1575: Ordnance Maintenance, Wrist Watches, Pocket Watches, Stop Watches, and Clocks* (Washington, D.C.: War Department, April, 1945).

at low cost, e.g., a new seventeen-jewel, waterproof watch with shock-resistant movement, compactly designed, timed to a probable tolerance of 10-15 seconds a day, is available for less than \$20.00. Thus, during the last thirty years the watch repairer has ceased to be a craftsman and is virtually an assembler and adjuster—a person with primary knowledge of spare-parts supply channels, plus experience and a degree of kinesthetic co-ordination.⁴

THE REPAIRER'S WORK SITUATION

In the trade literature two recurrent themes are used to justify watch repairing as an occupation: freedom of action as a self-employable and security. Typical expressions from two interviews in a pilot set of fifteen are given here:

There is nothing like being your own boss. When I come down to the shop in the morning, if I feel like working hard or if I have to, I can run them off the griddle like hotcakes. If I don't feel like working, I can take in a ball game and even close down the shop. As long as you get the work done when you promise it, you can do it on your own time. Nobody knows what you put into it.

As long as you have the skill, you can always do enough repairs to pay the rent, light, and get enough to live on. The rest is gravy. If you sell a watch now and then, you make a 100 per cent profit—it's a gift. Why should I work for someone else?

Virtually all repairers have sales sidelines. Secondhand watches, standard watches, bracelets, and cigarette lighters are the first items stocked. If the repairer is successful, he will increase his sales, rent larger space, and may eventually hope to own a jewelry store.

The repairer at the bench is virtually cer-

⁴ Lay conceptions of watch repairing emphasize the visual activity, but actually "touch" becomes extremely important in many operations. Pearl H. H. King has previously described the disposition to overestimate the visual component of a precision job in hosiery manufacture (see "Task Perception and Inter-personal Relations in Industrial Training," *Human Relations*, I [1947], 121-30, 373-412).

tain of being able to "make his time" at straightforward repair work. During the spring and summer of 1953 at current rates in New England, a good worker turned out forty repairs and twenty to thirty adjustments per week, which grossed between \$150 and \$200. If the repairer hires another worker, he may make an additional \$75-\$100 per week. This income compares favorably with skilled machinist jobs in industry. There are seasonal slumps when work is not available, which reduce this income, but this threat is more than counterbalanced by the possibility of a retail sale.

The nature of the "best practice" to be taught watchmaker trainees is continually under debate in the technical journals of the British and American horological societies. One of the most interesting controversies has dealt with the use of watch-cleaning machines. The conventional way of cleaning disassembled watch parts was to string them on a fine wire, then dip them successively into a cleaning solution and two rinses, then dry them with a hand blower. The cleaning machine utilizes a small wire basket into which the disassembled parts can be dumped, then successively whirled in the three solutions, and dried. The machine is semiautomatic, so the repairer can be working at another job while the cleaning takes place, the parts get a uniform finish, and the repairman is spared the inconvenience of getting his fingers in the various solutions. Watch manufacturers and horological societies generally oppose the use of these machines.

Carpenters' opposition to power saws and painters' opposition to wider brushes are understandable as resistance to the contractor's effort to reduce labor costs, but it is not clear why the horological societies would resist an innovation which would save time for the self-employed watch repairer. The watch repairer, not a contractor, would profit from the economy of time. As we explored this problem with representatives from both sides of the argument, we discovered an interesting variance in the use of the term "cleaned." To clean a watch

implies complete disassembly, including the removal of all capped jewels and covered parts. However, it is apparently not unknown for watch repairers to compromise by only partially disassembling the watch. Experts all agree in informal conversation that *if the watch is completely disassembled*, there is no objection to the cleaning machine if the repairer continues to hand-clean with peg wood the pivot holes, jewels, and other crevice parts. Thus it appears that the rejection of the cleaning machine because of its possible misuse is a primitive control mechanism which would not be invoked if there was, in fact, an effectively operating system of internal regulation.⁵

WATCH OWNER'S REACTIONS TO WATCHES AND REPAIRERS

In 1941, *Reader's Digest* sent a male and female investigator to 462 watch repairmen in 48 states. To each repairman they presented a well-known American watch in first-class running condition except for an obvious defect. Just before entering the shop they would loosen the crown wheel screw, disengaging the gears so that the watch would no longer wind. In the watches used, the screw is conspicuous and accessible. If the repairer failed to replace the crown screw immediately, he was defined as cheating the customer. Of the 462 watchmakers, 236 made the repair immediately. However, 226, or 49 per cent, "lied, overcharged, gave phony diagnoses, or suggested extensive and unnecessary repairs." On the basis of this evidence, Roger William Riis, the *Reader's Digest* editor, chose to title his report, "The Watch Repair Man Will Gyp You if You Don't Look Out." A criterion of

value which results in classifying half of the shops contacted as "gyp shops" must be more stringent than the criterion of value which the patrons use. This article undoubtedly did not improve the public's attitude toward watch-repair shops. Indeed, the instituting of the study and the tenor of the report may be taken as evidence of generally unfavorable public relations.

A man known to the writers to have a broad command of general technology commented: "Watch repairers are all crooks. They substitute poor parts or works for good. I knew a little old man in Boston. He could be trusted, but he is dead. Now I don't know where to go." It is hard to believe that if he had known the low value of watch parts he would have feared the substitution of parts. The mechanism in a \$75 and \$200 watch by the same manufacturer is approximately the same, the differences being confined to the case and the trimmings.

The association of the number of jewels with the price of a watch has given rise to the belief that the jewels themselves have intrinsic value. To determine the extent of this belief, the writers administered a questionnaire to 140 adult students in an evening college and found that only 22 per cent knew that watch jewels were synthetic stones or hard glass of little intrinsic value. The remainder believed watch jewels were semiprecious or precious stones. Replacement jewels are obtained by the repairer at costs varying from 5 to 25 cents each. Since watch jewels are easily damaged in removal and the replacement of a jewel takes about a half-hour, it would appear that concern about watch jewels while a watch is in the repairer's custody is unfounded.

The opportunity for exercise of a salesman's guile arises in the conversation in which the watch is accepted for repair. During this conversation, the repairer searches for cues to the motivation of the watch owner. If there is a complaint about previous unsuccessful repair attempts, after checking the marks inside the case to insure that he has not worked on the watch before,

⁵ The watch manufacturers have attempted to raise levels of competence and integrity by lending their support to the United Horological Association of America, Inc., which works for licensing laws and related occupational controls. The growth in the number of watchmakers from a prewar total of about 25,000 to 40,000 in 1949 has hampered efforts to maintain high repair standards. This increase is an oversupply, since replacement needs are estimated to be only 1,000 per year (*Occupational Outlook Handbook* [U.S. Department of Labor and the Veterans' Administration Bull. No. 998] [1951]).

the repairer suggests that the previous repairers were "butchers." If the watch owner brings in the watch as a challenge to the repairer's skill, the watch can be taken in with the suggestion that the repair may be expensive; and if a great compulsion by the watch owner to have the "correct" time is revealed, then the idea of buying a new watch will be introduced.

Of the 80 persons in our sample of 140 who had had experience with watch repairers, approximately two-thirds received and believed what appears to be poor counsel. For example, one respondent who had been troubled by a series of broken mainsprings, on advice of his repairer, retired his expensive American watch to a bank vault because it was so "sensitive" that changes in temperature broke it. Even though poor technique in installation is a more probable explanation, this respondent described his repairer as "an excellent craftsman." A girl informant had been convinced by her repairer that it was the magnetism of her body that caused her watch to stop. Another informant, who still believed his repairer was "very honest," reported that for a time he had to have his watch "cleaned" every month. When the repairer finally told the owner that "his skin was rough on a watch," the owner complained only that he should have been told sooner that he couldn't wear wrist watches. In the watch industry it is well known that body magnetism and skin condition can have no effects on watch operation.⁶

To obtain a more representative set of the discussion between the watch owner and the repairer when watches are brought in for repairs, the writers arranged to have a concealed microphone placed in a moderate-sized repair shop for a two-week period. While interviewing repairers concerning the time required for common repair operations, additional field observations were made in

six other shops. A model discussion is well exemplified by the following:

A customer approached the repairer and told him that her watch would not wind and that she thought the mainspring was broken. The repairer while seated at his bench, removed the movement from its case and examined it carefully, peering through his eye loop. After a minute or so he turned to the customer and said: "The mainspring is not broken. It is the click spring that is gone."

"Oh! I thought it was the mainspring because I couldn't wind it," replied the customer.

"No," said the repairer, "it is the little click spring which holds the click in place—this is broken." He continued: "When did you have this watch cleaned? It is dirty and dry, and probably the click spring broke because the old oil dried up."

"Well, I don't remember when I had it cleaned but it was running fine before it broke." The repairer, "I won't want to take it in for just a click spring and then guarantee it. If I replace the click, it may break again in a week, or some other part may go at any time. The oil is dried out and the watch should be taken apart, thoroughly cleaned and oiled, and then timed. If we overhaul it, we will replace worn parts and then guarantee it for one year. This is a fine watch and will give you many more years of good service."

"How much will that cost?"

"The complete job, the watch will be overhauled, is \$8.50."

"Well, all right, you will guarantee it then?"

"Yes, for one year, if you have any trouble with it, we will take care of it."

"When can I have it?"

"A week from today."

"Oh! Can't I have it for Saturday?"

"Well, I will try. If you are downtown, why don't you drop by?"

Here the owner volunteered a diagnosis involving the mainspring: mainspring breakage is often suggested by people with little mechanical sophistication. Then the repairer corrected the owner's diagnosis before accepting the work, and he assumed certain obligations by promising to overhaul the watch for \$8.50. From the owner's standpoint confirmation was received that repair was possible and that her financial obligation would not exceed \$8.50. The "guaranty

⁶ Watches can be made inoperative by magnetism, but such changes cannot be effected by magnetic potentials of the human body. These misconceptions are frequently discussed in the horological literature.

for one year" was mentioned just before she relinquished her watch.

The click spring in question is a standard part usually purchased in gross lots. Replacement of a click spring takes less than 10 minutes; careful disassembly, cleaning, and reassembling of the watch takes less than 90 minutes. Why did the watch repairer in this instance insist on the excessive delay? Do such delays impress the watch owner that the repairer is a busy man, or does the watch owner believe that the repairer is going to check the performance of the watch at different times? One might guess that the delay has the partial justification of enabling the repairer to work when he chooses and at his own rate of speed. Delay may also enable him to obtain the spare parts he requires, but our experience strongly suggests that the delay is often utilized as a technique to conceal the simplicity of many repair operations. Such delays are the regular procedure even when spare parts are available and there is no backlog of work on hand.

The owner often questions whether his watch is worth repairing. The common practice is to tell him what it would cost to buy an equivalent new watch. When the watch owner has been negligent, e.g., permitting his watch to become rusty, he is chided by the repairer, "Why didn't you bring this in right away? This is certainly a mess now." If the owner responds as if he does feel guilty for dropping or neglecting the watch, the watch repairer does not work hard to establish the legitimacy of the charge he proposes. He proceeds to sell his service as if he enjoyed the full confidence of the owner, and the owner may reciprocate by expressing his relief to learn that the negligence can be rectified.

When the watch owner questions the repairer's diagnosis, the repairer has his defense. He may introduce technical descriptions with which the layman cannot argue. A spokesman for the industry has recently illustrated this use of technical jargon in remarking:

George Bennett's contention in taking in a watch was . . . no use in telling a customer his watch needs cleaning, give him a good story, mostly something like "Your watch can be repaired all right, fusee chain is causing friction on the barrel, making the third wheel bind on the center wheel" or "the hairspring is rubbing on the third wheel, causing friction on the roller jewel." Don't think he ever took in a watch for a mainspring without saying that the center wheel of the third pinion was broken. . . . Surprisingly enough, he never seemed to lose a customer.⁷

Actually, the use of technical terms with the client is not increasing. In the more modern shops the trend is to suggest simply that the watch be cleaned and adjusted (e.g., overhauled) and to guarantee the repair for one year. A price of from \$6.00 to \$10.00 is quoted for the job, depending upon the location of the shop and the status of the clientele. With a ceiling on the possible cost and mention of a guaranty, the owner turns the watch over to be repaired without further conditions.

DISCUSSION

Most simply stated, watches are mechanisms for slowly releasing tension on springs. They tend to work for long periods without repair of any kind. This essentially technological characteristic enters into the social matrix of owner-repairer relations, in so far as it prevents the owner in most cases from developing the personalized relationship with the repairer that he would with service agents who are visited more often.

The technology of the watch—once the claim of the watchmaker to the highest status in the craftsman hierarchy—is now the point of entry for threats to the watch re-

⁷ Kenneth C. Saalmans, "General Repairs and the Public," address given to the international meeting of the Horological Institute of the American and Canadian Jewelers' Institute, October 2, 1950, Dearborn Inn, Michigan (printed in *Horological Institute of America Journal*, December, 1950). The humor of Bennett's story depends on knowledge of timepiece nomenclature: fusee chains were once used in watches, but in modern times their only equivalent is the chain used to wind weight-operated cuckoo clocks.

pairer's status. Interchangeable parts have so reduced the value of metalworking skills that it is fair to say that the bench lathe is more frequently used as a showpiece than as a tool. The continued mechanization of watch manufacture by the Swiss has held the price of serviceable timepieces very low. A further ceiling upon the value of the watch repairer's service is the elasticity of the supply, for if the rewards for watch repairing were to rise sharply, technical-school graduates, who could enter repairing after a year's training, would be quickly attracted to the field.

Since the sale of watches and jewelry is at present widely dispersed and since at each point of retail distribution the services of a repairer are required, there is little prospect that there will be in the near future an integration of watch repairing into a centralized bureaucratic enterprise. This interdependence of the repairer and the jewelry store has social consequences. A repairer can observe that the jeweler doesn't sell all items for the same markup; and, by analogy, he can ask: Why should I charge in direct relation to bench time?

The outright shift from being a watch repairer to operating a jewelry store is not usually possible because the repairer lacks the \$20,000 capital normally required for the original investment in equipment and stock in a modern jewelry store.⁸ Jewelry has a high markup and a slow turnover. As much as fifteen years may be required to develop a firmly established business. The repairer starts with watch bands and lighters, and, if this is successful, more jewelry may be added. This mode of expanding into a jewelry business is now threatened by the very successful expansion of department stores into the jewelry field. Though it is difficult for the repairer to achieve the goal of operating a jewelry store, the importance

of the possibility of making profit "like a jeweler" cannot be overemphasized. The sideline sales, the chance of personally profiting from a transaction which involves no bench time—this is what the watch repairer really alludes to when he says, "You're your own boss."

Whenever an owner appears before a repairman's counter, a conflict of interest is potentially present. The position of confidence attributed to the repairman in such negotiations is strengthened each time he successfully repairs a watch for a particular customer; but it is almost equally true that each time a watch stops, the owner's confidence in the repairer is threatened. The repairer may have worked on component A, and the watch may stop because of a failure of component B; the owner does not recognize these distinctions. The training of the owner into more informed expectations is unlikely, because in many cases he is little interested in detail. His position is pragmatic: he wants his watch in running order. The repairer, on the other hand, avoids discussions which involve possible exposure of the simple exchange of parts which is the base of most repairs.

The horological societies, which have the charter function of improving the watch repairer's "hazy, undefined and rather unfavorable" relationship to the public, do little to discipline repairers.⁹ They attempt to create favorable public opinion by stressing the continuation in modern watch repairing of the old craftsman traditions. If the repairer has lost the pride in workmanship of the craftsman, he nonetheless clings to the philosophy of individualism which Veblen and others have associated with handicraft social organization.¹⁰ He does not recognize that his personal profit is related to the public relations objectives which may be sought as supra-individual organiza-

⁸ Sam Mintz, *Establishing and Operating a Jewelry Store* (Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, Government Printing Office, 1946), and *The Jewelry Trade* (Bull. 3-7, "Trade Series," U.S. Census of Business [Washington, D.C.: United States Department of Commerce, 1948]).

⁹ *United We Stand* (New York: United Horological Association of America, Inc., April, 1952) (brochure).

¹⁰ See Thorstein Veblen, *The Instinct of Workmanship* (New York: Macmillan Co., 1914), particularly chap. vi, "The Era of Handicraft."

tional goals. Collateral organizations have not grown to regulate standards and reduce invidious comparisons. Licensing in seventeen states is the closest approach to internal control which has evolved.¹¹ In the main, the repairer faces the "self-other" dilemmas of his operations outside the framework of a protective or regulative institutional context.

It is almost axiomatic, in the face of the possible exploitation of the watch owner by the repairer, that a means for controlling and regularizing their relations would arise. The point of interest is the form this means will take. The solution now being adopted throughout America emerges quite clearly. Without discussion of the details of the repair, the repairer offers to clean and adjust the watch for a fixed sum. The owner is reassured by a social contract, the continued operation of his watch for one year is guaranteed. The guaranty, quickly given and confirmed by a stub, is an impersonal matter at the time of its issue, but it is at the same time a bona fide promise of performance directed at the very core of the owner's concerns.

At first glance, a repair guaranty appears to have some relation to law and legal authority, but the question of whether or not a particular guaranty is enforceable in the courts is strictly academic. The demonstrable loss that a watch owner might suffer from a failure of the repairer to work further on a watch would not exceed \$10.00. In practice, the only loss which threatens the repairer, if he fails to recognize the guaranty, is the loss of a customer and some increment of business good will. On the other hand, if the repairer chooses to recognize the guaranty, as most of them do, the owner is relieved, and the repairer creates a favorable impression as a responsible workman. Even in the absence of the present-day combination of watch repairing and various sales lines, the repairer has little to lose by taking

the time to do an "N.C.," a no-charge job. Now, with the increasing emphasis upon sales on the side, the honoring of a guaranty becomes an asset in so far as it predisposes the watch owner, both by his presence in the store and by his closer and now "tested" relationship with the repairer, to make other purchases.

In summary, Riis's finding that 50 per cent of the repairers wanted to accept the test watch on some grounds unrelated to the immediate difficulty emerges in a new light. What Riis in his popular treatment considered unmitigated chicanery may be alternately viewed as an attempt to use a "clean-and-adjust" job, guaranty included, as a basis for regularizing the business relationship between the watch owner and the repairer.

The emergent business pattern is an amalgam of matters of *time* and the *city*. The old craftsman tradition, the new spare-parts technology, the owner's naïveté, the limited risk of the guaranty, and the similarity in causes of different watch failures are all intertwined in the technology of time-keeping. The threat of exploitative relations and the anonymity arising from mobility and infrequent experience with specialized crafts are a part of the social complex of the city. The "one-year guaranty," serving as it does to meet different, but complementary, needs of the owner and repairer, causes standard costs to be charged for very different services. Noting the increasing use of the "clean-and-adjust, one-year guaranty" practice and noting also the cost to a customer of collecting sufficient watch information to permit him to defend his claim to a particularized price, one doubts that this trend will be arrested. Despite the contrary predictions of competitive economic theory, it is believed that the present case constitutes a valid instance in which a matrix of social and technological factors now support, and will in the foreseeable future continue to support, a discriminatory pricing system.

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WESTERN RESERVE UNIVERSITY

¹¹ In this connection Wisconsin has pioneered with a model law (see State of Wisconsin Board of Examiners in Watchmaking, *Regulations Relating to the Practice of Watchmaking* [1946]) (pamphlet).

AUTHORITARIANISM AND URBAN STRATIFICATION

WILLIAM J. MACKINNON AND RICHARD CENTERS

ABSTRACT

An authoritarianism-equalitarianism scale was included in the interviews of a cross-section of the population in Los Angeles County. The results were related to variables of stratification and social class. Among manual workers no significant differences appear between the percentages of authoritarians at different periods of life; within the stratum of non-manual workers, however, such differences do appear: authoritarianism is related inversely to education, occupation, and other stratification variables. The percentage of authoritarians in the working class exceeds that in the middle class, and authoritarianism increases with intensity of class identification.

That antidemocratic ideology springs from authoritarian predispositions is a thesis that may help greatly to explain apparent contemporary tendencies to discard liberal political values where they exist and to resist their acceptance where they have not yet gained ascendancy.

Since theory and investigation relating ideology to personality have already led to the creation of instruments for detecting antiliberal potentialities, the tracing of these tendencies throughout our society has become highly attractive, imperfect though the instruments still are. Knowing the distribution of such forces among the various strata of society may provide insight into their bearing upon social processes and the nature of their determinants.

This report presents the relationships between authoritarianism and various indexes of social position revealed in an opinion survey conducted in Los Angeles. A brief review of some previous studies of authoritarianism will precede the presentation of results.

During interviews designed to evaluate the effects of group atmospheres, Lewin, Lippitt, and White¹ found that only one of twenty boys involved stated that he liked his leader in autocracy better than his leader in democracy. The exceptional subject, son of an army officer, "consciously put a high

value on strict discipline. As he expressed it, the autocratic leader 'was the strictest, and I like that a lot.'"²

Although authoritarianism thus gained some attention in early field-theoretical experimentation, it did not emerge as a concept of central importance until the publication soon afterward of the neopsychoanalytic theories of Erich Fromm.³ These, based on a keen observation of past and present trends of events in western European and American society, included penetrating portrayal of the role of sado-masochistic tendencies in fascism. The authoritarian, with his tendencies to cruel domination of the weak and abject submission to the strong, desires to escape from psychological isolation (the negative side of freedom in the modern industrial world) into the pseudo-security of totalitarianism. One of the consequences of Fromm's work was its stimulation of further theorizing and research, such as the California studies in personality documented in *The Authoritarian Personality*.⁴ The latter investigation, combining Likert scaling procedures with depth interviewing and projective techniques, attempted to demonstrate by the study of special groups that authoritarian personality trends, mainly established within the family during childhood,

² *Ibid.*, p. 284.

³ *Escape from Freedom* (New York: Farrar & Rinehart, 1941).

⁴ T. W. Adorno, Else Frenkel-Brunswick, D. J. Levinson, and R. N. Sanford, *The Authoritarian Personality* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1950).

¹ Kurt Lewin, R. Lippitt, and R. K. White, "Patterns of Aggressive Behavior in Experimentally Created 'Social Climates,'" *Journal of Social Psychology*, X (1939), 271-99.

largely determine the existence and inter-correlations of anti-Semitism, general ethnocentrism, and politicoeconomic conservatism. With a modified and abridged version of the F(ascism) Scale used by the California group and with projective and other devices applied to a representative sample in Philadelphia, Sanford⁵ analyzed the American orientation toward leadership. A recent volume,⁶ constructively criticizing the Berkeley classic, voices the need to relate authoritarianism (and the connection between authoritarianism and its correlates) to such qualities as education and social class. The present writers hope to contribute to the subject in the present article.

PROCEDURES OF MEASUREMENT AND ANALYSIS

The Short Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale,⁷ primarily derived from the F Scale, and previously used in a Philadelphia survey, provided a ready means of gathering requisite information. The interview began with an identifying reference to the University of California at Los Angeles Studies in Public Opinion and progressed through several questions suggestive of a political poll, after which the interviewer introduced the following items with the standardized words: "Here are a few statements which are often heard. Will you please tell me whether you agree or disagree with them, and whether you agree or disagree a little, pretty much, or very much":

⁵ Fillmore H. Sanford, *Authoritarianism and Leadership* (Philadelphia: Stephenson Bros., 1950).

⁶ Richard Christie and Marie Jahoda (eds.), *Studies in the Scope and Method of "The Authoritarian Personality"* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954).

⁷ Fillmore H. Sanford and H. J. Older, *A Short Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale* (Progress Report No. 6, Series A [Philadelphia: Institute for Research in Human Relations, 1950]). Following an appraisal by the scale's authors, we omitted one item of the original battery of eight questions, as had been done in a special validation study of the scale: Joan Eager and M. B. Smith, "A Note on the Validity of Sanford's Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVII (April, 1952), 265-67.

1. Human nature being what it is, there must always be war and conflict.
2. The most important thing a child should learn is obedience to his parents.
3. A few strong leaders could make this country better than all the laws and talk.
4. Most people who don't get ahead just don't have enough willpower.
5. Women should stay out of politics.
6. People sometimes say that an insult to your honor should not be forgotten.
7. People can be trusted.⁸

The score assigned to responses on each item varies from 1 to 6, 1 being assigned for extreme disagreement, and 6 for extreme agreement (except for the final item, which is reverse-scored). A respondent's score for the scale as a whole is simply an arithmetical average of his scores for the separate items. By ranking these total scores and seeking a median, it was possible to divide individuals into equal numbers of "authoritarians" and "equalitarians."⁹

Interviews were conducted in a sample of Los Angeles County census tracts, the demographic characteristics of which had been previously identified.¹⁰ The instructions included directions to interview equal numbers of males and females, half of which in each case were to be over forty years of age. A cross-section of socioeconomic levels had already been assured, in effect, in that each interviewer had been assigned a quota in each of four census tracts of different and (approximately) known social rank. These ranged from the poorest to the wealthiest areas. The bulk of the 460 interviews were conducted between December 20, 1953, and January 1, 1954.

Although the sample thus secured appears to contain some underrepresentation at the lower and some overrepresentation at the upper socioeconomic levels, it seems suf-

⁸ Sanford and Older, *op. cit.*, p. 4.

⁹ Involved in this procedure was the breaking of some ties by rescoring after elimination of some poorer items.

¹⁰ E. Shevsky and M. Williams, *The Social Areas of Los Angeles* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1949).

ficiently representative to depict actual local conditions. Whether the relationships and differences discussed herein apply to other areas and at other periods cannot easily be decided, for the degree of authoritarianism can, of course, vary in subcultural areas,¹¹ and can even change for the same individuals as circumstances change.¹² Limiting inferential extension of the findings of this survey to other comparable American cities is obviously necessary.

Differences in authoritarianism within and between various sociological and social-psychological groups of Los Angeles were analyzed with the aid of certain convenient statistical tools. The binomial¹³ applied to the original frequencies made it possible to determine with what probability the percentage division of authoritarians and equalitarians departed from a fifty-fifty balance within groups. A nomograph¹⁴ facilitated the determination of which differences between levels or strata were significant at the 5 per cent level. The results of both types of analysis are included in the tables, which present

¹¹ Richard Christie and J. Garcia, "Subcultural Variation in Authoritarian Personality," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVI (1951), 457-69.

¹² Richard Christie, "Changes in Authoritarianism as Related to Situational Factors," *American Psychologist*, VII (1952), 307-8 (abstract).

¹³ W. J. Dixon and A. M. Mood, "The Statistical Sign Test," *Journal of the American Statistical Association*, XLI (1946), 557-66. These writers present a table of two-tail percentage points for the binomial for $p = .5$ and N between 1 and 100. The table and accompanying approximation formulas for $N > 100$ were used herein to test significance of departures from fifty-fifty distributions, but no significance levels are reported if the sample involved is smaller than 15. If instead the chi-square technique with the same significance levels (.25, .10, .05, and .01) had been used, the results, though practically identical, would have been achieved with greater labor.

¹⁴ Robert P. Hinshaw, "The Relationship of Information and Opinion to Age" (unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Princeton University, 1944). The nomograph, constructed by Hinshaw, is conservative. A rule of thumb suggested by Quinn McNemar in *Psychological Statistics* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1949) determined whether sample sizes and percentages were such as to permit a statistical test to be made between two groups. Corrections for continuity were made in such comparisons.

the incidences of authoritarianism for the variables of age, education, ethnic group, occupation, socioeconomic status, social class, and social class intensity.

THE FINDINGS AND THEIR PROBABLE MEANING¹⁵

AUTHORITARIANISM IN THE LIFE- CYCLE OF STRATA

Two points are notable about Table 1, which relates authoritarianism to age. In general, authoritarianism increases with age, becoming pronounced in the later decades of life: in the sixties and seventies and thereafter, authoritarians predominate. The second notable finding is the inversion of the regular age trend between the decades of the twenties and thirties. People in their thirties include a smaller percentage of authoritarians than do people in their twenties. This result is significant at the 1 per cent level of confidence. Furthermore, the age group thirty to forty contains a significantly smaller percentage of authoritarians (within the 5 per cent level) than any other age group represented in the table.¹⁶

¹⁵ These findings may be compared with data from a number of sources. Two of these are based on survey data involving the same authoritarianism scale that was used in the present investigation: P. Douglas Courtney, F. L. Greer, and J. M. Masling, *Leadership Identification and Acceptance: Report on Progress and Plans* (Progress Report No. 8, Series A, No. 10 [Philadelphia: Institute for Research in Human Relations, 1951]) (mimeographed), and Morris Janowitz and Dwaine Marvick, "Authoritarianism and Political Behavior," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, summer, 1953, pp. 185-201. Additional relevant information appears in Else Frenkel-Brunswik, "Interaction of Psychological and Sociological Factors in Political Behavior," *American Political Science Review*, XLVI (1952), 44-65; Herbert H. Hyman and Paul B. Sheatsley, "The Authoritarian Personality"—a Methodological Critique," in Christie and Jahoda (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 50-122; Richard Christie, "Authoritarianism Re-examined," in Christie and Jahoda (eds.), *op. cit.*, pp. 123-96.

¹⁶ Hereafter, unless otherwise indicated or unless involved in statements of general trend, all differences within or between groups noted here are significant at or beyond the 5 per cent level. All probabilities mentioned or included in the figures were calculated by chi squares corrected for continuity. All the tests are two-directional.

When authoritarianism is related to the decades of the twenties, thirties, forties, and to the years from fifty upward (the latter grouped to increase sample size), and when this relationship is traced separately for manual and non-manual workers, two patterns emerge (Fig. 1). The figure represents cross-sectional data and contains probability evaluations of differences. The curves do not represent longitudinal data for the same individuals increasing in age. Thus they may reflect differences due to age changes within individuals or they may reflect differences between individuals resulting from their having been born in different periods of a changing culture.

ferent age groups within and between the strata? In their twenties people of either stratum are not far removed from the family, a relatively authoritarian matrix judging from the incidence of authoritarianism among older generations. Nor are they safely beyond the marginal status of adolescents. Their marital and socioeconomic future is not settled. Within ten years, however, some of them may acquire psychological security as a result of improvements in both marital and economic status. This change may occur only for those with a higher educational and socioeconomic background, enabling them to advance in income in non-manual occupations, and restraining

TABLE 1
DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN AGE GROUPS

Age Group	N*	Per Cent Authoritarians	Per Cent Equalitarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differences Are Significant between
1. 70 and over.....	20	75	25	5	1 and 5
2. 60-69.....	38	68	32	5	2 and 5
3. 50-59.....	63	57	43	†	3 and 5
4. 40-49.....	97	50	50	†	4 and 5
5. 30-39.....	125	35	65	1	5 and 1, 2, 3, 4, 6
6. Under 30.....	111	50	50	†	6 and 5

* Machine rejects consisted of four authoritarians and two equalitarians.

† Probability below the 25 per cent level.

The upper curve, for manual workers, presents an over-all picture of no decided change in authoritarianism. The non-manual workers, in contrast, show a marked decrease in authoritarianism between the age groups of the twenties and the thirties; thereafter it yields two decided increases. Taken altogether, the curve follows a V-shaped pattern. We assume that the left-hand section of the curve would continue upward in the authoritarian direction were an adolescent group to be added. In relation to each other, the two curves—from the probability standpoint—begin at points whose real distinctness is far from certain, separate definitely at the thirties and at the forties, and thereafter converge considerably.

What accounts for these observed differences in authoritarianism between the dif-

ferent age groups within and between the strata? In their twenties people of either stratum are not far removed from the family, a relatively authoritarian matrix judging from the incidence of authoritarianism among older generations. Nor are they safely beyond the marginal status of adolescents. Their marital and socioeconomic future is not settled. Within ten years, however, some of them may acquire psychological security as a result of improvements in both marital and economic status. This change may occur only for those with a higher educational and socioeconomic background, enabling them to advance in income in non-manual occupations, and restraining

them from producing burdensomely large families. Subsequent increases in authoritarianism among upper strata in and beyond the forties might be derived from discrepancies between levels of aspiration (or expectation) adopted during the halcyon days and present attainments in the struggle for social superiority; deprivation, on the other hand, would seem to induce a "realism" that immunizes against both hope and disappointment. The experience of aloneness during later years may also be more prevalent among upper classes as a result of their having been deprived of their relatively fewer offspring and would assist in breaching the gap in authoritarianism between the strata. Evident in both social levels is the low value attached to old age in American culture.

While external factors currently interact-

ing with aspects of personality help to rationalize the pattern found especially in Figure 1, stages in recent American history may also clarify the obtained differences. If the depression and recent wars resulted in greater hardship among manual than among non-manual workers, transformed personality residuals of these experiences could account for some present differences in authoritarianism between the two social groups. Again, the older generation may have matured in a stricter moral climate and received less education than the younger generation.

Whatever the causes may be, there are definite differences between manual and non-manual workers at certain age levels. Incidentally, no such differences were found

between men and women, both of whom seem to follow the general trend and the exception revealed by the data previously examined in Table 1.

AUTHORITARIANISM AS RELATED TO STRATIFICATION

While age was introduced only because of its interaction with stratification in relation to authoritarianism, education, next to be considered, is a stratification variable proper. All groups who have not graduated from high school contain a larger percentage of authoritarians than equalitarians, as Table 2 reveals. Those who have completed college, on the other hand, are in larger percentage equalitarians than authoritarians. The percentage of equalitarians at this level of

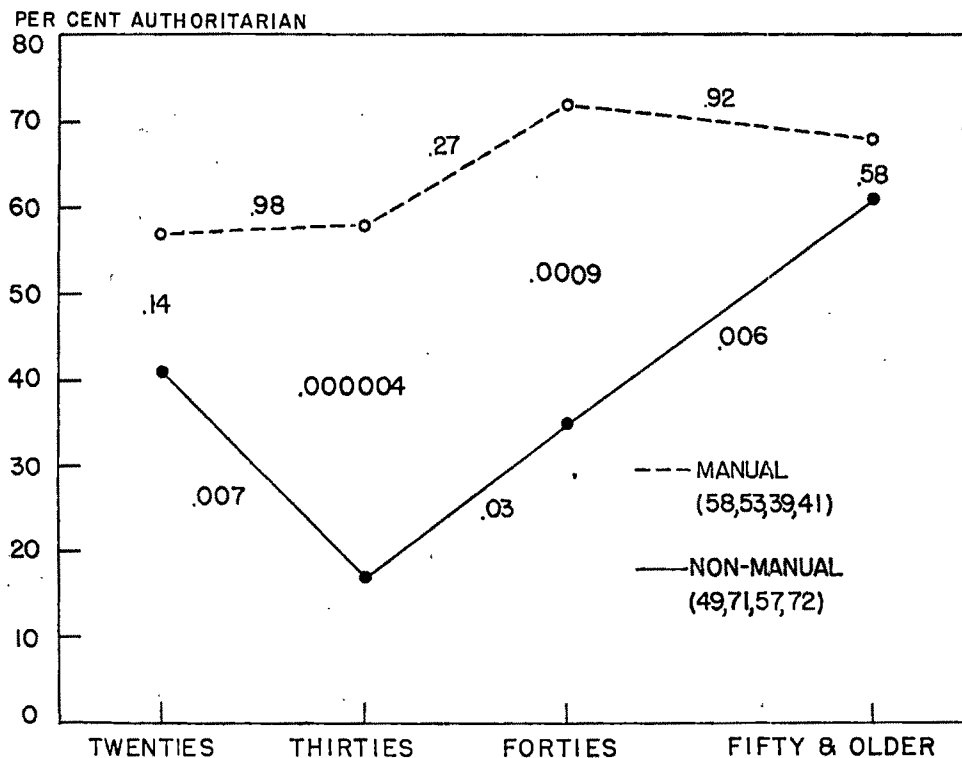


FIG. 1.—Differences in authoritarianism of manual and non-manual workers by age. The sizes of samples are indicated beside the ledger, the four sizes from left to right being in the order corresponding to the order of the age periods recorded from left to right on the horizontal axis. The probabilities attained by the differences between successive age groups in the same stratum are adjacent to the lines, and probabilities attained by the differences between the two strata during the same age period appear midway between vertically aligned points. All probabilities were calculated by chi square corrected for continuity.

education indeed, exceeds the percentage of equalitarians with any less education. This relationship between education and authoritarianism may be traced, as was previously suggested, to the personal and socioeconomic advancement made possible by a college education.¹⁷ Rising in the world might alter the central or emotional layers of personality, enabling the person to treat others and

foregoing, the white group contains a lower percentage of authoritarians than either of these deprived groups. Whereas a majority of our sample of whites had attended college, and twice as many held non-manual as manual jobs, the combined Negro and Mexican samples had only one person out of six who had attended college and only one non-manual worker out of seven. One-third of

TABLE 2

DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN EDUCATIONAL LEVELS

Educational Level	N	Per Cent Authoritarians	Per Cent Equalitarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differences Are Significant between
1. Completed college.....	86	20	80	1	1 and 2, 3, 4, 5, 6
2. Some college.....	115	42	58	10	2 and 1, 4, 5, 6
3. Completed high school....	108	46	54	†	3 and 1, 4, 5, 6
4. Some high school.....	94	73	27	1	4 and 1, 2, 3
5. Completed grade school...	33	76	24	1	5 and 1, 2, 3
6. Some grade school.....	24	88	12	1	6 and 1, 2, 3

† Probability below the 25 per cent level.

TABLE 3

DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN ETHNIC GROUPS

Ethnic Group	N*	Per Cent Authoritarians	Per Cent Equalitarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differences Are Significant between
1. Mexicans.....	69	80	20	1	1 and 3
2. Negroes.....	30	77	23	1	2 and 3, 4
3. Whites.....	342	42	58	1	3 and 1, 2
4. Orientals.....	16	25	75	10	4 and 2

* Machine rejects consisted of three authoritarians.

himself as equals. Thus the relationship of authoritarianism to stratification variables, like education, may reflect the causal agency of factors confounded with the variable in question.

The greatest barriers to socioeconomic mobility are, of course, faced by certain minority groups. The Negro and Mexican samples (Table 3) contain fairly equal dominant percentages of authoritarians. The white group, in contrast, is predominantly equalitarian. As would be expected from the

the orientals, however, had attended college, and half of them were in non-manual occupations. This may account for their high proportion of equalitarians.

The high authoritarianism of some minorities may stem partly from their frequent confinement to manual occupations; as Table 4 reveals, manual jobs are definitely related to authoritarianism. At the lower end of the scale, authoritarianism reaches high levels among semiskilled and unskilled laborers. Near the upper end of the scale, however, there are preponderances of equalitarians within both the professional and the small-business strata. In general, the strata

¹⁷ E.g., see Richard Centers, "Education and Occupational Mobility," *American Sociological Review*, XIV (1949), 143-44.

of manual and non-manual workers are distinct, but an overlap occurs for skilled manual and white-collar workers.

Like occupation, with which it is correlated, the socioeconomic status ascribed by interviewers to respondents (Table 5) varies inversely with authoritarianism. A "poor plus" rating indicates authoritarianism; an "average plus" rating, equalitarianism. The former category contains a higher percentage of authoritarians than any of the three categories above it; the latter, a higher percentage of equalitarians than any of the three categories below it.

CLASS IDENTIFICATION

Stratification of the kind just described, especially the individual's position in the occupational hierarchy, is accompanied by specific class identification and typical ideologies concerning the control and distribution of economic values.¹⁸ The bearing of psychosocial interest groups upon the issue of democratic processes, in the traditional sense, now requires consideration. Which classes are likely to accept antidemocratic practices? Because social classes reflect the divisions of occupation, we may expect an inverse relationship between social class and democratic outlook, with middle and upper classes being prevailingly democratic, and working and lower classes generally authoritarian. Such a relationship is detailed in Table 6, where the independent variable is determined by the individual's selection of a name to describe the class to which he says he belongs. The working class contains a higher percentage of authoritarians than either the middle class or the upper class.

¹⁸ Richard Centers, *The Psychology of Social Classes* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1949); "The American Class Structure: A Psychological Analysis," in G. E. Swanson, T. M. Newcomb, and E. L. Hartley (eds.), *Readings in Social Psychology* (rev. ed.; New York: Henry Holt & Co., 1952), pp. 299-311; for comparative purposes see also Richard Centers, "Four Studies in Psychology and Social Status: A Special Review," *Psychological Bulletin*, XLVII (1950), 263-71; and Harold W. Pfautz, "The Current Literature on Social Stratification: Critique and Bibliography," *American Journal of Sociology*, LVIII (1953), 391-418.

Its authoritarians outnumber its equalitarians, whereas the reverse holds for the middle class.

In what sense do these results conform to an interest-group theory of ideologies, assuming that authoritarianism and equalitarianism, as partly unconscious aspects of personality, condition an individual's willingness to retain democratic institutions? Perhaps the conformity depends upon the realization that interests are either short term or long term.

Consider the interests of the middle class. With the possible exception of white-collar workers, the middle and the upper classes in America have maintained an economically superior position within a framework of such liberal conditions as political freedom of speech. To some extent at least, their capital has been convertible into political power by such agencies as indirect control of mass communication, and for a long time they have used this power less to inform and assist the masses than to pursue their own immediate economic interests. In so doing, they appear to follow a shortsighted course, for the slowly improving situation of the workingman may not have completely convinced him of the importance of political democracy in the struggle for economic security and reform.

One writer has provided evidence of a "Father, feed me!" dependency among the lower social strata, who, as a result, may constitute "dictator-fodder."¹⁹ Yet the demise of democracy would destroy those liberal practices prized, to some extent intrinsically, by the middle class, especially its professional component. On the other hand, it would prevent the working class from ever attaining a high state of free and enlightened thought. For this reason—and others—authoritarian motives are shortsighted in the working class. Meanwhile neither class could rely on economic gains.

¹⁹ Fillmore H. Sanford, "Public Orientation to Roosevelt," *Public Opinion Quarterly*, summer, 1951, p. 203. Negroes, manual workers, and lower classes (lower-income groups) felt themselves materially dependent upon Roosevelt (*ibid.*, pp. 198-205).

TABLE 4
DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND
BETWEEN OCCUPATIONAL STRATA

Stratum	N*	Per Cent Authori- tarians	Per Cent Equali- tarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differ- ences Are Signifi- cant between
1. Large business.....	18	50	50	†	.....
2. Professional.....	84	23	77	1	2 and 4, 5, 6, 7
3. Small business.....	75	33	67	1	3 and 4, 5, 6, 7
4. White collar.....	75	59	41	†	4 and 2, 3, 7
5. Skilled manual.....	81	51	49	†	5 and 2, 3, 6, 7
6. Semiskilled.....	84	68	32	1	6 and 2, 3, 5
7. Unskilled.....	29	86	14	1	7 and 2, 3, 4, 5

* Machine rejects consisted of nine authoritarians and five equalitarians.

† Probability below the 25 per cent level.

TABLE 5
DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN
SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS LEVELS

Socioeconomic Status	N*	Per Cent Authori- tarians	Per Cent Equali- tarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differ- ences Are Significant between
1. Wealthy.....	35	40	60	†	1 and 4, 5
2. Average plus.....	111	33	67	1	2 and 3, 4, 5
3. Average.....	169	46	54	†	3 and 2, 4, 5
4. Poor plus.....	131	68	32	1	4 and 1, 2, 3
5. Poor.....	13	85	15	...	5 and 1, 2, 3

* There was one machine reject, an authoritarian.

† Probability below the 25 per cent level.

TABLE 6
DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN SOCIAL CLASSES

Social Class	N*	Per Cent Authori- tarians	Per Cent Equali- tarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differ- ences Are Significant between
1. Upper class.....	27	30	70	10	1 and 3
2. Middle class.....	224	42	58	5	2 and 3
3. Working class.....	195	62	38	1	3 and 1, 2
4. Lower class.....	8	50	50	..	.....

* Machine rejects consisted of three authoritarians and three equalitarians. Of six "Don't know" responses, three came from authoritarians and three from equalitarians.

In brief, a part of the interests of both middle and working classes appear myopic; presumably they will become more nearly farsighted as information increases and deprivation decreases.

Perhaps the groups whose interests will be the first to gain in vision are those whose class membership is tenuous. The intensity of social class membership, introduced previously and related to occupation and other variables by Centers,²⁰ was therefore examined.

The latter group exceeds in percentage of authoritarians both the intermediate and the peripheral middle class. (The seemingly smaller range of percentages of authoritarians among the working-class groups might be an effect of the middle-class appearance of the interviewers.) Peripheral groups, because of their equalitarianism, may be pivots of social change. If non-ethnocentric individuals more readily make reasonable shifts,²¹ and if equalitarians more frequently achieve accurate social percep-

TABLE 7

DIFFERENCES IN AUTHORITARIANISM WITHIN AND BETWEEN TWO SOCIAL CLASSES ACCORDING TO FELT STRENGTH OF BELONGING

Class Identification and Strength of Belonging	N*	Per Cent Authoritarians	Per Cent Equalitarians	Significance Level of the Departure from a 50-50 Percentage Division	Within 5 Per Cent Level, Differences Are Significant between
Middle class					
1. Very strong.....	53	55	45	†	1 and 3
2. Fairly strong.....	111	49	51	†	2 and 3, 4
3. Not at all strong..	55	18	82	1	3 and 1, 2, 4, 5, 6
Working class					
4. Very strong.....	63	70	30	1	4 and 2, 3
5. Fairly strong.....	91	60	40	10	5 and 3
6. Not at all strong...	37	51	49	†	6 and 3

* There was one machine reject (an equalitarian) apart from eight "Don't know" responses to the intensity question.

† Probability below the 25 per cent level.

Within each class, as Table 7 reveals, the percentage of authoritarians declines as the intensity of the feeling of belonging decreases, the least authoritarian being those whose class membership is border line. This general trend conforms to the theory that authoritarians have strong in-group orientation. Let us introduce the terms "central," "intermediate," and "peripheral" to denote, respectively, the groups whose class identifications are very strong, fairly strong, and not at all strong. Then we can say that the peripheral middle class contains the smallest percentage of authoritarians of all six groups. It contains more equalitarians than authoritarians, as the central working class contains more authoritarians than equali-

tians,²² the peripheral middle class and the peripheral working class may be the first to adopt the farsighted orientations alluded to earlier.

SUMMARY AND RESERVATIONS

To summarize the information that relates authoritarianism to stratification, several tetrachoric correlations and critical ratios were computed, the results being shown in Table 8. Because authoritarianism, for the total sample and for the upper occupational-educational stratum separately, is a curvilinear function of age—a decreasing

²¹ Milton Rokeach, "Generalized Mental Rigidity as a Factor in Ethnocentrism," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIII (1948), 259-78.

²⁰ Richard Centers, "The Intensity Dimension of Class Consciousness and Some Social and Psychological Correlates," *Journal of Social Psychology* (in press).

²² Alvin Scodel and P. Mussen, "Social Perceptions of Authoritarians and Non-authoritarians," *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLVIII (1953), 181-84.

function from the twenties to the thirties and thereafter an increasing function—no tetrachoric correlations or critical ratios were computed for this relationship. The lower half of each dichotomy presented in the table contains the greater percentage of authoritarians. As the sample sizes show, all cases except rejects and “Don’t know” responses are utilized in the tests. The final comparison, for example, involves intensity of the sense of belonging for all four social classes.

Do these correlations really represent the true relationship between stratification and antidemocratic forces in the society? Mann-

tendencies, whereas an individual in a lower socioeconomic class, where probing by various public functionaries is not uncommon, may realistically offer the same response.²³

Time will reveal to what extent the class differences in authoritarianism, as found herein by application of the Short Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale, are real²⁴ and to what extent education permits one to register an informed lip service to beliefs which do not exactly conform to practice or to underlying tendencies. The secret ballot box, “lie-detector” questions, use of interviewers drawn from different social classes, projective techniques, and “real” situation

TABLE 8

TETRACHORIC CORRELATIONS AND CRITICAL RATIOS BETWEEN
AUTHORITARIANISM AND VARIABLES OF STRATIFICATION

Variable of Stratification	Nature of Division	N	r_t	CR
1. Ethnic status.....	Negroes, Mexicans; Whites, Orientals	457	-.52*	6.43†
2. Education.....	Non-college; college	460	-.48	6.58
3. Occupation.....	Non-manual; manual	446	-.38	5.12
4. Socioeconomic status.....	Poor, poor+, average; average+, wealthy	459	-.33	4.28
5. Social class.....	Lower, working; middle, upper	454	-.31	4.15
6. Weak class identification....	Very strong; strong, not at all strong	443	-.23	2.75

* Computed with the aid of Leone Chesire, M. Saffir, and L. L. Thurstone, *Computing Diagrams for the Tetrachoric Correlation Coefficient* (Chicago: University of Chicago Bookstore, 1933).

† Derived by extracting the square root of chi squares calculated from 2×2 tables and corrected for continuity.

heim's classic treatment of the sociology of knowledge has warned social research workers that their “truths” reflect peculiarly their unique social position. But the investigator may find consolation in Mannheim's faith that the academic man may gradually, through participating in mutually antithetical points of view, partly override the limitations of class and synthesize more inclusive generalizations. Relevant in the present context is Christie's hypothesis that the “reality of the referent in the items” has more to do with the more frequent acceptance of F Scale items by individuals who belong to lower socioeconomic levels than by individuals of higher socioeconomic status. Referring to an F Scale item (not one of those included in the Short Authoritarian-Equalitarian Scale), he points out that a middle-class person who agrees that people pry into his affairs may suffer from paranoid

tests of validity are some of the devices which, when applied by investigators of diverse persuasions, can extricate research from unconscious social bias. If authoritarianism is not neurosis as measured by modern clinical instruments,²⁵ it may still turn out to be a “culturally patterned defect”

²³ Christie, “Authoritarianism Re-examined,” *op. cit.*, p. 170.

²⁴ Differences in personality-test responses by individuals of different social class background have been reviewed (see Frank Auld, Jr., “Influence of Social Class on Personality Test Responses,” *Psychological Bulletin*, XLIX [1952], 318-32). For an analysis which prepared the way for purification of class-contaminated concepts and instruments related to learning consult Allison Davis, *Social Class Influences upon Learning* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1948).

²⁵ Joseph M. Masling, “How Neurotic Is the Authoritarian?” *Journal of Abnormal and Social Psychology*, XLIX (1954), 316-18.

when viewed in a larger objective context²⁶ and, as such, to reveal both leftist and rightist varieties.²⁷ At the present moment, at any rate, it appears that stratification and deprivation bear upon the development of the authoritarian personality in city people.

SUMMARY

An authoritarianism scale was applied in a public opinion survey of Los Angeles County to relate antidemocratic personality to various indexes of social stratification. Though for the entire sample authoritarian-

ism appears to increase with age except for a decrease between the twenties and thirties, the manual workers remain at a practically even level of authoritarianism throughout life, whereas the non-manual decrease in authoritarianism from the twenties to the thirties and thereafter increase to a point somewhat higher than that of the twenties, being clearly more equalitarian than the manual group during the thirties and forties. Greater past and present socioeconomic barriers among the manual workers and somewhat similar problems of adolescence and old age for both strata may explain these age relationships in authoritarianism. The latter correlates negatively with ethnic status, education, occupation, socioeconomic status, social class, and weak social class identification. Within both the middle and the working classes, authoritarianism declines with the decreasing feeling of belonging to a class. The sociology of knowledge may aid in the task of objectifying the study of class differences in personality and of evaluating studies like the present.

UNIVERSITY OF CALIFORNIA (LOS ANGELES)

²⁶ Erich Fromm, "Individual and Social Origins of Neurosis," *American Sociological Review*, IX (1944), 380-84. Republished in C. Kluckhohn and H. A. Murray (eds.), *Readings in Nature, Society, and Culture* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1949), pp. 407-15.

²⁷ Discussion regarding the existence of authoritarianism or dogmatism of both leftist and rightist varieties are available (see Milton Rokeach, "Dogmatism and Opinionation on the Left and on the Right," *American Psychologist*, VII [1952], 310-11 [abstract], and Edward A. Shils, "Authoritarianism 'Right' and 'Left'" in Christie and Jahoda [eds.], *op. cit.*, pp. 24-49).

NEWS AND NOTES

American Association for Public Opinion Research.—The annual conference will be held from May 24 to May 27 at Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania. The conference will include sessions on "Studies in Popular Culture," "Communications Theory and Opinion Research," "Determinants of Political Behavior," "Research in Medicine and Public Health," "Research on Academic Freedom and Other Civil Liberties," and "American and Soviet Propaganda." Harry Alpert will give the presidential address on May 26.

Boston University.—The American Nurses' Foundation, Inc., has made a grant of \$19,500 to the Human Relations Center to study the role of the nurse in the out-patient departments of hospitals. The planning of the project was the joint work of the center and the New England Regional Conference for Public Health Nursing Education. The steering committee consists of Kenneth D. Benne, head of the university's Human Relations Center; Mary Mahar, director of the School of Nursing at the University of Massachusetts; Beatrice Allen, educational director, Worcester Society for District Nursing, Inc.; Norman Berkowitz, fellow, Boston University Human Relations Center; Robert Chin, research director of the center and associate professor of psychology; Winifred Gibson, Boston University School of Nursing; Joseph Hozid, fellow, Human Relations Center; Francis L. Hurwitz, executive secretary of the center; Margaret Varley, assistant professor, Harvard School of Public Health, and president of the Massachusetts League for Nursing. Mary M. Sullivan, director of the Visiting Nurse Association of Boston, is the chairman. Eight Boston hospitals aided in planning the research project.

University of Bridgeport.—Joseph S. Roucek, chairman of the department of sociology, has recently been appointed to the editorial board of the *Journal of Human Relations* and of *Encyclopedia Picturama*. During his sabbatical leave this spring he will study comparative aspects

of Yugoslavia's education and will lecture to learned societies and universities in Spain, Yugoslavia, Austria, Germany, and Holland.

Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique.—The Groupe de Sociologie des Religions (30, rue Saint-Guillaume, Paris VII^e), announces a semiannual publication to be called *Archives de sociologie des religions*. The first number will appear in July, 1956. H. Desroche is in charge. The Groupe is connected with the Centre d'Études Sociologiques, which is, in turn, part of the Centre National de la Recherches Scientifique. The new publication will consist of articles on research done or under way, of briefer notes about research, method and events, and of bibliography. Articles received in English will be translated into French.

University of Chicago.—During 1956 and 1957, under a grant from the Health Information Foundation, the National Opinion Research Center will conduct a national survey to determine how people over sixty-five years of age perceive their own health needs and problems and how these needs and problems are perceived by younger members of their families on whom they may depend.

Jack Elinson, the center's senior study director, has been appointed to serve for a two-year term on the Research Committee of the American Heart Association. He is also serving on the advisory reviewing committee for a joint project of the Commission on Chronic Illness and the United States Public Health Service, "Assessing Chronic Illness in Your Community."

James Coleman has been appointed assistant professor of sociology. This year he is at the Center for Advanced Study in the Behavioral Sciences. Previously he was at the Bureau of Applied Social Research at Columbia University.

Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus of sociology, is visiting professor of sociology at Northwestern University in the spring quarter.

Philip M. Hauser will serve as *rapporteur* for the conference on urbanization in Asia, which

will be held under the sponsorship of UNESCO and Economic Commission for Asia and the Far East during the month of August in Bangkok. En route he will visit the Institute for Demography in Tokyo.

The Population Research and Training Center, under co-operative arrangement with the Bureau of Statistics and Department of Public Health in the State of Illinois, is preparing current population estimates for counties and cities of 10,000 and more in Illinois. Sex, age, and color detail will be provided for the larger areas. The development of new methods for producing local population estimates is under the direction of Donald J. Bogue, assistant professor of sociology.

"The Renewed Focus on Interpersonal Relations" is the theme of the thirty-third annual institute of the Society for Social Research, to be held on the campus on June 1 and 2. Among the topics of the twelve sessions are "Interpersonal Relations in Survey Analysis," "The Demographic and Ecological Approach to the Study of Social Relations," and "Political Processes and the Social System." There are also to be sessions on sociability, small groups, communication, occupational life, urbanism, and social mobility.

Further information and programs of the meetings may be obtained from the Society for Social Research, Box 92, 1126 East Fifty-ninth Street, Chicago 37, Illinois.

College Entrance Examination Board.—The board announces its interest in research on non-intellectual aspects of college success, encompassing social, attitudinal, personality, situational, or other relevant matters. Social scientists who are interested are invited to submit short preliminary statements. Research is desired which will result in instruments predictive of college success as measured either by intellectual and/or non-intellectual criteria and suitable for mass administration to high-school students. Research plans may include smaller pilot studies on a limited number of subjects in a restricted geographical or educational environment but should aim at final results which are broadly applicable to high-school student bodies and to institutions of higher education in the United States.

Address inquiries to Joshua A. Fishman, Research Associate, College Entrance Examination Board, 425 West One Hundred Seventeenth Street, New York 27, New York.

Co-operative Graduate Summer Sessions in Statistics.—The University of Florida, North Carolina State College, Virginia Polytechnic Institute, and the Southern Regional Education Board are jointly sponsoring a series of co-operative summer sessions in statistics. The third of these annual sessions will be held at North Carolina State College between June 11 and July 20, 1956. A session is scheduled to be held at Virginia Polytechnic Institute in 1957 and at the University of Florida in 1958. The 1956 session will be held jointly with the Institute in Quantitative Research Methods in Agricultural Economics, sponsored by the Social Science Research Council.

The combined faculty for the 1956 summer session and the institute at North Carolina State College will include R. L. Anderson, North Carolina State College; Gertrude M. Cox, North Carolina State College; David B. Duncan, University of Florida; Alva L. Finkner, North Carolina State College; Arnold H. E. Grandage, North Carolina State College; Robert J. Hader, North Carolina State College; Cleon Harrell, North Carolina State College; Earl O. Heady, Iowa State College; Clifford G. Hildreth, Michigan State University; Jack Levine, North Carolina State College; Robert J. Monroe, North Carolina State College; and Walter L. Smith, University of North Carolina.

Courses to be offered this summer are Statistical Methods I, Statistical Methods II ("Design of Experiments"), Statistical Theory I ("Probability and Parent Distribution"), Statistical Theory II ("Sampling Distributions and Inference"), "Sample Survey Designs," Advanced Analysis II, "Advanced Calculus for Statistics," "Stochastic Processes," "Econometric Methods and Linear Programming." Lectures on linear equations (matrix algebra) and production functions will be given in the institute program.

Inquiries should be addressed to J. A. Rigney, Department of Experimental Statistics, North Carolina State College, Raleigh, North Carolina.

Duke University.—Edgar T. Thompson, professor of sociology, has been named a Hughle May Fellow by Rhodes University, Grahams-town, South Africa, being the first American to receive this honor, which in past years has always gone to British and European scholars. Under provisions of the appointment, he will lecture and conduct research in social relations

this spring and summer at Rhodes University. The appointment is subsidized by the Carnegie Corporation and Rhodes University. Dr. Thompson plans to visit Mozambique, Nairobi, the capital of Kenya, and other parts of Africa during a stay of eight months.

University of Kansas City.—Wolfgang G. Roeseler, lecturer in sociology, government, and public administration, has moved to Cincinnati to take a position as associate planner with Segoe and Associates.

James D. H. Reefer, chief probation officer for the Juvenile Court of Jackson County, Missouri, is now a lecturer in sociology.

University of Kentucky.—Thomas R. Ford has been appointed associate professor of sociology and associate rural sociologist. He has until recently been chief of the Airman Manpower Research, Air Research and Development Command, Maxwell Field, Alabama.

Robert E. Galloway, of the Farm Population and Rural Life Branch, United States Department of Agriculture, who was stationed in the department of rural sociology at the University of Kentucky until recently, is now in Amman, Transjordan, serving as community development specialist in the United States Point Four Mission.

John R. Christiansen, of the rural sociology department, resigned in October to accept Dr. Galloway's position in the United States Department of Agriculture. He is now at the university, working on co-operative research with the department.

James S. Brown, associate professor of rural sociology and associate rural sociologist, has returned to duty after seventeen months, during which he held a Fulbright appointment in Bonn, Germany, and traveled extensively in Europe, North Africa, the Middle East, and the Far East.

Michigan State University.—The department of sociology and anthropology is offering a number of assistantships for the academic year 1956-57. Applications should be made to Charles P. Loomis, chairman.

Paul A. Walter, of the Department of sociology of the University of New Mexico, will teach in the summer session.

Charles Cumberland, formerly of Rutgers University, has been appointed associate professor in the departments of history and soci-

ology and anthropology. He is devoting half-time to the historical phases of the United States-Mexican Border project, a study of intercultural relations along the Rio Grande. Dr. Loomis spent the winter term supervising research on the project in the Southwest.

Archie O. Haller, of the University of Wisconsin, will join the staff of the department on July 1. He will devote half-time to research in the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Jay W. Artis, of Vanderbilt University, will join the staff in June. He will give part of his time to extension and part to the Agricultural Experiment Station.

Julian Samora, who is at present working on a research project sponsored by the Russell Sage Foundation at the University of Colorado, dealing with the cultural influence on health care among Spanish-speaking peoples, has been appointed assistant professor of sociology and anthropology, effective in September.

Northwestern University.—Ernest W. Burgess, professor emeritus of sociology at the University of Chicago, is visiting professor of sociology in the spring quarter.

Wendell Bell will spend the summer in Jamaica, gathering data on the social mobility and family life of ethnic elites under a grant from the graduate school.

Robert F. Winch, who has a Guggenheim Fellowship, is spending the spring quarter in Europe.

Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College.—Solomon Sutker, associate professor of sociology, who has been on leave of absence since the end of last summer, expects to return to duty in September.

Herman M. Case, assistant professor of sociology since 1953, resigned in February to accept a position with the Anti-Defamation League in New York.

Leo Carlyle May was appointed associate professor of sociology in February. He will devote a portion of his time to regional sociology and to the development of Asian studies in cooperation with the departments of history, geography, and political science.

University of Oregon.—A special research training seminar will be conducted during the summer session by Robin M. Williams, Jr., of Cornell University. It is designed to give detailed experience in all aspects of empirical re-

search. Seminar members will carry out a single study on "Social Values and Social Participation" under the direction of Dr. Williams. The Social Science Research Council is providing some financial support for this experiment in graduate education. Admission will be by application only. Scholarships covering tuition and living expenses are available. Inquiries should be directed to the head of the department of sociology.

Queens College.—Paul Neurath is at the Tata Institute for Social Research, Bombay, India, as a Fulbright lecturer. He is organizing a program of research.

Ernestine Friedl has been promoted to the rank of assistant professor. She was awarded a Fulbright Fellowship and is spending the year doing a community study in Greece.

Erich Rosenthal, who has been promoted to an assistant professorship, was the recipient of a Faculty Fellowship from the Fund for the Advancement of Education and will spend the year in research in urban planning in the New York metropolitan area.

Milton Brawer, Eleanor Leacock, and Tamara Obrebska have been added to the department as replacements for members on leave.

Thomas Price has joined the staff and is to develop courses on Latin America. He has received a grant under the Program of the Study of Man in the Tropics for research on culture in a small Caribbean community.

William S. Walker has been appointed lecturer in sociology.

Hortense Powdermaker was recently awarded a grant-in-aid by the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research to assist in the analyses of data collected when she was studying communication and social change in Northern Rhodesia as a Fellow of the Guggenheim Foundation.

George H. Grosser has been appointed to the Committee on Research in Correctional Organizations of the Social Science Research Council and was elected chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Institute for Research in Crime and Delinquency, a non-profit organization devoted to basic research.

Sidney Axelrad is associate editor of *Psychoanalysis and the Social Sciences*.

Elizabeth K. Nottingham has been promoted to associate professor.

St. Lawrence University.—Myles W. Rodehaver has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology.

J. Mayone Stycos has been appointed associate professor.

Thomas H. Kettig has been appointed assistant professor.

Paul R. Ducey has been appointed instructor.

Norbert V. Woods is serving the department part-time as an associate specializing in probation and parole.

Scienza nuova.—This new periodical, described as an international journal of reviews and abstracts of studies in the psychosociological and humanistic sciences, is published by the Lincombe Lodge Research Library, Boars Hill, Oxford. The editors are Marcel P. Hornik, Tessa Hornik, and Steven E. Smith; directors, Tessa Hornik and Marcel P. Hornik; the honorary secretary, Norah Merton. Reginald Merton is a member of the council.

Scienza nuova contains reviews and abstracts of studies in philosophical anthropology, general and social psychology, and studies in human culture—philosophy and history, art and literature, law and religion, human institutions and attitudes. The goal is a common pool which some day will merge into a unified science of human culture. The contribution of *Scienza nuova* will be to re-establish a new common ground between the representatives of the social, the psychological, and the humanistic sciences and to help regain their lost common language.

A year's subscription cost £3 or \$9.00 or equivalent in other currencies and should be ordered from *Scienza nuova*, Lincombe Lodge Research Library, Boars Hill, Oxford, England.

Society for Applied Anthropology.—The annual meeting will be held at Harvard University's Graduate School of Business Administration on May 25, 26, and 27. The theme will be "Technology and Organization."

Non-members of the Society are cordially invited to attend the meeting. For information concerning the program write to the society's offices at 150 East Thirty-fifth Street, New York 16, New York.

Society for the Psychological Study of Social Issues.—A program of grants-in-aid for research on desegregation has been set up. A

total of \$1,000.00 has been made available for such awards, but no single grant will be for more than \$500.00.

A committee of judges to evaluate applications consists of Kenneth B. Clark, Herbert Hyman, M. Brewster Smith, and Isidor Chein, chairman. Applications specifying budgetary needs and giving sufficient detail to make possible an evaluation of the feasibility and desirability of the proposed project must be submitted before June 1, 1956, in quadruplicate, to the committee chairman, Isidor Chein, Research Center for Human Relations, New York University, 21 Washington Place, New York 3, New York.

University of Stockholm.—The International Graduate School for English-speaking Students at the University, currently in its eleventh year, will admit forty-five students during 1956-57 to its one-year graduate courses. In addition to one-year courses in economics, political science, and sociology, combined with instruction in Swedish, qualified graduate students who have taken the required first-semester language and orientation courses may pursue independent research in other fields, notably in the arts and crafts, history, languages, and literature. International Graduate School counselors will be assigned such students or, if they prefer, they may continue their studies independently in other Swedish institutions. Field trips are an integral part of the course and are designed to acquaint the students with many sides of Swedish life. There are also excellent opportunities to participate in all kinds of sports and to enjoy the privileges and entertainment offered by the Swedish Students Union.

The nominal fee is \$100.00 for the regular course. Veterans are eligible to attend the Stockholm course under the provisions of the Korean GI Bill of Rights. In addition, several scholarships are available. Further information and application blanks may be obtained by writing the Student Division, American-Scandinavian Foundation, 127 East Seventy-third Street, New York 21, New York.

Syracuse University.—The 1956 Summer Sessions Institute on Japan Studies, which is to be a non-credit postdoctoral program for teachers and researchers, will take place between July 2 and August 10. It will make available to postdoctoral associates, for a nominal fee, all institute course offerings and

special lecture series. The institute's co-ordinator is Douglas G. Haring, professor of anthropology. The subjects offered are as follows: for social studies teachers, an introduction to Japanese civilization; for members of college faculties, an advanced study of Japan; for those in government, business, the military, and religion, a new perspective on Japanese life and mentality. Courses in the Japanese language, elementary and advanced, will also be offered.

Full-time teaching personnel will include, in addition to Professor Haring, K. Arnold Nakajima, Presbyterian counselor at Syracuse University; Masaru (Victor) Otake, professor of American literature at Tokyo Economic University; Theo Suranyi-Unger, professor of economics at Syracuse University; and Betty B. Lanham, former teacher at Wakayama University, Japan. Guest lecturers are to be Hugh Borton, director of the East Asian Institute, Columbia University; William Caudill, department of anthropology, Harvard University; and Mary Ellen Goodman, formerly assistant professor of anthropology at Wellesley College.

A number of scholarships are available to persons interested in the institute, through the generosity of the Asia Foundation and the Japan Society, sponsoring organization of the institute. Further information may be obtained from Professor Douglas G. Haring, co-ordinator, Japan Studies, Syracuse University, Syracuse 10, New York.

Tulane University.—A Ph.D. major in social psychology, obtainable in either sociology or psychology, is now being offered co-operatively by the department of sociology and anthropology and the department of psychology.

Harlan W. Gilmore has been promoted to professor. Recently he completed a study of casualties related to alcoholism for the State Commission on Alcoholism.

Leonard Reissman has been appointed associate professor.

A committee at the Urban Life Research Institute has drawn up definitions of fifty selected terms used in social science, as part of a UNESCO pilot project to explore the feasibility of a social science dictionary. Among the participants were William L. Kolb, chairman, Robert C. Stone, John H. Rohrer, Munro Edmonson, and Fred Adams, research assistants.

Robert Lystad participated in a conference on African political problems at Oxford University.

Mark Kennedy and Evelyn Kimura have been appointed teaching assistants.

Audrey Jennings is research assistant on the *Children of Bondage* restudy.

Western Reserve University.—An action-oriented workshop on "Intergroup Relations" for social science majors, social workers, teachers, community organization workers, police, and hospital personnel will be offered from June 18 to July 27 and will be directed by Joseph W. Eaton and Marvin B. Sussman. Extensive use will be made of local and national consultants. Areas covered in lectures and group discussions will be on the subjects of the history of ethnic groups and present status; the legal approach to intergroup relations; intergroup relations in industry, housing, social work, labor, politics, and in the school, fraternity, and hospital; the enforcement of equality; and the use of propaganda.

The workshop will be limited to forty students. Some part- and full-tuition scholarships are available. Inquiries and registrations should be directed to Hollace G. Roberts, director of admissions, Western Reserve University, Cleveland 6, Ohio.

University of Havana.—A new publication in Spanish devoted to educational sociology,

Monografías de Sociología Pedagógica, has been set up at the university, edited and published by Professor Martin R. Vivanco, of the faculty of education. It will appear semiannually and is designed primarily to provide basic materials for teachers-college students as a supplementary textbook. Sociological background articles, monographs, and bibliographies will be included. A part of the publication will report on sociological research in Cuba and Latin America.

Subscriptions to *Monografías de Sociología Pedagógica* ("Educational Sociology Monographs"), by volume of 200 pages, are at \$1.40 for the two issues a year or \$0.70 a single issue. Address orders and correspondence to Dr. Martin R. Vivanco, Facultad de Educación, Universidad de la Habana, Havana, Cuba.

McGill University.—Oswald Hall, professor of sociology and chairman of the department, who was a visiting professor at Tulane for the past year, has accepted a professorship in sociology at the University of Toronto and leaves at the beginning of the academic year, 1956-57.

University of Toronto.—William A. Westley has been appointed chairman of the department of sociology and anthropology, succeeding Oswald Hall.

BOOK REVIEWS

Union Democracy: The Inside Politics of the International Typographical Union. By S. M. LIPSET, MARTIN TROW, and JAMES COLEMAN. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1956. Pp. xviii+449.

Students of the labor movement have long been struck by the prevalence of undemocratic practices within trade unions, particularly at the national level, and by the development of powerful political machines which, in the absence of organized opposition, easily grow dominant. There seemed to be a natural history of organizational life: a high degree of participation by the members in the initial stages, lively factional conflict, then consolidation of power by a successful leader, followed by the growth of a bureaucracy, and, finally, of a single machine with a monopoly of political power. Perhaps the best description of this tendency in general terms was by Herberg,¹ though there was abundant documentation within particular unions, both in this country and abroad.² Herberg's argument was but the application to the union sphere of the well-known thesis of Michels,³ that an "iron law of oligarchy" was applicable to large-scale voluntary organizations.

To the Michels thesis, so far as unions were concerned, several qualifications have been added. Students of union life at the local level, such as Sayles and Strauss, point to an internal life that was often vigorous,⁴ and Kovner and Lahne have called attention, in addition, to the existence of an informal shop society behind the formal structure of the union.⁵ Yet these qualifications added little, since they related to

local unions, where face-to-face communication could be effective. Michels was concerned, instead, with large-scale organization, in which there tended to be monopolization of the means of communication by an entrenched group of officers, who possessed the prestige and political skills that made it possible for them to retain leadership and who at the same time, because of their higher status and income as leaders, strongly desired to retain power. The factors that make for democracy where face-to-face communication is possible for most members and where no significant status gap exists between leaders and led are generally irrelevant to the discussion of the growth of bureaucracy and one-party machines in the national body.

Even in the locals, however, the problem of democracy has often been serious. Muste called attention almost three decades ago to the dilemma in which the local union found itself, in attempting to combine the social structures of the army and the democratic town meeting.⁶ There is almost universal agreement, moreover, that attendance at union meetings is low, except in the formative stage or when critical issues close to the interests of the members are at stake.⁷ The lower the attendance, the more easily may an organized group, such as the administration and its adherents, dominate the meetings.

Yet one union is an outstanding exception to Michels' iron law in both the local and the national organizations: the International Typographical Union. Far from having developed oligarchical tendencies in its national political

¹ Joseph Kovner and Herbert J. Lahne, "Shop Society and the Union," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, VII (October, 1953), 3-14.

² A. J. Muste, "Factional Fights in Trade Unions," in *American Labor Dynamics*, ed. J. B. S. Hardman (New York: Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1928), pp. 332-33.

³ Sayles and Strauss, for example, found that meeting attendance in a group of medium-sized, established, industrial locals (with membership ranging from 400 to 4,000) usually ranged between 2 and 6 per cent (see Sayles and Strauss, *op. cit.*, p. 173). In very large locals the percentage attendance may often be 1 per cent or even lower.

¹ Will Herberg, "Bureaucracy and Democracy in Labor Unions," *Antioch Review*, III (fall, 1943), 405-17.

² For a recent study of a British union, the Transport and General Workers, from this point of view see Joseph Goldstein, *The Government of British Trade Unions* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1952).

³ Robert Michels, *Political Parties* (Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1949).

⁴ Leonard R. Sayles and George Strauss, *The Local Union: Its Place in the Industrial Plant* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1953), chap. xvi.

life, it has witnessed the development and institutionalization of a two-party system over almost half a century. Lipset, Trow, and Coleman have studied the ITU intensively, focusing on it precisely because it was a deviant case, seeking to discover what made it different, in order to throw light on the reasons for the general rule to which the ITU is an exception. Their work, carried on at a high level of sophistication, adds at once to our empirical knowledge and to our theoretical understanding of the development of oligarchy, on the one hand, and of democracy, on the other. Other students have analyzed constitutional provisions, the relations of management officials, union officers, and rank-and-file workers and have attempted to explain union practices in the light of the structure of the industry or as a product of historical development. Lipset and his colleagues, in their careful study of the political system of the ITU, have made use of all these modes of analysis. Their work is a major contribution to our understanding of political processes within unions.⁸ They have been careful in their methods and precise in their observations and have shown imagination and insight in their interpretations and conclusions. Theirs is, in short, an excellent piece of work.

The writers argue that democracy in the ITU is the product of a number of factors. For one thing, the decentralization of the industry—the small size of the shops plus the fact that the industry is not competitive from one city to another—has allowed decentralization of power within the union. Except for strikes, over which the international officers exert strong control, the local manages its own collective bargaining, grievance cases, apprenticeship regulations, seniority system, etc. More than this, power is diffused even within the local, with the chapel chairmen possessing a degree of authority that no industrial union could permit to its shop stewards. The workers, moreover, are a highly skilled, well-paid, and homo-

geneous group, who enjoy very high status within the working-class community, bordering on the middle class both in prestige and in income.

Partly in consequence of this and also because of the large amount of night work and other circumstances affecting social relations, printers depend upon one another to an unusual degree for society and recreation and have developed a network of occupation-centered organizations. These secondary bodies between the members and the union officials, together with the chapel offices, provide abundant opportunities for the development of leadership skills,⁹ which, in most unions, can be learned only in political office, controlled by the administration. Because the prestige of the occupation is high and the salaries of union officers moderate, there is no appreciable status or pay gap between the officers and the members. This in turn has two important results: (1) it inhibits the building of a political machine such as many unions have, since the union head cannot enforce discipline by the promise of a union job or the threat to return a jobholder to the ranks; and (2) it encourages the return of defeated office-holders to the shops, a rare phenomenon in occupations with lower prestige, so that a nucleus of experienced men is available at all times as leaders of an opposition movement.

Added to all this is a belief in the legitimacy of political opposition and norms to protect it, which is shared by ITU officers and members alike, in contrast to the many other unions whose leaders have restricted the rights of political opponents,¹⁰ sometimes to the point

⁹ Shepard found, in his study of the Toronto District of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers, that the shop-chairman system performed a similar function in the development of leadership skills (Herbert A. Shepard, "Democratic Control in a Local Union," *American Journal of Sociology*, LIV [January, 1949], 311, 312).

¹⁰ For a study of union discipline see Clyde Summers, "Disciplinary Procedures of Unions," *Industrial and Labor Relations Review*, IV (October, 1950), 15–32. Taft, one of the most careful students of internal union practices, argues that union discipline is necessary, that national officers need wide powers, and that they use them wisely (see Philip Taft, *The Structure and Government of Labor Unions* [Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1954], chap. iv). It should be noted, however, that Taft has little patience with political factionalism and that he is more concerned with the strength of unions than with their internal democracy.

⁸ Their method of approach and some of their conclusions have been available earlier in two publications by Seymour M. Lipset: "Democracy in Private Government (A Case Study of the International Typographical Union)," *British Journal of Sociology*, III (March, 1952), 47–65; and "The Political Process in Trade Unions: A Theoretical Statement," in *Freedom and Control in Modern Society*, ed. Morroe Berger, Theodore Abel, and Charles H. Page (New York: D. Van Nostrand Co., Inc., 1954), pp. 82–124.

of forcing them to disband factions under the threat of expulsion. The authors observe that in the ITU members have both the material security (based on the seniority system) and the security status (based on the high prestige of the occupation) needed for the development of a political opposition; a party system, in their judgment, is possible only in a secure union. But, they point out, a social structure favorable to democracy, as in the ITU, does not insure it; democracy must be realized by decisions at various critical points in the union's history. Once these have been made, however, they make it more likely that democracy will prevail when the next crisis develops.

If it takes some such combination of structural factors aided by favorable historical developments to produce union democracy, then the plant is a fragile one, offering little hope for its appearance in many industries or for long survival in those rare cases where it appears. The conclusions of Lipset and his colleagues, in fact, are that the functional requirements for democracy cannot be met most of the time in most unions (p. 403). Even more, going far beyond their empirical evidence, they argue that democracy is possible only if the interests of the members are homogeneous. For an industrial union to survive, the union head must assume the power of a dictator in order to arbitrate the various conflicts of interest that will arise, paralleling the union's internal stratification (pp. 307-8). Even in the case of a multiple craft union they are skeptical of the chances of democracy; since interest cleavages are inflexible, the majority will tyrannize over the minority, democracy will break down, and internal unity is likely to survive only under the rigid discipline imposed by a one-party political system (pp. 300-301). Surely these are drastic and far-reaching generalizations to base upon the scanty evidence of craft differences, such as those with the mailers, in the history of the ITU.

The authors think that the differences within a union hold most promise for a two-party system and therefore for democracy when based on ideological cleavage between right and left, between those who urge militancy against employers as against those who argue for conciliatory tactics. For this to appear, they argue, in effect, that two conditions are needed: (1) the membership must be homogeneous, approximately at one level of skill and pay, or the difference will be in terms of interest

rather than ideology; and (2) the union must define its functions broadly, since if it restricts its role narrowly to collective bargaining there is little room for controversy (pp. 406-7).

Yet one might expect differences to continue to arise within unions, as in national political life; some will want to extend the power of the central organization, while others will want to keep power in the local groups; some will want to enlarge the functions of the union, as in the political sphere, while others would restrict it to collective bargaining. Moreover, there will be those who would widen the differentials between workers of various skills as against those who would narrow them; those who would use the bargaining power of the union to increase employment or provide fringe benefits, such as pensions or welfare funds, as against those who would increase direct wages; those who would keep dues and services at high levels as against those who would prefer to save money; and so on, down to those who are merely for or against the policies or the personality of a particular union officer or candidate for office. It is hard to conceive of a union that would run out of issues or that would long stay out of them, nor can one believe it desirable to have political differences based on ideology and undesirable to have them based on interest.

Since industrial unionism is the logical type of structure in broad segments of our economy and since multiple-craft unionism is appropriate in others, it would be wise policy to establish the conditions under which these very natural—indeed, inevitable—differences of interest as well as of opinion permit of political expression without penalty. If democracy is as unlikely to develop in industrial and multiple-craft unions as the authors of this book believe, then our choice is to take special steps to encourage democracy or to resign ourselves to autocracy.

It is unfortunate that Lipset and his colleagues do not consider the possibility of state action to protect union democracy. Union leaders, needless to say, do not welcome such proposals, since no one likes to be regulated and since labor has abundant reason to challenge the impartiality of the state. Yet the state may intervene now, if the unionist has the time and money to go to court to protect his rights. The Railway Labor Act, the Wagner Act, and the Taft-Hartley Act have all affected internal union matters, as well as relations

between unions and employers.¹¹ Rights to get and keep jobs, to gain admission to a union and enjoy self-government within it, are too important to be left to chance or economic pressure or to be intrusted to the good will of union officers or of a union majority.¹² In this reviewer's opinion there has been enough limitation of democratic rights within unions to justify public action.

Even an autocratic union is better than none, since it interposes its power between the worker and the employer and gives the former the benefits of collective bargaining, a grievance system, and representation before state agencies. Yet there is no reason why workers or public opinion should accept as inevitable a high degree of autocracy within an organization whose social justification rests in large part on its contribution to democracy in the larger society.

The present volume, one might point out, raises the question as to the meaning of democracy within unions. If union democracy is equated with a stable two-party system, as Lipset and his colleagues appear to do, then it is not common. However, they evidently are of the opinion that a union would be called democratic if the members retain final authority and have the power to exercise it when they desire. This requires not only the formal guarantees of democracy—regular meetings and conventions, honest elections, and the like—but also the very practical provisions, such as are found in the ITU, that permit an opposition freedom to organize without penalty and assure

it means of communication to the members. Even at the present time there is a vast amount of political activity, often sporadic in large numbers of locals, bringing democratic vigor, locally, in unions dominated by one-party machines at the national level. Given freedom to organize in safety, means to reach the membership, and honesty of elections, the members would have the means to change the officers and therefore policies.

This preoccupation with democracy, however, is beside the point for those who reject democracy as a proper objective for unionism and makes pertinent the question as to what we want unions to be. If they are to be merely effective striking and collective-bargaining agencies, then it is best for them to be disciplined bodies aided by experts in the negotiation of contracts. If they are to be efficient service organizations and nothing more, then a bureaucracy to prosecute grievance cases, represent members before welfare or other government agencies, and the like is enough. It is possible to argue, as Allen does,¹³ that these are the objectives and that democracy is immaterial so long as the workers are free to join or leave as they see fit. It is wholly different, however, if democracy is a desired goal in itself, to be sought in voluntary organizations as well as in the larger society; if one is concerned not merely about the value of a union in protecting a worker from the arbitrary acts of management but also with means to protect him from the arbitrary actions of union leaders; and if one is concerned not merely with a union's effectiveness in collective bargaining but with it as an agency responsive to the desires of its members and subject to their control.

The authors conclude their book with a list of twenty-two propositions, plus a number of subpropositions, that embody their findings. Most of them are readily acceptable to students of the political life of unions; stated in this way, however, they should stimulate research. Whether or not one agrees with all their propositions—or, indeed, with their concept of union democracy—there should be widespread agreement that Lipset, Trow, and Coleman have made a major contribution to our understanding of union politics in general.

University of Chicago

JOEL SEIDMAN

¹¹ The Taft-Hartley Act, as well as much of the state legislation, was designed more to weaken unions than to correct undemocratic practices within unions. State intervention will need to be greatly improved before it can play the constructive role here suggested. Such a group as the American Civil Liberties Union has sponsored legislation to safeguard union democracy (see its pamphlet, *Democracy in Trade Unions* [1944]). For an excellent review and criticism of legislative developments in this area see Benjamin Aaron and Michael I. Komaroff, "Statutory Regulation of Internal Union Affairs," *Illinois Law Review*, XLIV (September-October and November-December, 1949), 425-66 and 631-74.

¹² The practices of a number of craft unions, many of them in the railroad field, have been particularly objectionable with regard to the admission of Negroes; both management and unions have been at fault, and public intervention is desirable to prevent discrimination by either.

¹³ V. L. Allen, *Power in Trade Unions* (London: Longmans, Green & Co., 1954), pp. 10-11, 15 (quoted on p. 408).

The Union Member Speaks. By HJALMAR ROSEN and R. A. HUDSON ROSEN. New York: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1955. Pp. vii+247. \$4.95.

This report of the attitudes of union members toward their union is based on a union-sponsored survey of members and officers of the International Association of Machinists, AFL, District 9. The questionnaire, analysis, and presentation of the data are based upon a division of attitudes into "norms," defined as "the 'shoulds' and 'should-nots' of a given social situation"; "perceptions," defined as "what is subjectively experienced as existing in a social situation"; and "evaluations," defined as "the approval or disapproval of a given social situation, in terms of the degree to which norms are perceived as being met" (p. 150).

The report is divided into two parts. The first part discusses and summarizes the substantive findings of the research. The authors found the standards of the members, influenced by general American values, consistent. The workers agreed on the standards which should govern collective bargaining, the enforcement of the members' rights in the grievance process, the exercise of the rights of members through meeting attendance, and the behavior and tasks of the business agent. An exception to this was found in only one area, the political actions of the union. Workers disagreed on whether or not unions should be active in politics as well as on what types of political activities to engage in.

While most union officials felt that the union's policies and practices conform to the standards expressed by the workers, the perceptions of inactive workers with respect to what actually went on in the union were considerably less consistent.

The analysis of the responses of union officers show that they lack reliable information about their members. The authors' findings confirm the observations of other students that communication within the union is inadequate. While the evaluations of workers differed on a number of specific issues, tendencies toward extremes, either of total rejection or of total acceptance of union activities, were uncommon. As judges of union activities, the members were placed in four categories; they can be Pickers and Choosers, Patriots, Grippers, or Fencesitters. The authors found that about half were satisfied with the union, one-quarter were dissatisfied, and another quarter were undecided. As would be expected, satisfied

members believed that the activities of the union conformed to their standards, while dissatisfied members held that the union did not do what they thought it should.

The second part of the book is composed of twelve appendixes. The most important of these deal with the research design; discussion of methodological problems; statistical analysis of norm, perception, and evaluation relationships; and an attempt to relate the personal characteristics of the respondents to their opinions. The authors have tried to reach a more penetrating understanding of worker attitudes. This is especially apparent in their efforts to manipulate the data statistically and to present some of the relationships which they found between attitudes and such social factors as age and education. It is regrettable that, in their desire to address their work to both the lay and the professional reader, they present interesting and potentially important material without much comment and make it appear of secondary importance.

The study adds another volume to the growing number of reports on the attitudes of members toward their union. Much of what is reported in this book will not come as a surprise to readers who are familiar with similar studies. The value of all these surveys rests primarily with the use that can be made of them by those who try to go beyond the studies themselves. They might, for example, probe further to find the reason for variations in attitudes toward their union both among members of the same union and between members of different unions, as well as differences in consistency and stability of attitude.

DAISY L. TAGLIACCOZZO

Chicago

Automobile Workers and the American Dream.

By ELY CHINYOY. Introduction by DAVID RIESMAN. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. xx+139. \$3.00.

Professor Chinoy documents a fact long recognized since the appearance of Lynd's *Middletown*—the wide gap between the American tradition of opportunity and the reality, as experienced by workingmen. Basing his findings on a small sample of workers in a midwestern automobile plant, Chinoy records and interprets what men say about their hopes for advancement up through the ranks and into managerial

jobs. He considers alternative hopes for jobs outside the plant, showing how workers constantly talk but rarely take advantage of moving into occupations which would give them a sense of independence and control. With a surgeon's skill the author then carefully exposes the facts. The nature of work itself, the compressed wage levels, and the limitations of promotion into management jobs make it patently clear that these men "can hardly be said to live up to the rich promises of the American tradition."

Faced with these obstacles for advancement, workers eventually modify their goals. Steady employment, security, collective increases in wages, and standards of consumption and relief from the drudgery of the immediate job: these are the "goals" they seek. Yet, in their rationalization, they continue to hold fast to the doctrine of individual opportunity.

Chinoy observes: "To the extent that workers focus blame for their failure to rise above the level of wage labor upon themselves rather than upon the institutions that govern the pursuit of wealth or upon persons who control those institutions, American society escapes the consequences of its own contradictions." In his conclusion the author implies that our society has *not* escaped the consequences. He says workers are abandoning the concept of individual advancement and seeking "future well-being in a collective effort to achieve common goals." Leaving his data, he makes a vague plea in his concluding paragraph for changes in economic institutions and organization "to enhance workers' sense of participation in this collective effort." Just what these changes are he leaves the reader to guess.

The volume is short and occasionally repetitious. Yet Chinoy's pithy observations and liberal footnoting reveals a prodigious background of research quite apart from the field work itself. No teacher should overlook this work as source material for discussion. The public at large and management in particular will gain a better understanding of causes of industrial unrest. This is not a study of strikes; yet, by the end of the book, one can better understand why men strike when the apparent reason is only a few pennies, for in this volume is revealed an important source of frustration, those deep subtle tensions which build up as a result of the disparity between the myth and the reality of opportunity.

One of the most original contributions of the

book is a chronology of aspirations. Young men define their jobs as temporary. Marital responsibilities then enter, and the job becomes more permanent. Seniority anchors the workers by middle age, and they come to realize that there is no real future in the traditional sense.

The author may well be criticized by the social scientist who insists upon drawing narrow conclusions from carefully controlled experiment. His variables are all over the lot. The sample is small, only 62 respondents. Yet the study should hearten those who must pick away at truth on a small scale and with limited funds.

No review of Chinoy's book is complete without mention of David Riesman's brilliant and penetrating Introduction, in which he skims the cream from the book itself, then adds some flavor of his own.

ROBERT H. GUEST

Yale University

Money and Motivation: An Analysis of Incentives in Industry. By WILLIAM F. WHYTE *et al.* New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. xii+268. \$4.00.

This is a collection of reprints, revisions, summaries, and syntheses of articles and books by Professor Whyte and his co-workers plus much material not previously published. They analyze the operation of incentive and suggestion systems in four sections: "The Worker and His Work Group"; "Intergroup Relations"; "The Plant-wide Social System"; and "A Theory of Economic Incentives and Human Relations." Whyte summarizes in the last section his variation of a scheme by Chapple, Arensberg, and Homans, applies it to the case studies, and offers advice to management. In general, the rich case material contributes most and the theory least to a sociological understanding of economic behavior.

The book aims to present "a new model socioeconomic man to replace the discredited economic man who has held sway in the incentive systems most common in industry today" (p. 2); "a new theoretical statement" about "the motivation of man" in industry (p. 7); and "an integrated view of human organization" (p. 254).

It is suggested (p. 49) that economic man describes "probably less than 10% of the work force" (on p. 28 the guess is "one-third").

The "new model *socioeconomic man*" makes a brief appearance—explicitly only in a short presentation of stimulus-response psychology, implicitly in some of the case studies. But he would be no stranger to Adam Smith. In fact, this alternative image seems to support the assumption that traditional labor economists have in fact made—i.e., (1) men seek to maximize their net advantage (including joy in work, prestige, power, as well as income—values which must be specified for the particular culture); and (2) in analyzing labor markets, money is sometimes a good index of net advantage. Consistent with this is Whyte's treatment of the "economics of incentive response" (in which the elasticity of demand for the product emerges as a major factor), as well as the case studies (from the ingenious sabotage of the machinists described by Donald Roy to the cost-cutting efforts of Scanlon Plan workers). More production apparently does not always bring more monetary reward or stability of income, and so workers do not always respond in full measure.

The four key concepts—symbols, sentiments, activities, and interactions—get lost in a maze of other variables in the cases. A typical theoretical proposition: "We change sentiments and activities through changing [frequency, duration, and initiation of] interaction. And we change interaction through changing the symbols that are presented . . . or the work flow or organizational structure" (p. 227). When Whyte applies this proposition to "the problems of conflict surrounding time study," however, he looks first not to symbols, interaction, etc., but to the position of the time-study man, the status, function, and power of the position and its relation to other positions and to the social origins and career patterns of the occupants. Where the formal scheme is applied *without* bringing in alternative apparatus, it occasionally ignores the roles that men play. Thus it is noted that ex-coal miners now in a factory observed the imported plant manager "... 'patrolling' the plant and looking at them and their work with what was interpreted as an unfriendly and critical eye. Probably the lack of personal contact is sufficient to explain the unfriendly sentiments here" (p. 137).

A frequent punch line in this characteristic mode of explanation is "a change in human relations did it." Even when the referents are clear, one often wonders whether these or other changes are what turned the trick. Comparing

the impact of a plant-wide incentive system in two cases, it seems likely that, in a financial crisis, relatively little class cleavage in the community, and high economic rewards in the plant are the independent variables in the success story, while changes in "human relations" are intervening variables and the author sees it this way. Yet the general conclusion is the slogan-like, "no change in human relations, then no worker response to the plant-wide incentive" (pp. 145-47). Or, again, we are told that union-management-worker cooperation depends on reciprocal "origination of interaction" (p. 139); but the cases suggest that such reciprocity depends on the extent to which the contending parties share common goals, and this in turn is a product of many variables, including those mentioned above.

These comments should not obscure the fact that the book contains some of the best sociological descriptions of work in the literature. Roy's and Dalton's excellent accounts of the roles and ideologies of workers and managers are based on close observation. Dalton's study of the social background and subcultures of output-restricters and rate-busters is more systematic than any in the book (and less related to the "interactionist" scheme). There is a good analysis of suggestion plans and of the functional consequences of rule evasion. The book is an effective polemic against individual (versus plant-wide) incentive and suggestion systems. Though varied in adequacy, the data are, on the whole, much less superficial than is usually found in studies of the behavior of workers. The standard questions about representativeness can be raised.

Critics of the "human-relations approach" have charged that it is management-biased (overvalues order and efficiency and undervalues freedom and equality) and is therefore blind to conflicts of interests and ideology and to the functions of trade unions. The critics will find less ammunition to support the second than the first charge. That workers do work and managers do manage is seldom overlooked; abundant anecdotes remind us of the interest conflicts between them. If there is any bias, it is for protecting the leaders of any organization—union or management—that they may preserve the equilibrium of the social system. The somewhat fuzzy treatment of power will illustrate. Management is advised that it will not retain control by giving workers the illusion that power will be shared. But it is also ac-

vised that power need not, in fact, be diffused; that the power issue can be "avoided altogether." In most of the discussion, however, the ideal that triumphs is that power should be shared with union leaders, who will stop acting as "watchdogs" and instead become junior partners in the task of securing worker compliance. "In effect," Whyte says, "the manager gets action by initiating through two channels instead of one." Whyte is aware that unions often wither on the vine when they lose their protest functions, but his solution—as union activity is "rechanneled," leaders should see that the rank and file have more of a chance to "originate"—merely restates the problem. Critics will say he belittles the functions of autonomous and competing centers of power in a pluralist society.

The book is eminently readable. It is likely to get wide use in industrial sociology, personnel management, and similar courses, both graduate and undergraduate.

HAROLD L. WILENSKY

University of Michigan

✓ *The Social Foundations of Wage Policy.* By BARBARA WOOTTON. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1955. Pp. 200. \$3.75.

This volume uses data for Great Britain to deal with a problem which has long concerned sociologists and economists—the factors which influence the distribution of rewards among different occupations. After presenting a remarkably lucid summary of classical economic wage theory, the author analyzes the contemporary British wage and salary structure and finds little similarity between theory and reality. But the characteristics of the wage structure which appear anomalous in the light of economic theory become intelligible, she contends, when viewed in a broader sociological framework. The explanatory principle is the relationship between pay and prestige. While high earnings confer prestige on an occupation, the converse is also true in an acquisitive society.

An understanding of the British wage structure requires recognition of the revolutionary changes of the present century. Collective bargaining, statutory regulation, and arbitration have become the principal instruments for setting wages and salaries, with the result that

conscious decisions have replaced impersonal market forces. Moreover, the extension of collective bargaining to non-manual workers has converted it from an instrument for leveling low incomes into a mechanism for protecting vested interests throughout the labor force. Both developments have made ethical considerations, rather than the amoral forces of supply and demand, loom larger in wage determination, for those who make decisions are impelled to justify them. In recent years, "morality" in wage decisions has demanded equity not only between the two parties directly concerned but also in terms of the public interest.

Despite these trends, Mrs. Wootton finds in the policies of government, unions, employers, and arbitrators no consistent set of ethical principles to guide wage determination. This disturbs her for both economic and social reasons. Economically, the absence of a coherent policy may bring about cumulative inflation and a breakdown in the labor allocation process. Socially, it perpetuates a pattern of gross inequalities in income which may endanger political democracy (p. 176).

Because she is committed to both equalitarianism and economic planning, Mrs. Wootton recommends a wage policy which would serve both ends. Priority should be given to proposals for increases in wages below a prescribed level, and above this level increases should be tapered off. Exceptions should be made only if they are necessary to meet labor shortages in particular employments. Mrs. Wootton proposes no comprehensive program of wage controls. She feels that the mere declaration of a consistent wage policy by government will be effective in guiding those responsible for wage decisions.

This study should appeal to American social scientists, for it analyzes a problem faced—although in different degrees—by all free, industrialized societies. Whether one agrees with Mrs. Wootton's recommendations will depend in large measure on whether one shares her basic values and is equally confident that the announcement of policy by government can be relied on to shape the decisions of non-government agencies. But whether or not they accept her policy prescriptions, economists, sociologists, and political scientists will find much to intrigue them in her penetrating analysis.

HERBERT S. PARNES

Ohio State University

The British Working Class Reader, 1790-1848: Literacy and Social Tension. By R. K. WEBB. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd.; New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. ix+192. 18s. (\$2.50).

With a certain freshness of data and of topic, in this book the author has tapped a host of far-flung primary sources in order to identify a British working-class reading public from the time of the French Revolution to the mid-nineteenth century and to reconstruct the successive responses of British middle and upper classes to the challenge which a literate labor presented.

The analysis is divided into two main periods. In the first, 1790-1820, awareness of working-class exposure to subversive political and religious literature frightened the ruling classes into purely defensive counterpropaganda. The second period was marked by the emergence of a secure ideology and a self-righteous offensive, based, above all, on the doctrines of the new science of political economy.

In both periods the message failed in its purpose because of faulty techniques—pamphlets too expensive; level and style not adapted to working-class mentality—and because of misunderstanding of the audience. Most of those at whom Whig and Tory pamphlets were aimed had no interest in abstract scientific or religious discourses. Such ideas as they did entertain came “not from the exercise of reason, but from experience, economic necessity, a vague but important sense of justice and dignity, a preference for collective action, and infection by better-informed and more active fellow workers.” The latter and working-class writers like Cobbett had their own convictions and spoke to issues that really concerned their followers.

At least two common misconceptions are corrected by this study. Contrary to the notion that widespread literacy was an achievement of the late nineteenth century, evidence of the scale and variety of educational facilities as well as contemporary statistical investigation point to a large working-class reading public early in the century, a public faced with “a fantastic multiplication of all kinds of printed material.” Casting doubt on the reputation of the Society for the Diffusion of Useful Knowledge (1826-46) for success, the author shows how misdirected inspiration and inept management kept it far from its goal: to preoccupy

and indoctrinate the minds of the workers.

Beyond its service as a historical monograph, however, the book treats questions that are in the forefront of current sociological probing. In depicting the attempts of an elite to appeal to the masses for support of the social order by means of the printed word, it records the first ideological campaign waged in the mass media. Its data and its conclusions illustrate and expand recent conceptions of the boomerang effect in propaganda and the nature of opinion leadership.

DONALD N. LEVINE

University of Chicago

Men, Motives, and Money: Psychological Frontiers of Economics. By ALBERT LAUTERBACH. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1954. Pp. xiv+366. \$5.00.

Acknowledging that the time is not yet ripe to formulate a general theory of economic psychology, the author proposes, nevertheless, to further that objective by raising questions and hypotheses for research. His main effort is to disclose non-economic motives, e.g., prestige, status, affection, in what is usually considered to be purely economic or business behavior. These motives are considered to be more basic and valid explanations of behavior than the drive for profits. The “economic man” is therefore replaced by a psychological man; unfortunately, the latter is often not much more than a dubious speculation.

The book is divided into five chapters. The first two are devoted to an analysis of various aspects of personality and motivational determinants of business behavior. In the third chapter an attempt is made to relate socioeconomic instability to personality maladjustment and insecurity. The fourth chapter is a discussion of the psychology of economic reform, i.e., the role of personality in attitudes toward socioeconomic change. The final chapter summarizes the book and offers procedures and a policy for economic reform. Of the impressive literature cited in support of the author's analysis, only a small portion reports research.

What the author refers to as “contemporary personality theory” turns out to be an eclectic assortment of concepts ranging from typologies to psychoanalytic dynamics. Whatever utility the concept of “type” has is lost when the term is applied indiscriminately to limited behavior

categories, e.g., the thrifty type, the hoarding type, the venturesome type, etc. The author's psychoanalytic formulations of personality lead to a variety of subjective conclusions. Thus the upper classes are bothered by a collective guilt complex; emotional resistance to government debt can be explained only by displaced childhood fears; etc. In general, there is undue neglect of conscious and rational aspects of personality and motivation. Finally, despite frequent allusions to the important role of society or culture, articulation of social concepts with personality or behavior is not achieved.

There are many positive contributions of the book to social psychology, notably the discussion of the relation of socioeconomic instability to personal instability and the relation of psychological incentives to productive efficiency. On the whole, however, the outcome is disappointing. Progress in the direction of a systematic co-ordination of behavior to the economic environment is not apparent.

RICHARD JESSOR

University of Colorado

Terror and Progress USSR: Some Sources of Change and Stability in the Soviet Dictatorship. By BARRINGTON MOORE, JR. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1954. Pp. 261. \$4.50.

This analysis of the "sources of change and stability in the Soviet dictatorship," is an important contribution to the understanding of the controls that operate in Soviet society, i.e., of the functions and dynamics of power, technical requirements, and tradition in industry, agriculture, science and arts, and the police.

Moore points to inherent contradictions in the spheres of control as well as to strains and stresses inherent in role distribution and requirements; for example, the technical need for granting more autonomy to factory managers puts limitations on the central political power. On the other hand, one of the devices available to factory managers to resist the demands for increased production from above is to stick to previous plans. Thus tradition is frequently favored by those in responsible economic positions, while "innovation" in the industrial sphere becomes a political tool. Since the contradictory requirements of the regime do not find solution in institutionalized conflict relationships, there is the danger that a traditional

element may gain importance in the economy which would undermine the drive for industrial development upon which the regime rests at the moment.

Efficient production and organization generally depend on clearly defined spheres of competence, responsibility, and authority; on the other hand, the maintenance of Soviet political power necessitates a continuous skipping of the chain of command and interference at any point and at any time in order to assure "loyalty" to the regime rather than to one's task or to the group which co-operates on the task. In this way, while the leadership fosters insecurity and suspicion in the population and thereby further strengthens its power, it nevertheless loses voluntary support. Terror, then, is the political answer to this dilemma: not an instrument that the rulers can use or not at will if economic conditions permit, as some writers have suggested, but an integral part of the structure for overcoming contradictions between political and economic organizational requirements.

It would be erroneous to assume that Russian society is completely atomized. Terror and political interference not only destroy but also create friendships and protective cliques. Basic social processes, such as that of "reciprocity of obligations" are at work in this society as in any other: the bottle of vodka creates informal mutual obligations and loyalties.

Nor would it be correct to assume that the leaders disallow every conflict and always require total allegiance to their point of view. Some types of conflict among some groups provide an entering wedge for interference by the party and are therefore tolerated. Moore cites specifically the case of scientific controversy. The "losing" faction is often permitted to continue propounding its views. In this way scientific controversy is kept in the "public" eye, where otherwise scientists might constitute a solid bloc resisting penetration by "laymen."

Moore does not believe that, with the further development of industry and an increase in the production of consumers' goods, there will be a reduced emphasis on power and an increased emphasis on "technocratic" rule. Moreover, "both tradition and circumstance," he says, "combine to render highly dubious any peaceful transformation of the communist regime into a democratic system" (p. 194). Rather he believes in the plausibility of a development toward "traditionalism," with the concomitant decline of the power and prestige of the tech-

nical manager. Indeed, there is nothing inherent in the economic system itself that would make for economic expansion, if the political source of expansion declines, for "stagnation is built into the structure of soviet economy." A slowly growing rigidity of the class structure also points in the direction of a "traditional" system in which the ruler would depend on the loyalty of an "aristocracy"—a trend in no way dominant but one whose beginnings can already be discerned.

It is impossible within the confines of a short review to convey the analytical skill and logical exposition which mark this book. Any attempt at summarizing some salient points carries the danger of tearing some elements out of the context of tight reasoning. Today, when so often books are *used* instead of being read, it might be well to emphasize that this book should be *read*, and not only by students of the "Russian problem." In addition to affording valuable insight into the dynamics of Russian society, it has wider application especially for students of bureaucratic organization and social change.

Wellesley College

ROSE LAUB COSER

Decision Processes. Edited by R. M. THRALL, C. H. COOMBS, and R. L. DAVIS. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1954. Pp. viii+332. \$5.00.

This work consists of a set of papers on the application of mathematics to decision processes. Intending it as a vehicle for providing guideposts in a relatively young field of theory, the authors have endeavored to select papers ranging from pure mathematics to experiments in group dynamics.

After a concise and well-written Introduction, the paper, "Some Views on Mathematical Models and Measurement Theory," by Coombs, Raiffa, and Thrall provides a clear review of the role of mathematical models in the social sciences.

The body of the book is divided into four parts. Part I is primarily concerned with the standard statistical decision problem and problems of group choice. Part II is focused on the elaboration of mathematical models for learning. Included here is an excellent paper by Bush, Mosteller, and Thompson on their model involving choices. Part III, entitled "Theory and the Applications of Utility," centers upon various aspects of the concept of utility. As such, the papers contribute to

the formalizing of axioms of utility from the mathematical point of view. Of great interest and excellence is a paper by Jacob Marschak which carries out an analysis of the activities of teams. How should a group act to maximize its gain? What are the best rules of action and communication? These and other related questions receive thoughtful treatment. The last part is concerned with experimental studies, although, as the authors point out, it is difficult to draw a line between "experimental" and "theoretical." Each proceeds from rigorous theoretical propositions to carefully worked-out experiments and pilot studies.

The influence of Von Neumann and Morgenstern's game theory is, of course, evident in many of the papers. This framework has provided a consistent and systematic point of departure for the development of new and more precise concepts for the understanding and solution of economic problems. This is highly desirable, for all too often theories are set forth in more or less fragmentary form and are never explored further.

Theory apart, however, much remains to be done on what Marschak has called "the task of putting empirical flesh on the bones of abstraction." Work is proceeding in this direction, but it must ultimately be extended to far broader horizons. Social scientists from other disciplines should be trained in the use of mathematical logic, and, conversely, current workers in the field of mathematical formulation and testing of behavioral theory should guard against becoming too specialized and narrow in their view. It is imperative that mathematical models be meaningfully related to the real world—a constraint which is all too often forgotten.

The average social scientist interested in behavior but without specific training in mathematics may find himself beyond his depth. Several papers require considerable mathematical sophistication. Others require a fair knowledge of game theory. All require close reading.

NORMAN H. MARTIN

University of Chicago

Mobility in the Labour Market: Employment Changes in Battersea and Dagenham. By MARGO JEFFERYS with the assistance of WINIFRED MOSS. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, Ltd.; New York: Grove Press, 1954. Pp. ix+160. \$3.50.

This book is recommended to those interested in labor-market behavior both because it is an excellent example of presenting the findings of an empirical study and because the statistical conclusions suggest that patterns of job change may be more directly related to degree of industrialization than to national differences. In addition, the apparent similarities between British and American experience enable the reader to relate the discussion of public policy on employment and wages to the American scene.

The description of mobility patterns in the two districts of Greater London will surprise only those who had assumed that British workers are substantially less mobile than American. In the postwar period, London workers have been less mobile than their American counterparts only in the amount of interurban movement.

The data are drawn from some twenty-three hundred interviews with adult male workers, selected not in a household sample but from the payroll records of co-operating firms in the major industries of the two Employment Exchange areas. Further, almost all the interviews were held at the places of employment, with no apparent ill effects on the quality of response. The methodology, while somewhat unusual, seems to be well adapted to the purposes of the study, and the author carefully lists the limitations and avoids unwarranted conclusions.

In the chapters devoted to labor-market policies, the author discusses whether the government should actively interfere in adjusting labor supply and demand but at this point makes very little use of her findings. She rejects a national wage policy under which higher wage rates would be set in essential industries by government fiat, for two reasons: it would undermine collective-bargaining relationships, and it would be difficult to determine exactly what wage differential would move just the right amount of labor. One suspects that the author's real reason is a belief, which could have been supported to some extent by the study, that decisions in the market place will be sufficient to adjust labor supply to changes in demand.

The discussion of national wage policy might have been profitably linked to the author's treatment of labor turnover. In this instance the findings are used to support the advice to employers whose turnover seems too high to seek the solution in competitive wage rates and varied work assignments. This is based on the

conclusion that the younger workers who made voluntary moves did so for the most part either to obtain higher current earnings or "more interesting" and varied work. Dr. Jefferys' advice to the government seems to be, although this is not stated explicitly, that the labor market will operate more efficiently if left alone. She does comment, however, on the so-called New Town developments and suggests that there would be advantages in redeveloping older metropolitan districts such as Battersea which have had declining populations and aging labor forces. Her reason is that the large metropolitan population, with its great diversity of skills and employment opportunities and its cross-commuting patterns, provides a degree of flexibility in the adjustment of supply and demand which cannot be matched by the smaller populations of the New Towns.

RICHARD C. WILCOCK

University of Illinois

The Process and Effects of Mass Communication.

✓ Edited by WILBUR SCHRAMM. Urbana, Ill.: University of Illinois Press, 1954. Pp. 586. \$6.00.

There is a traditional organizing formula in the field of mass communications research to which courses and books have faithfully adhered: structure of the communications industries, audiences, content, effects. Lasswell's "Who says what to whom with what effect?" is an alternative way of stating the same thing. The formula is certainly useful for classifying research or for outlining the broadest dimensions of the communications process, but, more often than not, it seems to obscure the problems—theoretical and applied—that deserve attention in this field.

This book, happily, does not hide behind the formula. It may not be the most clearly organized of mass-media "readers," but it is perhaps the most creative, and it gives a sense of problem.

The formula makes no room for the question *why* people read, or listen, or view, and, in fact, there has been very little research on the psychological gratifications and the social "uses" of exposure to mass media. The Schramm book at least calls attention to these problems by entitling a section "Why They Attend to Mass Communications," and, though the readings are familiar, perhaps grouping them together

this way is enough to make clear that students of the mass media ought to be at least as interested in *why* "whom" bothers to listen at all, as in *describing* "who" and "whom" and what they are saying to each other.

Following the formula, one asks: "With what effect?" Students of the mass media have too often acted as if this were a concrete question when, in fact, the notion of "effect" can be classified in all kinds of ways. Their preoccupation has been primarily with only one kind of effect—attempts in the very short run to influence opinions, attitudes, and actions. Instead of ignoring this narrowed focus, Schramm entitles a section "Modifying Attitudes and Opinions." Implicitly at least, this makes clear that there are other effects which the mass media might have on society but which researchers have not studied very much. And it ought to make clear, too, that the specific fields from which Schramm draws most of his examples—international communications and psychological warfare—are special cases of this specific concern of mass-media research to date.

Recently, considerable attention has been given to the notion that the ostensibly atomized mass audience consists of individuals with specifiable patterns of social relations and that such interpersonal connections have a lot to do with the success or failure of persuasion by the mass media. Schramm devotes a whole section to some of the most interesting statements concerning "Effects in Terms of Groups." Beginning with Blumer's ideal-type characterization of the mass audience, there follows Freidson's critical reappraisal of this image in the light of empirical research and the Rileys' pioneering study of the different "uses" to which children put the media, depending on their relative integration into groups of their peers. A statement by the United States Information Agency (USIA) on the nature of personal influence and opinion leadership is made generally available for the first time.

This book was originally prepared as a training guide for new employees of the USIA, hence the special emphasis on international communications. Rather than a shortcoming, this one-sided emphasis is, in fact, quite welcome as the attempt to study communication across cultures has highlighted the role of social theory much more than has "domestic" research. For example, the interpersonal communications network of the folk society comes up for scrutiny; the social bond of a collective symbol such as the emperor of Japan is analyzed; the tiny and

disproportionately influential middle class in underdeveloped areas is examined as a target of communication. Anthropologists, sociologists, psychiatrists, and others who had not thought of themselves as communications men find themselves so represented because they have contributed something relevant to an understanding of psychological warfare or to reaching across a cultural frontier; and this is as it should be.

The shortcoming of the specialized emphasis on international communications, however, is that there are too many programmatic statements on what our side's international information program should or should not be like (though tucked away in these are important ideas and otherwise inaccessible pieces of interesting research). Some of the selections are much too brief to be useful, and there are too many different reviews of research findings to date—and reviews of reviews. It is gratifying that the reviews seem to agree with each other so well, but by now we must reckon with inbreeding.

The job of theory or current thinking in a field is to provide an organization for research. A research "reader" would seem to be most serviceable (even as a text) when it contains a maximum of research reports and case studies and a bare minimum of forward-looking or backward-looking papers. But if some of the papers are too programmatic or repetitious and if the continuity of the papers or the sections is sometimes bumpy, this is more than compensated for by the merit of having gone beyond the conventions to present a collection of papers under headings which are at the forefront of interest—both theoretical and applied—in present-day research.

ELIHU KATZ

University of Chicago

The Chinese Gentry: Studies on Their Role in Nineteenth-Century Chinese Society. By CHANG CHUNG-LI. Introduction by FRANZ MICHAEL. ("University of Washington Publications on Asia.") Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1955. Pp. xxi+250. \$5.75.

The gentry elite of pre-twentieth-century China drove itself to achieve. In comparison with contemporary American society, there were few ambiguities and contradictions between economic, prestige, and power hierarchies. In *The Chinese Gentry* these and other

findings are well documented from such Chinese primary sources as official publications, contemporary writings, local gazetteers, and, in Part IV, with 5,473 biographies, analyzed statistically for the first time.

Franz Michael's Introduction will remind sociologists of their predecessors' interest in Chinese social structure: but even when compared with the work of Marx, Werner, Weber, Wittfogel, and Fei Hsiao-t'ung, the four studies by Chang Chung-li which make up this volume have broken new ground. Specifically, they indicate that Fei's *China's Gentry* generalizes invalidly from twentieth-century republican gentry to the gentry of prerevolutionary times, in view of the fact that, among other things, the imperial examination system—which in earlier times played a major role in determining gentry status—was abolished in 1905. The data establish that at no time during the nineteenth century were more than 12 per cent of the gentry listed as landowners. In still another connection, Chang shows that among any given kin group, only those who had obtained degrees, titles, or office and their immediate families were recognized as legitimate gentry. Elders, brothers, and adult sons of a degree-holder might receive deference but were not accorded full status as gentry.

The term "gentry" should not therefore connote land, hereditary status, or family per se, as in England, but rather the possessors of degrees and government office. In China these attributes differentiated the gentry from the masses and, within the gentry, distinguished "upper" from "lower" strata and "regular" from "irregular" gentry, according to the means of attaining status. The decisive step was from the people up into the gentry rather than from lower to upper gentry. Chang argues that these are strata which the Chinese themselves recognized. These distinctions, made in Part I, serve as a basis for the statistical analyses of Parts II and IV and for a further qualitative investigation in Part III.

The last-named section, entitled "The Examination Life of the Gentry in Nineteenth Century China," brings out most clearly the logic of power relations. Chang's data support his hypothesis that during the nineteenth century there was an increasing social mobility: at least 35 per cent of a group of 2,146 gentry were "newcomers," i.e., neither their fathers nor their grandfathers had held degrees or office.

Despite the wealth of empirical detail, soci-

ologists will wish that some other questions had been asked which were of more direct theoretical concern. The problem of kinship in relation to the gentry is not adequately examined. Other writers have emphasized kinship solidarity. How is this to be reconciled with Chang's data on distinctions between "gentry"; and "hangers-on" within the same family? Again, in the conflict between private and public interest (*szü-kung*) some sociologists will see possibilities for reanalysis in terms of the pattern-variables of particularism and universalism.

Chang notes that although there was generally *formal* equality of opportunity as to examinations and mobility into gentry status, in practice the advantages went largely to those with wealth and influence. But he fails to stress that, given the strength of kinship in China, the favoritism which produced at least some inheritance of status was inevitable. A discussion of how examinations and kinship operate together to elevate a man would have been valuable sociologically. Similarly, it would have been profitable to examine the extent to which the 35 per cent who were newcomers might be a crude index of the strength or weakness of kinship solidarity. Were there tensions between the immediate family and the "hangers-on" which reduced kinship solidarity?

The Chinese Gentry is a pioneering attempt which provides genuinely diachronic data to supplement the synchronic survey data that sociologists usually work with. The book is, even with its shortcomings, a demonstration of the possibilities of further analysis of the greater interplay between research and theory.

ROBERT MORTIMER MARSH

Columbia University

Village India: Studies in the Little Community.

Edited by MCKIM MARRIOTT. With a Foreword by ROBERT REDFIELD and MILTON SINGER. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955. Pp. xviii+269. \$4.50. (Also published as Memoir No. 83 of the American Anthropological Association, Vol. LVII, No. 3, Part 2 [June, 1955].)

In exploring ways of understanding civilizations the authors of the earlier volumes in this series ("Comparative Studies of Cultures and Civilizations") concentrated mainly on the content analysis of articulate traditions in the Chi-

nese and the Islamic civilizations. In the present volume we are led to a close-up view of Indian civilization "within the contexts of family, neighbors, work, ceremonies and other circumstances that make up the round of life of a people" (p. vii).

The volume owes its theoretical inspiration to the concepts of little communities as wholes presented by Redfield in his book *The Little Community*. The eight articles, based on intensive field work in eight village communities of India, are not meant for rigorous comparative study but are mainly a search for ways of conceptualizing community life of the peasantry and its little traditions in the context of Indian civilization and its "great tradition." The articles used different conceptual frameworks: social structure (Srinivas, Gough), a conscious combination of social structure and culture (Marriott), a diffuse combination of social structure and culture (Beals, Cohn, Lewis), world view (Mandelbaum), and personality formation (Steed). The attention of the various writers has been focused on the central theme: the extent to which the village community is an isolable unit, and, at the same time, how much it is articulated with a larger universe.

The editor, Marriott, examines the question of isolability on the level of both social structure and the content of the cultural tradition with reference to the village community of Kishan Garhi in Uttar Pradesh. He draws our attention to the fact that village communities of northern India have been in continuous interaction with a centralized political organization or state since far in the past, whose influences are locally discernible in such important aspects of social structure as lineage and caste. Content analysis of the religious culture of Kishan Garhi leads Marriott to discover some elements limited to the village or neighboring regions and others referable to the Indic great tradition. Here also are evidences of continuous interaction between the village-level tradition and the tradition of the larger community of the Indic civilization. Marriott approaches this interaction process through the concepts of "universalization" and "parochialization."

Srinivas gives us a more isolated picture of community life. He emphasizes the unity of the village through its vertical institutions, which bring together families and individuals belonging to different castes.

Gough describes a relatively rapid expansion of social relations beyond the limits of the vil-

lage and also a rapid disintegration of traditional structures. She makes a tentative and highly debatable prediction that "in perhaps ten years, even if there is no Communist revolution in the meanwhile, it is questionable whether the village will any longer be a useful isolate for study" (p. 52).

Cohn's study of the depressed caste Camars in village Madhopur in Uttar Pradesh points to a fairly widely observable phenomenon in India: namely, the upper castes are becoming secularized while the lower-caste Camars are incorporating upper-caste ritual traits in their drive to be recognized as a higher Hindu caste. From Gough's paper, however, we get a different picture. While the upper-caste Brahmans in her village are trying to preserve their ritual habits, the lower-caste Adi-Dravidas, under the guidance of Communist leaders, are becoming secularized and antireligious.

Alan Beals's study of the village Namhalli in Mysore, examined in a short-range perspective of history, shows the villagers as more or less at the mercy of external influences, mainly from the city of Bangalore. While Marriott is trying to understand the orthogenetic growth of the civilization of India, Beals is looking to the contemporary phase of change which is substantially heterogenetic in character.

Steed's paper on personality formation in a Rajput-dominated village in Gujarat is methodologically very refreshing. She leads us to the direct observation of behavior and attempts carefully to delineate sociological horizons in personality formation, ably demonstrating her method through the analysis of a single life-history.

Oscar Lewis compares the Indian village community of Rani Khera with the Mexican village community of Tepoztlán. He finds the Indian village to be relatively more primitive in its great emphasis on kinship and caste organizations in political control, while Tepoztlán appears to be relatively more primitive in having a lesser degree and variety of articulation with a larger universe.

Mandelbaum attempts to grasp the elusive and difficult dimension of world view of the Kota, once an isolated small tribal group of the Nilgiri hills. Comparing them with seven other communities presented in the volume, he finds the Kota sharing some generic themes common to Indian peasantry.

As one finishes reading the collected articles, one is impressed with the fact that the village

serves as a very useful unit for a holistic study of community life, whether in a framework of social structure, culture, personality type, or world view. The little village communities, however, are to be regarded as subsystems within greater systems: "Both little communities and greater communities are mutually necessary conditions for each other's existence. One must consider both in order thoroughly to understand either" (p. 191).

Methodologically speaking, social structure as a framework has been handled most surely and precisely. The papers of Srinivas, Gough, and Marriott carefully pursue the economic dimension of social structure without being obsessed with the concern to disprove or prove Marx's economic determinism. Social structure in itself, however, does not exhaust the total resources of the peasant's behavior. The inadequacy may be partly resolved through content analysis of the cultural tradition. It seems appropriate, however, to deal with social structure and cultural tradition separately as different levels of abstraction, as Marriott does, and pull them together in relation to common problems of behavior. In conjunction with social structure, the study of personality formation and world view, in the manner of Steed and Mandelbaum, has definite promise.

This book is sure to serve as a stimulus to an intensive study of civilizations. Apart from its preoccupation with theory and method, it offers a wealth of concrete descriptive material, affording an authentic glimpse of the Indian villager's way of life.

SURAJIT SINHA

Chicago, Illinois

Hungry People and Empty Lands. By SRIPATI CHANDRASEKHAR. London: George Allen & Unwin, Ltd., 1954; New York: Macmillan Co., 1955. Pp. 306. \$4.25.

This book deals with the problem of overpopulation and diminishing food resources of countries in the intermediate phases of the demographic cycle, such as India and Japan, where death rates have decreased while birth rates remain high. At the same time the fertility of the world's agricultural lands is being rapidly depleted, as overcrowded peoples are forced to abandon conservation practices in order to use all available land for food production.

To meet this problem Chandrasekhar proposes an end to colonialism, universal birth control, planned international migration, large-scale and rapid industrialization, and intensive agricultural development. He advocates the migration of people from overpopulated Asiatic countries to Australia, South America, Canada, Central Africa, Siberia, and tropical and subtropical Pacific areas like New Guinea and Borneo. If the West refuses Asiatic immigrants, increasing human misery will probably result in a disastrous third world war, for population pressure is considered to be one of the basic causes of war.

The author's assumption that the birth rate will always decline with advanced industrialization may be open to question. The low birth rate associated with Western industrialization may have been due to special conditions not prevailing in Asia. Second, the author believes himself to be anti-imperialistic and in favor of national sovereignty, but his argument implies a denial of sovereignty to the native peoples of underpopulated colonial lands. He urges the colonial powers to settle these lands with Indians and Chinese, regardless of the desires of the native inhabitants. Third, we might question the assumption that the West would rather admit large numbers of Asians than fight a war—despite the cost and the desperation of the population pressures. Finally, it may be asked whether emigration would really help solve the basic problems of the overpopulated areas. It is quite possible that those who emigrate would be rapidly replaced, so that the country would be as crowded as before—and the rest of the world more crowded. The author presents contradictory statements on the ability of emigration to keep ahead of population growth. Nevertheless, the author succeeds completely in alerting the reader to the potentially explosive demographic situation in southeast Asia.

GEORGE A. THEODORSON

University of Buffalo

Communism and Peasantry. By RAM SWARUP. Calcutta: Prachi Prakashan, 1954. Pp. v+194. \$5.00.

The author, a follower and interpreter of Gandhi's economic ideas, rejects both capitalism and communism. Communism is "a most complete colonialism" which exploits the peas-

ant par excellence. Communist policy is everywhere the same: divide large estates to win the support of the peasantry, and then deprive them of the land by forcing them into the collective farms. The peasants are the last of the capitalists, and they must be curbed and controlled.

However, Swarup rejects communism not only because of its ruthless and deceitful political methods but also on economic grounds. Large-scale machinery and tractors are, according to him, uneconomical in the overpopulated countries of the East. India has an oversupply of labor, and the West should help the Indians to construct machines that would supplement but not replace it. The author suggests that the concept of the standard of living should be developed in India according to the Eastern philosophy of life: man, animal, and nature form a continuous unity that should not be broken up by removing production from consumption. The Japanese intensive agriculture as well as the Japanese system of combined domestic and shop production would be the best choice.

Thus the book tells more about Indian economic philosophy than about Communist agricultural policies. The author should be commended for his courageous and independent statement of an agricultural program for his country.

JIRI KOLAJA

Talladega College

✓ *Utopia and Experiment: Essays in the Sociology of Co-operation.* By HENRIK F. INFELD. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1955. Pp. 319. \$3.50.

This book, Volume I of the "International Library of the Sociology of Co-operation," contains articles of widely varied nature on widely varied kinds of contemporary co-operative groups, ranging from the American Folk School of Tyler, Minnesota, to the Israeli *kvutza*. It is regrettable that the slight and unsystematic treatent contributes little to Dr. Infeld's objective, a sociology of co-operation. The wisdom of thus reprinting material which apparently had a more modest original purpose in the bulletins and periodicals of co-operative associations may be questioned.

The longer Part I contains anecdotal accounts, brief descriptions, scattered statistics,

and comments from published sources on innumerable, diverse co-operatives in sixteen countries. At times, the purpose seems purely expository; at times, significant sociological questions are asked about the internal factors causing some co-operatives to succeed and others to fail. In the interesting comparison of the *kvutza*, the Mexican *ejido*, and the Russian *kolkhoz*, a typology of co-operative communities is attempted. Yet no consistent objective is evident.

Two types of contemporary voluntary co-operatives may be distinguished: those formed primarily to satisfy practical needs, like the provision of better and cheaper agricultural equipment, housing, or food, and those arising from more idealistic motives of personal and social reform. (Compulsory co-operatives like the *kolkhoz* and primitive, peasant, and religious communities or, indeed, any traditional co-operative established over many generations constitute a different class in which members lack their normal freedom of choice.) The former stand or fall on their efficiency, like any other economic enterprise, and fail to inspire a utopian vision. The absence of practical motive and the corresponding innocence of practical problems account for the failure of many idealistic co-operatives, while those grappling successfully with reality tend to lose their utopianism. Infeld rightly assigns special importance to pioneering experiments like the *kvutza* and the French "Community of Work" which combine an idealistic element with a firm economic function.

Part II is better focused. It reports results of questionnaires and sociometric tests administered to members of four co-operatives and asks essentially one question: Can sociological analysis and self-corrective action further the success of existing groups? The tests administered by Infeld are elementary in the extreme—surely, comparability does not demand *such* simplicity, and there is more to sociology than paper-and-pencil tests! However, the question is answered: Yes.

It is to be hoped that the subsequent volumes will make the more substantial contribution to a sociologically and socially important subject that one expects from so experienced and knowledgeable an investigator.

HAROLD ORLANDS

National Science Foundation

The Reputation of the American Businessman.

By SIGMUND DIAMOND. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. 209. \$4.00.

This study is not, as might at first be surmised, an opinion poll. It is an analysis by a historian of changing conceptions of the American businessman, revealed by printed comment at the death of six leaders: Stephen Girard (1831), John Jacob Astor (1848), Cornelius Vanderbilt (1877), J. P. Morgan (1913), John D. Rockefeller (1937), and Henry Ford (1947).

No effort is made to treat the men biographically; the real subject is the "consensus which keeps a society together, the function of the press in sustaining that consensus and in altering it to take account of changing circumstances." More specifically, the two major purposes are "to isolate the various conceptions of the entrepreneur's significance to society and the ingredients of successful entrepreneurship held at the same time by different groups within the community, and to examine the changing conceptions of the entrepreneur's significance during more than a century of our country's history."

Diamond finds that the consensus underlying business leadership has changed from the nineteenth to the twentieth century. In the nineteenth century, success, as exemplified by Girard, was held to be due to "individual differences"; character was "all and circumstances nothing." The economic system was neither criticized nor explicitly credited but simply assumed to be right. Little attention was paid to the leader's non-business, or private, life. Nor was there much concern with how he got his wealth, only with the destination and disposition of it. Behind the whole thing was "Mather's moral steam engine"—thrift, industry, frugality, diligence—which bestowed a kind of halo upon businessmen.

With passing years, credit—or blame—is directed less to the men and more to the system. Less stress is placed on unique personal qualities and more on traits which humanize or identify the leader with the common man. There is more criticism of the man and his sources of wealth, and this means some alienation from the system. But the press is found to be performing a compensatory function in reinterpreting leadership and building a new consensus. For one thing, it gives more and more credit to the system that makes such success possible. It identifies free enterprise and the entrepreneur with the nation. By the death of Rockefeller, Diamond

notes that the success earlier interpreted as evidence of character was now testimonial considered to prove the worth of the social system. Also, non-business activities were beginning to have a public relations function, dramatizing the leader's life among his friends and family and so on. By the death of Ford, the entrepreneur was no longer seen as a "free-swinging individual"; American enterprise had acquired an ideological "armour": success was looked on as a virtue of the system, but the individual was responsible for failure; and the system was sanctified with patriotic sentiment and so excluded from controversy.

Taken as a hero of this new kind of consensus, Ford is no titan standing head and shoulders above others, but a common man. His mistakes are evident to all, his ignorance notorious. But there is little public doubt that he is a benefactor and that only the free society could make him possible.

The ambivalent status of the big businessman in America today is seen in the stereotypes of Astor the skinflint, Vanderbilt the "robber baron," Morgan the munitions profiteer, Rockefeller the "Al Capone of the oil industry," and Ford the enemy of unions. Such charges modified "the ancient doctrines that the visible signs of wealth were evidence of the invisible gift of grace." Diamond might have sharpened the villain symbols implicit in public opinion of these figures.

Methodologically the book is of interest in eschewing quantitative content analysis in favor of a "qualitative" approach that preserves some flavor of the original material. Copiousness of documentation is some assurance of representativeness, though we must rely upon the judgment of the writer. Since consensus is a matter of degree, we may regret the absence of quantitative measures. This approach is perhaps best thought of as a valuable adjunct to quantitative methods.

ORRIN E. KLAPP

San Diego State College

The Sane Society. By ERICH FROMM. New York: Rinehart & Co., 1955. Pp. xiii+370. \$5.00.

Fromm's latest provocative work could well be titled "The Sick Society," for it is, in the main, a reasoned and pitiless criticism of Western civilization.

Our society is "in-sane," Fromm argues, when judged against the "needs of man," not what he *feels* he needs—and this is the rub—but what objectively we know he needs, for example: a loving relationship with others, a connection between work and the rest of life, a sense of participation, involvement, and responsibility, a "sense of self."

The key to our non-sane social order is *alienation*. Marx's *Verdinglichung* is revived. "Man experiences himself as a commodity," a production cost or a consuming unit. The white-collar worker sells himself, not as he is or could be or wants to be, but as the most marketable personality he can contrive. Hence comes what Riesman speaks of as radar-net "scoping" to detect what others want and what will move on the personality mart.

Alienation and the marketing orientation infect all spheres. "Adjustment psychiatry" is a servant of sickness, and its concept of mental health is warped. Religion becomes infused with the commercial taint, as when Bishop Sheen, in an article on the birth of Christ, can say, "if anyone of the claimants [for the role of God's son] came from God, the least that God could do to support His Representative's claim would be to preannounce His coming. Automobile manufacturers tell us when to expect a new model" (p. 118).

Democracy, too, becomes meaningless and the suffrage a fetish where individuals have no convictions of their own to express. Elections in the present climate of ignorance and the propagandistic "sell" approach a plebiscite—*Ja oder Nein*.

Fromm sees three possibilities facing us: exterminative war, robotism, or his recommendation, "communitarian socialism." The last harks back to the original socialist and anarchist insight that change must come on all fronts simultaneously, not merely on the economic. Such a society would result in and be dependent upon global wealth-sharing, world government, complete disarmament, "Town Meetings" of no more than 500 persons to constitute a new House of Commons, decentralized work, the co-management of enterprise by all who labor in it, and a "cultural renaissance."

One can enjoy Fromm's biting diagnosis and agree with most of it, but this may mean merely that one shares his prejudices—against the consumptive denizen of the package suburb, against commercial bondage, against intelligence used without reason. But, after that, one wants to

know whether the caustic thesis is true, and here Fromm fails us. Not that he ignores empirical support but that there is not enough to clinch the case.

Is Western man alienated, unhappy, mentally sick—now more than ever? Fromm points to such indicators as suicide and homicide rates, industrial research findings, and polls of workers. But the picture is not clear, and where an index—an opinion poll, for example—does not add up according to thesis, psychoanalysis in its wayward way has its usual "out." If 85 per cent of professionals and executives say they are happy in their careers, Fromm says, "Consciously yes, but unconsciously . . . ?" And he can even contradict himself within the span of two pages so that life has never been more rich and joyous on page 358, but on page 360 it "has no meaning, there is no joy, no faith, no reality."

An obstacle to the validation of Fromm's diagnosis is that it is couched in high-level abstractions, and we are never certain, as we bring these down the "abstraction ladder," that we are ending with the referents the author has in mind. "Sanity" and "alienation," both central concepts and possibly useful ones, are slippery; they are Humpty-Dumpty terms with flexible meanings. They need to be specified in operations that permit verification.

About the second question—"Is the 'sane society' desirable?"—there can be no disputing. Some people seem to like being "alienated," and it affirms nothing to call them "crazy." The mass-man seems comfortable huddled before the television. Others do not want to be immersed in Fromm's utopia of collective sings, club hikes, and "shared experiences." We have "lost the capacity," Fromm would say, and he may be right; but this will not answer the individuals who do not like the taste of the proposed new collectivity. We remain suspicious of men, even "good" men, who know what others need.

Last, can Fromm's *sane society* be achieved? Fromm would have us love without exclusion; loving one's spouse, region, or nation because they *differ* from others is sickness, he says. History records little such universal love or love without hate, but what is history but something to be remade? Fromm wants a new community, a community of individuals rather than conformists. Can one have his cake and eat it?

But Fromm is well protected against critics of his communitarian socialism, for he is no optimist. He is aware of the stock objections and

answers many, and, in the end, against his hopes, he sees the sane society only as an available course that man is rejecting as he proceeds toward robotism and insanity.

GWYNNE NETTLER

Monterey Peninsula College

Adaptive Human Fertility. By PAUL S. HENSHAW. New York: McGraw-Hill Book Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. xiii+322. \$5.50.

Population analysis is ordinarily taught not as a separate discipline but rather as a specialty within any one of several fields of study. As a consequence, when biologists, economists, geographers, or sociologists write on population, their works are very often either lopsided or uneven in quality. So it is with this book. Dr. Henshaw was trained as a zoölogist and has worked as a public health administrator, and those portions of *Adaptive Human Fertility* most closely related to his background are competent and interesting. Other portions, however, are superficial and marred by elementary errors.

Of the three parts into which the work is divided, by far the best is that on "Fertility Management." This surveys briefly all actual and potential methods of family limitation, from infanticide to oral contraceptives and hormone control. Such an up-to-date summary of hundreds of articles in scattered medical and biological journals is extremely useful to social scientists, whose interest in the subject would seldom be strong enough to take them to the original sources.

The concluding section, "Population Management," gives in about 40 pages an argument for planned parenthood. What Dr. Henshaw terms "the teleogenic plan" would consist of "(1) providing suitable means of fertility control; (2) instructing everyone on the full meaning of responsible parenthood; and (3) depending upon the inherent good judgment and natural desire of people to keep family size in balance with means of support." As a statement of the neo-Malthusian program, this is unobjectionable and—apart from the name—unoriginal.

The longest of the three parts of the book is entitled "The Vital Picture." The range of material considered here is wide—the physiology of reproduction, from unicellular division up; the "biotetic potential law," with an uncritical restatement of Pearl's logistic theory; actual population figures and their projection; new

food and energy sources; "spreading poverty and degradation"; "challenge to liberty"; "preservation of human dignity"; "regional philosophies"; "economic systems"; "psychological conflicts." Each of these subjects, as well as others no less complex and disputed, is dealt with in a page or two. With such an appetite, Dr. Henshaw might have anticipated some indigestion; but the level is sometimes even lower than this list would suggest.

The book begins, rather startlingly, with a reference to "the classic studies carried out by Malthus around 1700"! Table 1 has two columns, headed "Balance of Birth Rate over Death Rate" and "Percentage Net Increase," which are, in fact, the rates of natural increase per thousand and per hundred population, identical except for the position of the decimal point. According to Pearl Buck, "one of the chief causes for increase in despotic theories of government is overpopulation"; and she reinforces her opinion by citing not only Plato and Aristotle, Jefferson and Hamilton, but also Senator Henry Cabot Lodge, Jr.

The principal subject of this section—the population-resources ratio of the world—has been a favorite topic of polemical writers; and Dr. Henshaw follows the pattern. It is all done with projections. If one extrapolates the present rate of population growth into the future, one predicts disaster; and if one projects, instead, the increase in scientific control over nature, the conclusion is a sanguine plenty for all. How resolutely Dr. Henshaw stacks the cards in favor of the first of these alternatives can be indicated by one example. He quotes one opponent to the effect that if the population of the world is increasing by 1 per cent per year, then agricultural production can increase by twice this rate. "This is the view of the optimist," Dr. Henshaw comments, and he contrasts with it the whole of the scientific community—"conservationists, . . . demographers, biologists, economists, sociologists, and others," all of whom he deems to be "more realistic." If there were nearly so much unanimity, the issue could have been settled long ago.

WILLIAM PETERSEN

University of California, Berkeley

Protestant—Catholic—Jew. By WILL HERBERG. Garden City, N.Y.: Doubleday & Co., Inc., 1955. Pp. 320. \$4.00.

In brief compass this book presents the American histories of the three major religious

groups in this country. Excellently documented and sympathetically written, this work offers a welcome addition to studies on the subject. But, invaluable as it may be to students of religious history, this book further purports to be "an essay in religious sociology," and as such it is considered here.

Herberg explains what he sees as a return to religion in America, coupled with an increasing secularism, in terms of a "comprehensive framework of basic sociological change," which maintains that a nation which was built out of successive waves of immigration has been "restructured in three great 'communions' [Protestant, Catholic, and Jewish]. . . . This transformation has been greatly furthered by what may be called the dialectic of 'third generation interest.'" Upon the cessation of immigration, the second generation negated its ethnic heritage. The third wishes to recover it. Though, through time, the language and culture of the grandfather has been lost to it, it is attempting to recover its religious background. This attempt has resulted in increased religious interest, but the interest so engendered is in a religion no longer centered upon God but upon material achievement, particularly success in business.

The evidence presented consists principally of the speculations of others. And speculation, however couched in the language of the sociologist, is not sociology. One has the impression that the author does not approach his materials with a theoretic orientation capable of deriving generalizations of wider and more fruitful scope from the data but, rather, with a particular explanation of the phenomenon to which the data would be fitted. As systematic sociology, therefore, the work falls short. However, the insights and speculations which Herberg does present might prove useful for future research of a more vigorous character. And it is in this area that the sociologist should find the book of value.

LEE BRAUDE

Chicago

A Minority in Britain: Social Studies of the Anglo-Jewish Community. Edited by MAURICE FREEDMAN. London: Vallentine, Mitchell & Co., 1955. Pp. xvi+279. 21s.

This study of Jewish society in Britain consists of four essays and is offered as a sociology of Anglo-Jewry.

The first essay, James Parker's "The History

of the Anglo-Jewish Community," is an excellent account of the settlement of Jews in Britain and their adjustment to their circumstances. For the reader interested in the development of social institutions or in the process of assimilation and adjustment of a minority group, Parker offers a valuable and well-written case study.

The second and longest essay, by Neustatter, brings together existing demographic and other quantitative data about the Jews in Britain. While the data are far from satisfactory in both extent and accuracy because the records are inadequate, it is evident that the distinctive Jewish culture is disappearing and a steady process of assimilation is taking place. These data, when combined with the analysis presented by Parker, offer an interesting insight into the relation between adjustment and assimilation.

In the third essay, "Outlines of Jewish Society in London," Howard M. Brotz describes the way in which the synagogue and the related educational institutions provide a central structure for a "closed" minority society. At the same time, he finds evidence of an "open" minority society in the increasing working relations between the Jewish and non-Jewish worlds.

The fourth essay, "Jews in the Society of Britain" by Maurice Freedman, specifically describes conflict and prejudice and seeks to identify the factors making for assimilation. In contrast to the authors of some of the preceding essays, Freedman finds that acculturation as a first step toward assimilation is often restricted by the apparent need to perpetuate distinctive elements in the Jewish culture as a means of adjusting to the wider society.

The volume as a whole is an insightful description and analysis of a minority culture and the way it interacts with the wider culture. It is a distinct contribution to the literature on assimilation and social change.

JOHN M. FOSKETT

University of Oregon

The Colour Problem. By ANTHONY H. RICHMOND. Baltimore, Md.: Penguin Books, Inc., 1955. Pp. 371. \$0.85.

At last there is available a responsible, objective survey—in a brief, readable form—of Negro-white relations throughout Great Britain, her colonies in Africa and the West Indies,

and the Dominion of South Africa. The author is a sociologist at the University of Edinburgh, who has undertaken a firsthand study of race relations in Britain and has made extensive use of secondary sources for his report on other parts of the Empire. The survey is factual, solutions being considered only in the concluding chapter.

The point of view of the study is that race relations are a social problem, not merely a phenomenon of human nature, and the conceptual scheme makes central use of the terms "prejudice," "discrimination," and "separation" (segregation). Discrimination is central, for prejudice is merely a psychological defense mechanism (p. 98) and segregation is merely a technique used to effectuate discrimination (p. 111). The author holds that there are four possibilities when two ethnic groups meet (p. 27): if they are socially and spatially dispersed, assimilation will result if they have equal status, and class relations will result if they have unequal status. If the two ethnic groups are socially separated, however, equal status will result in self-determination, and unequal status will result in caste. Because inequality is the order of race relations in the British Empire, the phenomena reported in this book are those of class and caste. The related phenomena of urbanization, social disorganization, accommodation, self-segregation, self-hatred, satisfaction with low standards, etc., are not overlooked, but they are not dealt with intensively.

The general impression drawn from the many facts about the diverse parts of the world covered is that Negro peoples everywhere, with few individual exceptions, are rapidly becoming increasingly dissatisfied with subordinated status and lack of opportunity. They are beginning to revolt, some employing violence, but most using passive resistance and other legal means of trying to obtain social change. The British government is reacting by granting some measure of political representation and trying to improve the welfare of the black people. But it is working very slowly and is constantly hampered by whites who live in the colonies. Progress is greatest in the Gold Coast and in Nigeria, which have few whites and where self-government is promised within a few years. Violence has flared up in Kenya, where until recently the local whites have prevented the Negroes from making any progress. Conditions are also bad in the territories bordering South Africa. In that dominion

itself, the reactionary Nationalist government is depriving Negroes of the few advances they have made in rights, educational facilities, and wealth.

The prognosis seems to be roughly as follows: if civil rights are accorded in proportion as the Negro population is able and anxious to exercise them, a peaceful multiracial society will result. If the government holds back too much, or—as in the case of South Africa—actually adds repressions, a social explosion will eventually occur. The Negroes will make use of whatever means are available to them; if the government eliminates all means but lethal violence and international communism, which the government has not been able to control, then these means are going to dominate the immediate future; they are already in use in Kenya and Guiana. The world's attention has recently been focused on South Asia and North Africa, but local forces there are already more powerful than the governments of Great Britain, France, and the United States, and the latter can do nothing about them but hope for the best. In central and southern Africa, something can yet be done by the Western powers, but they are inclined to ignore their opportunities.

For this reason, it may be said that this readable, objective, and comprehensive sociological study is one of the most important that British and American readers can obtain today.

ARNOLD M. ROSE

University of Minnesota

African Glory: The Story of Vanished Negro Civilizations. By J. C. DE GRAFT-JOHNSON. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. Pp. xi+209. \$4.50.

This is a polemic. Its purpose is to counter the argument that native Africans are barbaric, have contributed nothing of value to civilization, and are mentally incapable of making such contribution. Its method is to show that there were among the Negro people great and important civilizations, that the inception and growth of these were essentially indigenous to Africa, and that their destruction can clearly be laid to the incursions of European slave traders, conquerors, and religious zealots who justified their rapine in the name of progress and salvation.

In pursuing this object, however, the author

first presents thumbnail sketches of the history of ancient Egypt and Carthage, arguing that since the populations of these states carried some Negro blood, however thin, they must be included in a survey of Negro history. It would be as reasonable to include, on the same basis, the civilizations of southern Europe and the United States. And certainly to minimize the contributions of Near Eastern and European cultures to the early civilizations of North Africa does great violence to fact. The author tells us that the populations of ancient Egypt and Carthage were largely Negro, but the evidence to prove that point, if it is important, is nowhere presented.

After this questionable beginning, attention is turned toward the less-well-known states of West, Central, and South Africa. There were, in these areas, kingdoms of considerable extent and power, with varying degrees of economic development and often with considerable wealth. It is highly desirable that the story of these truly Negro states be collected and presented in popular form. But it is not mere caviling to insist on the exercise of critical judgment in a work of this nature, the more so because the audience toward which it is aimed will be highly resistant. De Graft-Johnson is ready to accept and to build upon any tale of African glory, however remote from possibility and however weak the supporting evidence.

The book is often discursive in style, presenting snatches of vanished glory in lists of names of rulers and records of wars spiced with a few incredible tales but paying little attention to the more fundamental aspects of the civilizations which it purports to describe. It makes extensive use of secondary authorities of questionable value. A single small-scale map of the continent is included, but this fails to name or to show the extent of the West African empires of Ghana, Mali, and Songhai which are hailed as the high points of Negro civilization.

Finally, it must be asked whether the work accomplishes its avowed task of dispelling the racist argument. In its own way, the book is as racist as are the arguments of the Negrophobes which it sets out to confound. By claiming Egypt and Carthage as part of Negro history, De Graft-Johnson merely substitutes one myth for another. The history of the contact between West Africa and the Mediterranean world cannot be ignored, and in this area the author has not improved upon, or even approached, Bovill's masterful *Caravans of the Old Sahara*. If African civilization is to be completely pre-

sented, a highly desirable objective, let us have a thorough and convincingly documented description, based upon a critical utilization of the significant primary sources.

GORDON D. GIBSON

University of Utah

Black Moses: The Story of Marcus Garvey and the Universal Negro Improvement Association. By EDMUND DAVID CRONON. Madison, Wis.: University of Wisconsin Press, 1955. Pp. xvii+278. \$5.00.

Marcus Mozhiah Garvey, who was born in Jamaica in 1887 and died in London in 1940, was the founder and leader of the largest social movement of its kind in American history. Some scholars look upon Garveyism as the real forerunner of the nationalism now engulfing the continent of Africa. Cronon is a young historian whose scholarly and readable volume is an expansion and revision of his Master's thesis on Garvey and the movement he led. As his major source of information the author relied upon the extensive records of the Black Star mail-fraud trial in 1923.

Garveyism flourished from 1914, when the Universal Negro Improvement Association was founded, until 1927, when Garvey was deported. Shortly thereafter the UNIA split into two factions. The *coup de grâce* to this worldwide movement came with the outbreak of war in Europe in 1939. In the course of its twenty-five-year history much transpired that was significant for race relations in the United States.

More enduring than specific historical details are the sociological ramifications of Garveyism. Chapter vii, graphically entitled "One Aim! One God! One Destiny!" is the key chapter in the book. To Garvey it seemed axiomatic that Negro redemption could come only through the combination of race purity, race pride, social segregation, and African nationalism. Garveyism as a social movement reflected the hopes and sentiments of the "black masses," and it was essentially a response created by the same forces that led to the Negro renaissance following World War I. All components of the UNIA were part of a general plan to integrate the Negro people into a racially conscious group. Like American Zionism, the movement did not visualize all American Negroes returning to Africa; the prevailing belief was that, once a strong African nation was established, Negroes in all sections of the

world would gain needed prestige, poise, and stature.

One weakness in Cronon's analysis of the UNIA as an extreme "right-wing" movement is his failure to explore its anti-Semitism. A rare opportunity was overlooked to shed some light on a strategic manifestation of inter-minority hostility. Nevertheless, this is a splendid contribution to our knowledge of social movements and race relations in American society.

MILTON L. BARRON

City College of New York

Two Jamaicas: The Role of Ideas in a Tropical Colony, 1830-1865. By PHILIP D. CURTIN. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1955. Pp. xii+270. \$4.75.

This is a history of race relations in the British West Indian colony of Jamaica from 1830 to 1865, written only after long research on the island, in England, and in the United States. It is a case study in the role of ideas in social action.

Following emancipation of the slaves ("African Jamaica") by the British parliament in 1834, a social revolution was forced upon the planters' aristocracy ("European Jamaica") which it did not want and to which it could not adjust successfully. Emancipation confronted the ruling class with the task of building a new society based on free labor in a sugar-plantation economy which was obviously in decline. The planters set themselves three goals: to regain their economic prosperity, to retain a system of forced labor despite emancipation, and to attain political independence. They failed in all three and failed, too, to integrate the two Jamaicas.

Why? In explanation, the author examines the system of ideas available to the Jamaican ruling class which "lived in one society with intellectual equipment largely formed in another" (p. 65). Its economic ideas for coping with recurrent crises were borrowed uncritically from the English heritage and applied inappropriately to the fundamentally different economy and society of Jamaica. Previously its very defenses against the impending social revolution had been seriously weakened by its psychological involvement in two incompatible societies.

In this history, then, "the chief actors have appeared as social groups, institutions, or ideas." This mode of analysis gives the study

significance for sociologists not otherwise concerned about the specific local events. Another quality of the book, and not the least: Philip Curtin has made his story of social change in Jamaica *interesting*.

HAROLD GOLDBLATT

New York City Youth Board

Spanish-Name People in the Southwest and West.

By ROBERT H. TALBERT. Fort Worth, Tex.: Leo Potishman Foundation and Texas Christian University, 1955. Pp. vi+90. \$2.00.

A handful of scholars and students with limited regional interests will find Talbert's small book valuable as a time-saving reference of useful statistical data gleaned from three volumes of the 1950 census reports. There is a minimum of material drawn from earlier census compilations or from other sources and relatively little interpretation or effort to point out the significance of the figures which are given. The summary of the book is one short page leading up to the vague conclusions that "the conditions under which many Spanish-speaking people live and function in the general society are undesirable and . . . with careful planning and cooperation much can be done in a long-range program to improve the general status of the Spanish-speaking people of the Southwest."

The area for which data are given includes the states of Texas, California, Colorado, New Mexico, and Arizona—four of which border on Mexico, the source of the great majority of Spanish-name people of the region. The statistical and graphic data, as indicated by chapter headings, deal with geographic distribution, education, marital status, economic status, and housing. The Introduction discusses problems involved in identifying the particular minority group under study, the methodology of the book, and the techniques used by the Census Bureau. It also gives briefly the relation of the area under study to the whole United States in so far as the particular Spanish-name minority is concerned.

Talbert's study was made for the Texas Good Neighbor Foundation, whose interest is in the possible improvement of conditions among the Spanish-name people of that state.

PAUL WALTER, JR

University of New Mexico

The People of Panama. By JOHN and MAVIS BIESANZ. New York: Columbia University Press, 1955. Pp. x+418. \$5.50.

Within the limits of a single volume the authors have attempted to offer a broad picture of the complex social, political, economic, and cultural activities of one of the smallest of American republics. Considerable attention is given to background information about the country—its geographical setting, historical development, the building of the Canal, the urban and agricultural economy, as well as national and international politics.

Although Panama is the smallest country in Latin America, having a population of less than a million inhabitants, it has a heterogeneous population racially, culturally, and ethnically. The heterogeneity of the people and their divergent ways of life receive the most detailed descriptive treatment in the chapters on social stratification and family patterns, and these chapters probably will be of greatest interest from a strictly sociological point of view. The family systems of the four major subgroups in the population—the rural family, the urban family, the American family living in the Canal Zone, and the West Indian Negro family—are described, contrasted, and discussed from the standpoint of the family cycle. The authors have deliberately excluded any description of the aboriginal Indian groups, who constitute about 10 per cent of the country's population, presumably because they have not had any firsthand contact with them.

Participant observation was the major method of gathering data for the book. The authors visited the country four times in nine years. Supplementary information was also obtained from several hundred high-school and university students who filled out questionnaires. However, the questionnaire materials are not analyzed in any systematic fashion and are merely used to illustrate attitudes of the groups studied. (The questionnaire is not included.) The authors have also utilized a wide variety of documentary sources—books, newspapers, and official reports in both English and Spanish—and the factual information is thoughtfully utilized and carefully documented.

This book is not an analytical account; there is no specification of concepts, nor are hypotheses offered for testing. There are a number of places at which sociologists might deplore the absence of a more rigorous analysis. To cite one instance, the bureaucratic structure of the Canal Zone is described in relation to

several topics, but it does not itself receive systematic treatment.

In general, the book seems to take a balanced and objective stand regarding several controversial issues in regard to relations between the United States and Panama. The authors are careful to point out that some problems in intergroup relations originated and persist because of the prejudiced attitudes of white Americans.

The volume has a number of pertinent illustrations, several maps, and a selective bibliography as well as a useful index. In short, the authors have written the kind of book which they set out to do—a readable, broad, descriptive account of the people of Panama.

GORDON F. STREIB

Cornell University

Nupe Religion. By S. F. NADEL. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, 1954. Pp. x+288. \$4.75.

This book may be the last fruits of a vital and dedicated talent, for word has lately come of Professor Nadel's untimely death.

Nadel held a degree in psychology as well as in anthropology, and this book attests his interest in sociology and philosophy as well. It is, consequently, much more than an ethnographic study: description is subordinated to analysis, reflection, and argument. It is not easy to read because of all the learned interruptions and asides, but it is provocative and rewarding.

The field work on which this study is based was carried on between 1934 and 1936 in northern Nigeria under the auspices of the International Africa Institute. In 1942 Nadel published *A Black Byzantium*, a definitive account of the economic and political organization of the Nupe. With this substantial companion volume, a fairly comprehensive picture of Nupe life is now available.

Like so many students of religion before him, the author wrestles with the distinction between the natural and the supernatural. He argues that if the criterion of control is accepted as proof of the natural or scientific, we shall "have to class as scientific (and hence non-religious) certain treatments of disease by means of exorcism or magic dances because, on the grounds of our own advanced knowledge, we understand these procedures to be psychotherapeutically effective and thus empirically sound." He deals with this dilemma by an ap-

peal to "intent." Thus religion becomes for him behavior "understood to aim at extraordinary and miraculous results, involving superhuman efficacy and achieved by esoteric (or 'sacred') skills." But such a definition can be questioned on two grounds: it assumes that motives in human activity are always clear and that religious techniques always aim at extraordinary results. Intent is not so obvious, and many ordinary and common situations, such as illness and the food quest, are dealt with ritually as well as naturalistically.

Nupe religion conceives of a supreme deity, the creator of the world of living creatures and of good and evil. The deity is remote, abstract, and has limited concern with its creations. But it did leave with man a force inherent in ritual to use for his purposes. The "ritual force" and "medicine" (material objects used in religious contexts) are man's main religious safeguards. Since there is a minimum of design and reward or punishment to assure a moral universe, the Nupe are as much concerned to find out what their fate will be as they are to control it. Considerable attention, therefore, is lavished upon divination and its techniques. Troublesome ghosts and spirits are ever present; witches, usually women, work against health and prosperity. The sex-linked character of witchcraft is attributed to rivalries between men and women in economic and other spheres of life.

The Nupe have been affected to only a minor extent by surrounding pagan religions, but Islam has made great inroads and is responsible for major changes in the total culture. Just because Islam has been so successful among the Nupe, Nadel was particularly eager to record the older religious forms before they crumbled.

In his summary Nadel offered this pithy characterization: "A religion which provides no *Weltbild*; which keeps aloof from moral judgments; which upholds no messianic ideals; and which rejects the incalculable revelations of mystics, is also a religion content with its own province. . . . Perhaps we should say that Nupe religion is as rational as religion can be." This may be why Islam, in many ways its antithesis, is so attractive to the Nupe.

MORRIS E. OPLER

Cornell University

The Isle of Lewis and Harris: A Study in British Community. By ARTHUR GEDDES. Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1955. Pp. xvi+340. 42s.

"As many a Scot of crofting stock has found, when he shares in the work of a glen by day—on the low ground and the hill, alone or with others of a team—and joins in the fireside talk and gaelic song when night has fallen, he discovers the strength of community life, and by his renewal of 'racial' experience he may discover sides of his own nature untouched by an urban task or a rural holiday."

Geddes' study analyzes the sustained unity of an isolated region's environment, work, and people and the manner in which small communities, in spite of poverty, once realized their vision of fellowship in labor, leisure, and spiritual life. The avowed goal of the study is service through social planning to a farming, handicraft, and fishing community threatened with disorganization precipitated by the growth of an industrial society, by invasions of religious and secular authorities, the mobility and migrations of two world wars, and international economic and political conflicts.

The attempted reorganization of the island, undertaken by Lord Leverhulme, and its failure are excellently analyzed. The disorganization of values of the crofters and fishers, brought about by seeing the control of immense capital resources in the hands of one man, whose efforts so totally dwarfed their independent struggles and group co-operation, raises the question as to whether or not balanced planning can be achieved by one man whose personal fortune and pride are in opposition to a free community.

The study, while giving historical-sociological perspective, lacks some unity of organization because of covering thirty-five years. It raises the basic problem of responsibility for community reorganization and the moral reintegration of society.

DONALD C. MARSH

Wayne University

Peasants, Politics, and Economic Change in Yugoslavia. By JOZO TOMASEVICH. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1955. Pp. xii+743. \$7.50.

A result of ten years of intensive research, this book is the most thorough and careful study of Yugoslavia's social and economic history available in English. The basic merit of the book is that it unfolds before the reader the striking diversity of cultural traditions of the peoples who in 1918 became constituent parts of newly born Yugoslavia. In the sixth and seventh centuries of our era various Slav groups mi-

grated to their present-day Balkan habitat and blended themselves with scattered Illyro-Thracian groups, each having its own tradition and economic organization and each having been uniquely acculturated to Roman civilization. In the eleventh century the Yugoslav peoples and lands were sharply divided into spheres of influence of Roman Catholicism and Byzantine orthodoxy. From the fourteenth century on, the dichotomy of Western and Ottoman influences rose to pre-eminence, and, as Professor Tomasevich shows with commendable precision, each of these influences varied from province to province, and each left a lasting imprint on the entire gamut of institutions and folkways. The process of cultural diversification, however, was considerably checked by a common ancient cultural heritage, linguistic affinity, and ephemeral political unifications on a regional basis. Thus the diversity of culture was mitigated by an array of common denominators which made possible a unified Yugoslav polity.

Sociologists and social anthropologists will particularly welcome the author's historically documented analyses of the transformation of tribal entities into state organizations; the historical depth of the processes underlying the formation of individual ethnic units; the sociology of land tenure; and the diversity of forms and institutional settings of the "joint family" (the *zadruga*).

The largest part of the book is devoted to the period between the two world wars and the socioeconomic effects of the economic policies of successive Yugoslav governments which were responsible for a rapid curtailment of democratic institutions. The author shows that, despite the gross ineptitude and arrogance of dictatorial regimes, some positive results were achieved in the general welfare of the peoples who make up Yugoslavia.

This excellent book will no doubt become a classic in the field.

ALEXANDER VUCINICH

San Jose State College

Sociocultural and Psychological Processes in Menomini Acculturation. By GEORGE D. SPINDLER. ("University of California Publications in Culture and Society," Vol. V.) Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. v+271. \$3.50.

This is a carefully documented study of two variables in the process of acculturation among the Menomini Indians of Wisconsin. To facilitate his research, Spindler divided the socio-

cultural variable into five segments, each representing a certain degree of nearness to an American middle-class type of life. The psychological variable is established by Rorschach projective tests, Spindler being acutely aware of the problems involved in cross-cultural personality studies based upon them. The statistical techniques are the tetrachoric correlation coefficient, chi square, and the method of exact probability.

In addition to his more or less acculturated Menomini subjects, Spindler used a control group of twelve white men, ten of whom are married to Menomini, who participate in all the Menomini groups considered except the least acculturated, which he used as a control of ethnic differentiation in the determination of personality, which is to be compared with social participation (p. 11).

The common complaint of sociologists that much of the current anthropological literature is theoretically unsophisticated and the data are unstandardized and, therefore, of limited usefulness will probably not be leveled against this monograph.

Spindler acknowledges his indebtedness to the excellent and comparable studies of Ojibwa personality and acculturation by A. Irving Hallowell. Spindler's monograph will be useful to all interested in the relationship between sociocultural and psychological change.

STEPHEN C. CAPPANNARI

Wayne University

Blackways of Kent. By HYLAN LEWIS. Chapel Hill, N.C.: University of North Carolina Press, 1955. Pp. xxiv+337. \$5.00.

This field study of the Negro subculture in the town of Kent (population of 4,000) in the southern Piedmont is a significant contribution to the literature on social change in the American South. Lewis' major thesis is that it is impossible for the Negro to become involved in civic affairs and to achieve better group morale under what he characterizes as a "rough culture." Conceiving of culture in terms of functionalistic survival and using John Gillin's analytical categories, the author interprets certain distortions and the overemphasis on American culture which is reflected in this regional subculture, as a result of adjustment by the Negro minority. Interestingly, while the race-ridden Negro subculture differs from the total American culture, the social system of the white majority is comparatively more differ-

entiated from its Negro counterpart. The local white community is more stratified, socio-economically, than the Negro community. The Negroes are onlookers, receiving new stimuli from the whites, even where the issues are common to both. The other source of new cultural elements is the northern Negro urban centers. Characteristically, the NAACP is perceived and appreciated more in terms of its nation-wide activities than as a local agent. Being deprived of free admission to certain institutions and offices, the Negroes have developed a subculture which is simultaneously restricted and complemented by the white counterpart. The reviewer would even say that the Negro community is a sort of "arrested community."

In order "to live here," the Negro subculture has made certain adjustments. They include philosophical acceptance of the gulf between racial groups, expressed in the axiom, "White folks is white folks." Greater emphasis, too, is placed upon ultimate salvation, promising rewards for injustices. Moreover, Negroes indulge in relatively great self-blame. The last point corroborates Ovesey's and Kardiner's findings about the Negro modal personality. However, at the same time, the Negro subculture emphasizes a group pride, pointing to the moral superiority of Negroes.

The subculture's obvious logical contradictions are not experienced as such. There is seemingly a certain "perverse loyalty" (p. 34) to regional and local ways as compared to the style of life and a relatively better treatment of Negroes in northern urban centers. Incidentally, the concept of sensitivity to the treatment of people either by themselves or by outsiders is, according to Lewis, the major concept for understanding a subculture. The subculture is a product of a "status-hungry" minority. It is "a success" if it allows for a greater self-reflection resulting in a conscious adaptation. A Negro citizen of Kent is categorized by the white majority, to compensate for which he places relatively "significant emphasis upon individuation and patterned non-conformity within his own group" (p. 325). To the extent that this compensatory reaction is a product of self-awareness and pertinent stimuli, the Kent subculture is "a success."

Talladega College

JIRI KOLAJA

Religion in Crisis and Custom: A Sociological and Psychological Study. By ANTON J. BOISEN. New York: Harper & Bros., 1955. Pp. xv+271. \$4.00.

In this brief work, Boisen has made a laudable but most inadequate attempt to analyze the intricate relationships involved in the social, psychological, and religious experiences of individuals and groups. The very real merits of certain sections tend to be overshadowed by the failure to deal successfully with the whole. The result is a confused and piecemeal treatment that lacks coherence and casts doubt on the validity of the conclusions.

The book contains a hodgepodge of materials and ideas. There is a study, including some history, of local churches in what the author calls a community in the "predominately Protestant Bible Belt." Methodism is presented as a crisis-evolved sect that has become a custom-bound church. A young minister's classification of his congregation, on a behavioral basis, has little meaning in itself and detracts from the effectiveness of the chapter on "Personality Adjustments and Churches of Custom." The interesting study of Pentecostal sects is marred by too great emphasis on economic distress as the precipitant. There are chapters on war, religious leadership, two on "Creativity and Conservation in the History of Religion," one on "The Development and Validation of Religious Faith," and a final chapter dealing with the future of Christian civilization.

The basis of the author's generalizations, partly sociological, partly psychiatric, and partly theological, is often highly questionable. The ingredients do not jell. There is lack of depth because things are spread too thin. The ocean has been reduced to a shallow, somewhat muddy lake.

It would take a Reinhold Niebuhr and a Paul Tillich combined to grapple effectively with the tremendous intricacies which Boisen handles so confidently. Yet at no point are these two great scholars and thinkers mentioned, although both men have made outstanding contributions to this very field of thought. From a sociological point of view the studies make good reference material. The investigation of the religious attitudes of mental patients is intriguing. Both sociologists and psychologists can gain insight from a study of the materials presented in this book.

Boisen demonstrates that he is a good research man in his chosen field. He just as clearly shows that he is not able to handle adequately a subject which demands a vast range of scholarship combined with great depth of insight.

MAUDE L. FIERO

Wayne University

American Agriculture: Its Structure and Place in the Economy. By RONALD L. MIGHELL. New York: John Wiley & Sons, Inc., 1955. Pp. xii+187. \$5.00.

This is the first of a series of some twenty monographs based upon the 1950 census and sponsored by the Social Science Research Council, with financial support from the Russell Sage and Rockefeller foundations. Following its enumeration of 1920, the Bureau of the Census itself brought out a series of special studies, but subsequent appropriations by Congress have been insufficient for its continuance. To counteract this penny-wise-pound-foolish policy of Congress, the Social Science Research Council in co-operation with the Census Bureau undertook the planning and financing of the present series. Needless to say, the vast amount of data collected in the 1950 enumeration will consequently be much more fully analyzed and exploited than would otherwise have been the case.

The author, an agricultural economist in the United States Department of Agriculture, states in his Preface that his purpose is to describe agriculture and how it takes form and plays a role in the national economy—in such a way as to reach readers who are not professional economists. This is a most worthy aim: with farm policy a crucial matter in almost every Congress and with the growing interdependence of rural and urban people, intelligent “ballot behavior” must rest upon adequate information.

In a short space Mighell has presented a concise description of the trends in agriculture during the last half-century, the “dimensions of the agricultural plant,” sizes and types of commercial farms, farm tenure and farm debt, and a special chapter on part-time and residential farms. These topics take seven of the ten chapters. Chapter viii briefly describes the three major farm organizations—the Farm Bureau Federation, the National Grange, and the National Farmers Union. Farmer co-operatives are briefly noted, as are the various agencies of the federal government which are concerned with agriculture. Among important omissions under “education” are the Smith-Hughes vocational education program and the on-the-farm training program of the Veterans Administration.

Although the book is almost exclusively oriented to economic considerations, chapter ix offers a fleeting glimpse of what the author calls “social features of the structure of agriculture.” There are a few paragraphs dealing with the farm family (mainly with its income);

a section on “color and race” in agriculture, which deals only with Negroes; a section on farm labor; two-thirds of a page on “dispersion of homes and community centers”; three and a half pages on age and sex composition of the population, with similarly brief treatment of education, housing and home equipment, and rural health and medical care. One gets the impression, rightly or wrongly, that the author would have preferred to dispense with chapter ix—which would probably have been a good idea. Nevertheless, the factual material will be welcomed by the reader unacquainted with farm life who would like to know something of its social institutions. Would it have been asking too much of the author to refer the interested reader to a few of the many works which provide a fuller description of rural social life?

A justification may be made for the brief treatment of these topics. This reviewer, having served for three years on the Social Science Research Council, knows that, among the twenty or so monographs projected, there will be special analyses of the family in the United States, education, farm housing, farm labor, and population. It would perhaps not be amiss to suggest that in the future a list of the projected series of topics be printed on the book jacket.

The hypothetical general reader will find the language in places loaded with the lingo of economics: “input-output tables,” “allocation and mobility of resources,” “flexible linkage,” etc. Most of the book, however, is easy reading. Although the text rests upon a factual base, the statistics are kept to a minimum. Some tables are wisely included in the Appendix, which also contains a selected list of works by other economists. For the social scientists who want to get a rapid overview of what has happened in the economy of American agriculture up to 1950, this is an excellent reference. What a pity the publisher has to charge so much for so small a book!

LOWRY NELSON

University of Minnesota

International Migrations: The Immigrant in the Modern World. By DONALD R. TAFT and RICHARD ROBBINS. New York: Ronald Press Co., 1955. Pp. viii+670. \$7.00.

Now that the flow of international migration has been greatly curtailed and the foreign-born population is declining, the volume of research and other literature on immigrants has also slackened. This book presents a broad

perspective of international migration and should be useful as a text for college students in their Junior or Senior year. It has few competitors.

The work is organized into four parts, with several chapters in each. Part I deals with "Elements in the Migration Process." In introducing this section the authors state that there are five elements of the migration process: population growth, economic factors, quality of population, nationalism, and cultural (ethnic) differences. They devote a chapter to each. They review the uneven distribution of population and resources over the world and describe the historic movements (both peaceful and combative) to occupy better sites in the territory claimed by other ethnic groups. It is regrettable that they devote only twenty-four pages to the topic "History and Statistics of World Migration." It is also regrettable that the chapters on population growth could not have been written with the perspectives furnished by the United Nations work, *The Determinants and Consequences of Population Trends*, published in 1953, and that the chapter on economic factors could not make use of the findings of Brinley Thomas and of Kuznets and Rubin, both studies published in 1955. The chapters on nationality and culture review the sociological materials on departure from homeland and assimilation in the nation of destination.

Part II is entitled "Processes in the International Arena" and reviews the recent history of migration in various parts of the world outside the United States. Separate chapters are devoted to Europe (four chapters), Israel, Asia, the British Commonwealth, and South America. A rather full treatment is given to forced migration in Europe and the population transfers of the last thirty years. Migration in Asia, in the British Commonwealth, and to Central and South America gets very skimpy treatment. The peopling of Canada from overseas receives two pages; the peopling of Mexico is not mentioned (although there is a rather

large section later concerning the movement of "wetbacks" into the United States across the Rio Grande). Only Brazil and Argentina are considered briefly in describing the migration history of South America.

Part III deals with immigration to the United States. The treatment consists largely of a historical review of the sources of migration, the social, economic, and legal reactions to the quantity and supposed quality of the various incoming groups, and the problems of assimilation. Oddly enough, the chapters in this section overlook the Negro; "the Negro's contribution to American culture, though considerable, can, for our purposes, be largely disregarded" (p. 441). Separate chapters on Asian immigration to the United States and on the immigration of Spanish-speaking people follow.

The final section, "The Larger Meaning of Migration," deals with the problem of war. It is noted that migration tensions and migration restrictions are frequently involved in war-creating situations; that, during the conflict, nations mistreat minority groups whose ethnic origin is that of the opposing nation; and that when one nation conquers another, the soldiers, administrators, and government officials that comprise the occupying force are temporary immigrants whose behavior affects the attitudes of the conquered. The last chapter sets forth desirable goals for the formulation of migration policy.

This volume contains much valuable factual information with which students of sociology are generally unfamiliar. It has been assembled frankly to encourage the student to be critical of the past migration policies of his own and other nations and to advocate moderation and internationalization of migration control. But it has serious shortcomings for the teacher who wants to present the subject as a body of human behavior in need of intensive empirical research.

DONALD J. BOGUE

University of Chicago

CURRENT BOOKS

- ABRAHAM, KARL, M.D. *Clinical Papers and Essays on Psychoanalysis*. New York: Basic Books, Inc., 1956. Pp. 336. \$6.00. Companion volume to *Selected Papers on Psychoanalysis*.
- APTER, DAVID E. *The Gold Coast in Transition*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. xiii+355. \$5.00. From tribal dependency to parliamentary democracy.
- BANKS, OLIVE. *Parity and Prestige in English Secondary Education: A Study in Educational Sociology*. New York: Grove Press, 1955. Pp. vii+262. \$6.00. Recent developments in the British educational system.
- BARBER, ELINOR G. *The Bourgeoisie in 18th Century France*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1955. Pp. x+165. \$3.50. Stratification theory applied to a historical subject.
- BARTON, REBECCA CHALMERS. *Our Human Rights: A Study in the Art of Persuasion*. Foreword by WALTER J. KOHLER. Washington, D.C.: Public Affairs Press, 1955. Pp. vii+102. \$2.50.
- BATTEN, THELMA F. *Flint and Michigan: A Study in Interdependence*. Ann Arbor, Mich.: Social Science Research Project, University of Michigan, 1955. Pp. vii+59. Empirical analysis of traffic flow between city and its environs.
- BELL, DANIEL (ed.). *The New American Right*. New York: Criterion Books, 1955. Pp. xii+239. \$4.00. Seven essays by Bell, Hofstadter, Riesman, Glazer, Viereck, Lipset, and Parsons.
- BELOV, FEDOR. *The History of a Soviet Collective Farm*. New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1955. Pp. xiii+237. \$5.50. Account by former manager who escaped to the West.
- BENEDICT, MURRAY R. *Can We Solve the Farm Problem? An Analysis of Federal Aid to Agriculture*. New York: Twentieth Century Fund, 1955. Pp. xix+601. \$5.00.
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